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THE

ROMAN HISTORY:

WITH

NOTES

Hiſtorical, Geographical, and Critical;

AND

Illuſtrated with COPPER PLATES, MAPS, and a great Number of AUTHENTICK MEDALS.

Done into ENGLISH, from the Original FRENCH of

The Revd Fathers CATROU and ROUILLÉ.

VOLUME V.

From the Year of ROME DCVIII. to the Year of ROME DCXC.

To which is prefix'd,

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MDCCXXXVI.

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THE

CONTENTS:

OR,

A New and Connected SUMMARY of the WORK.

BOOK XLIX.

§ 1. AFTER the Deſtruction of *Carthage*, *Rome* had no more Enemies in *Africa*; and after that of *Corinth*, ſhe maintained her Authority in the Eaſtern Parts of *Europe* with great Mildneſs and Clemency. In the mean time, the *Aſiatick* Nations did not pay her the ſame Regard as formerly, by having recourſe to her for the Deciſion of their Differences. § 2. In *Syria*, *Demetrius Soter* had been dethroned and put to Death by *Alexander Bala*. *Ptolomy Philometer* King of *Egypt*, had made himſelf Maſter of *Antioch*, and cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed King of *Antioch*; but had reſtored the Crown to young *Demetrius*, the Son of *Soter*. *Bala* had marched againſt *Demetrius* and *Philometor*, and after his Defeat, had fled to *Arabia*, where he was murdered. *Philometor* had died of a Wound by a Fall from his Horſe; and *Demetrius* had recovered Poſſeſſion of his Father's Dominions. § 3. In *Judæa*, *Jonathan* the High-Prieſt, by a wiſe Conduct, had preſerved Peace in his Dominions, and enlarged them. § 4. In *Bithynia*, great Cruelties were committed by *Pruſias*, who ſent an Ambaſſador to *Rome*, with Orders to aſſaſſinate his Son there. But *Mends* turned the Plot againſt the Father, and joined with the *Pergamian* Ambaſſador in proclaiming young *Nicomedes* King, before the Death of *Pruſias*. *Attalus* King of *Pergamus* received *Nicomedes* with Joy, and made Preparations for a War with *Pruſias* on his Account. *Pruſias* had recourſe to the *Romans*, who ſent a ridiculous Embaſſy into *Aſia*, which had no Effect; and then *Nicomedes* ſubdued his Father by Violence, and had the Inhumanity, to order Aſſaſſins to murder him at the Altar.

Year of *ROME* 608. § 5. At *Rome*, ſoon after the unworthy *Mancinus* was raiſed to the *Conſulate*, with *Fabius Æmilianus*, *Caius Lælius* the new *Prætor* for *Spain*, did himſelf great Honour, by oppoſing the Innovations of *Licinius* the *Tribune of the People*, with regard to the Prieſthood. *Licinius* had drawn up a Law, to have the Prieſts choſen by the People, contrary to ancient Cuſtom; and to prevent the *Conſcript Fathers* hearing him propoſe it in the *Comitium*, he made uſe of this Artifice. Inſtead of aſſembling the People between the *Roſtra* and the Temple where the Senators met, he aſſembled them between the *Roſtra* and the other end of the *Forum*, and by that means, was forced to turn his Back on the *Fathers*, when he addreſſed himſelf to his Audience. But *Lælius* oppoſed the new Law with Vigour, and it was rejected. § 6. About the

307th Conſulſhip.

ROSTRA.

same time, *Pub. Corn. Scipio Nasica*, a Candidate for the *Curule Ædileship*, lost it, by rallying one of the Voters on his having a hard Hand. § 7. And now, *Viriatus* having for several Years past made great Conquests in *Spain*, and defeated all the *Prætors Rome* had sent against him, she thought it necessary to send *Fabius* with a *Consular* Army into *Further Spain*, on that Expedition. But before *Fabius* arrived, *Lælius* the *Prætor* of *Hither Spain* began to make the *Lusitanian* sensible, that he was not invincible; and when *Fabius* came, he spent the whole Summer in inuring his new Troops to Labour and Discipline, and took the Opportunity of this Inaction to pay his Vows to *Hercules*. § 8. Whilst he was in Winter-quarters, the Republick promoted *Ser. Sulpicius Galba* who was extremely rich, and *L. Aurel. Cotta* who was as poor, to the *Consulate*; and they earnestly contended for *Spain*, as the most gainful Province. But *Scipio Æmilianus*, to whom the Dispute was at last referred, disappointed them both, and continued the Command in *Spain* to *Fabius*. About the same time, the Republick increased the Number of her *Prætors* to nine; and ordered, That they should all continue in *Rome*, and administer Justice there, during the Year of their *Prætorship*; and go and govern their Provinces the next Year, in Quality of *Pro-Prætors*. *Fabius* gained two Victories over *Viriatus* in this Campaign, and then went into Winter-Quarters at *Corduba*; and the Republick was so ungrateful as not to reward him with a *Triumph*. § 9. She had been no less ungratefully negligent of *Q. Cæcilius Metellus*; but at last raised him to the *Consulate* with *Ap. Claudius Pulcher*. At the same time, *Rome* chose new *Prætors*, who continued in *Rome* according to the late Regulation; and *M. Popilius* was appointed to try Parricides, a Crime scarce known in *Rome* for 600 Years; whilst *Marcus Titius* was ordered to take Care of the City-water and Aqueducts. § 10. The Generals appointed for this Year, were the *Consul Metellus* and the *Prætor Q. Pompeius* for *Spain*, and the *Consul Claudius* for *Cisalpine Gaul*. *Pompeius* reached *Spain* before *Metellus*, and attacked *Viriatus* (who had caused many Revolts, and laid the Foundations of the *Numantian* War) with some Success. But the *Lusitanian* afterwards drove him out of the Field, and made him shut himself up in *Corduba*. However, *Metellus* so far avenged the *Prætor*'s Quarrel, that *Viriatus* durst not hazard a Battle with him. The *Roman* was strict in his Discipline, and the Author of the famous Saying, since put into the Mouths of many Generals, That *If he thought his Coat could be privy to his Designs he would burn it*. § 11. In the mean time, *Claudius* forced the *Salassii* into a Rebellion in *Cisalpine Gaul*, and they killed 5000 of his Men, and defeated him. This Defeat alarmed the Senate; the Priests superstitiously ascribed it, to his not observing the due Forms; and he was ordered to offer a Sacrifice on the Borders of the Enemy's Country. This done, he fought another Battle, and in his Turn slew 4000 of the Enemy. But, not content with wiping off his Disgrace, he decreed himself a *Triumph*; and was the first that entered *Rome* triumphantly, on his own Authority. A *Tribune* of the People endeavoured to stop him in his Procession; but his Daughter *Marcia* a Vestal, opposed the *Tribune*, and prevailed on him to desist.

§ 12. The next Year, *Q. Fabius Servilianus*, and *L. Cæcilius Metellus* were advanced to the *Consulship*; and *Scipio Africanus Secundus*, and *L. Mummius Achaicus*, to the *Censorship*, notwithstanding the Opposition and Insolence of *Fabius*. The severe *Scipio* began his Office with a Speech to the People, exhorting them to revive the Virtues of the ancient *Romans*, and did all he could to that End. He was very severe in his Judgments and Reflections; and tho' his too easy Collegue restored some of those whom he punished, *Scipio* kept up some Remains of the Probity of old *Rome*. They ended their *Censorship* with the *57th Lustrum*, in which *Mummius* presided; and *Scipio* reformed the Prayers used on that Occasion. § 13. In the mean time, *Metellus Macedonicus*, who was continued in *Spain* in quality of *Pro-Consul*, pursued the War there; and displayed his strict Regard to Discipline among his own Troops, and his Humanity to the conquered, in so glorious a manner, that it is not easy to say which did him the most Honour. The former in the Siege of *Contrebia*, where he ordered five *Manipuli* who had been repulsed to renew the Attack of the Breach, without any Assistance; and the latter at the Siege of *Nertobriga*, where he generously gave up a certain Conquest, in Humanity to a faithful Deserter, who resolved to mount the Breach, tho' his own Sons were placed in it, and he could not enter the Town without spilling both their Blood, and his own. § 14. On the other hand, the *Consul Servilianus* set out with a *Consular* Army, to his Province of *Further Spain*, after *Rome* had made *Supplications* for his Success, and had put the sumptuary Law of *Didius*, against expensive Tables, strictly in Execution. As soon as the *Consul* landed in *Spain*, *Viriatus* lay in Ambush for him, attacked him, and his *Spaniards* struck Terror into the *Romans* with their Looks, but retired without coming to a Battle. Afterwards, the *Roman* engaged him with superior Numbers, and, by that means alone, got some Advantage. But *Viriatus* made a noble Retreat, and returned upon the Pursuers with so much Vigour that he routed them, and would have taken the *Roman* Camp itself, had it not been prevented, by the Bravery and Conduct

308*th Consulship.* — Year of ROME 608. 609.

The Number of Prætors *increased.* — Pro-Prætorship *created.*

309*th Consulship.* — 610.

A remarkable Saying of Metellus.

310*th Consulship.* — 611.

57*th* Lustrum.

Remarkable Instances of the Discipline and Humanity of Metellus Macedonicus.

The sumptuary Law of Didius.

Year of ROME 611. Conduct of young *Caius Fannius*. § 15. During these Transactions in *Spain*, a fresh Impostor started up in *Macedon*, and soon raised an Army; but was defeated and slain, by *Cn. Tremellius*, the *Quæstor*, who commanded the *Roman* Army there, in the Absence of the *Prætor*. *The Bravery of* Caius Fannius.

612. § 16. When the Time came for the great Elections for the ensuing Year, the famous *Caius Lælius* appeared for the *Consulship*, and was supported by the Interest of his inseparable Friend *Scipio Æmilianus*. But *Q. Pompeius*, a Man of a mean, if not an infamous, Birth, supplanted him, by imposing on *Scipio*, and was chosen *Consul* with *Cn. Servilius Cæpio*. In the same *Comitia*, *Servilianus* was ordered to continue the War in *Spain* as *Pro-Consul*; but *Metellus* was permitted to keep his Troops no longer than till the Arrival of his Successor, tho' he earnestly sollicited the Favour formerly granted to others, of finishing the War he had so happily began. And when he understood that the worthless *Pompey*, who was his personal Enemy, was to succeed him, his Indignation led him first to endeavour to revenge himself on the Enemy by some signal Action, and afterwards to weaken and reduce the Army which he was to leave to *Pompey*. 311*th Consulship.* *The Resentments of* Metellus.

§ 17. But nevertheless, when the latter landed in *Spain*, he found an Army there sufficient to have subdued all *Celtiberia*, if he had had the Conduct and Experience of his Predecessor. As soon as he appeared in the Field, the *Termantians* and *Numantians* offered him very advantageous Terms of Peace, but he imprudently and obstinately insisted on their disarming themselves, and thereby forced them into the *Numantian* War, which cost the *Romans* so much Blood. Pompey's *Obstinacy the Cause of the* Numantian *War.*

§ 18. He approached *Numantia* with great Confidence, but was forced to leave his Station, by that brave People; and when he had removed to *Termantia*, the *Termantini* gained three Successes over him in one Day. Indeed they were too obstinate in renewing the last Battle the Day after; the *Romans* recovered themselves, and the Loss was equal on both sides. But the *Consul* did not think fit to besiege their City. *The Bravery of the* Numantini *and* Termantini.

§ 19. He marched to *Malia*, a small Town, whose Inhabitants massacred their *Numantian* Garrison, and surrendered to him. From thence he advanced towards the Country of the *Sedetani*, and in his way took some *Spanish Banditti* Prisoners, who gave very extraordinary Proofs of their Fierceness, and Love of Liberty. Most of them killed themselves; others murdered those that bought them for Slaves; and the rest bored Holes in the Ships which were carrying them into foreign Countries, and perished with them. Nevertheless *Pompey* attacked *Lanci*, a Barrier to the *Numantini*; and the Garrison, discovering that the Inhabitants resolved to sacrifice them, fell upon the Town, and made the Conquest of it easy. The *Romans* took it by Assault; and *Pompey* finished his Exploits, by very injudicious Acts of Clemency and Severity, in putting the *Lancians* to the Sword, and giving Quarter to the *Numantian* Garrison. *The Bravery and Love of Liberty of the* Spaniards.

§ 20. In *Further Spain*, *Servilianus* gained some Advantages at first over *Viriatus*, but the *Lusitanian* soon made himself amends. Taking it for granted, that the *Consul*'s Successes would encourage him to besiege *Erisana*, he first encamped near it; and when the *Romans* were before it, entered the City himself with a large Detachment. Then he made a Sally on the *Romans*, and drove them backwards to the Place where his own Army lay, and there they were surrounded. So that the *Consul* was forced to make a Peace, in order to save himself and his Army, which was in the Enemy's Power. *Viriatus* offered him very generous Terms, and the Peace was ratified by Senate and People; who afterwards very unjustly broke it. Viriatus *makes Peace with the* Romans.

§ 21. In the mean time, the *Consul Cæpio* had little else to do in *Italy*, but to hear Causes at *Rome*; where he was appointed to try *Tubulus*, an infamous *Prætor*, who, to avoid publick Shame and Execution, poisoned himself.

613. § 22. The next Year, *C. Lælius the Wise* was promoted to the *Consulate*, with *Q. Servilius Cæpio* to whose Lot it fell to succeed his Brother in *Further Spain*; and *Pompey* was continued General in *The Hither Province*. Indeed, some Senators were ordered from *Rome* to be a Council for the latter; but before they arrived, he undertook the mad Project of reducing *Numantia*, by turning the Stream of the *Durius*, which watered it. This gave the *Numantini* Opportunities to harass and ensnare his Men, whom they were continually diminishing, till at length, after many Losses, they forced him into Winter-Quarters. 312*th Consulate.*

§ 23. Then he began to reflect seriously on his own ill Conduct, and in order to screen himself from Censures, very artfully brought about a Peace with the *Numantini* on worse Terms than they had before offered him, tho' he pretended all the while to oppose it. Pompey *makes Peace with the* Numantini.

§ 24. In the mean time, *Viriatus*, who still continued in Arms, the better to pave his Way to a Throne, married the Daughter of a rich Man, who had great Interest in the Country; and at his Marriage, gave his Troops signal Proofs, of his Sobriety, Continence, and Contempt of Riches. Virtues which deserved, and would have raised him to a Crown, if the *Romans* had not prevented it, by the basest Perfidiousness.

§ 25. *Q. Cæpio* pressed the Senate to order him to break the Peace with *Viriatus*, and they basely directed him to mean Artifices, to provoke the *Lusitanian* to break it first; and when those Artifices failed, as unjustly gave him a Commission to declare War. *The Baseness and Injustice of the* Romans

immedately marched againſt *Viriatus*, and after taking *Arſa*, purſued him into the Country of the *Carpetani*, where the *Spaniard* was hard preſſed, and made a moſt glorious Retreat. His Troops diſappeared ſo ſuddenly, that the *Roman* Horſe, when they returned to their Camp, were very ſevere in their Jeſts on their own General, and ſaid he had been fighting with Ghoſts. § 27. This greatly provoked *Cæpio*, and he firſt revenged himſelf on the innocent *Spaniards*, and then on his own Cavalry. Year of *ROME* 613.

The Cruelty of Viriatus. He laid waſte the Country of the *Vettones*, and reduced *Viriatus* ſo low, that he ſued again for Peace; and even complied with the hard Preliminary impoſed upon him, which was to ſacrifice all thoſe who had cauſed any Cities to revolt from the *Romans*, among whom was his new Wife's Father. But when the *Roman* inſiſted farther, that he ſhould diſarm his Troops, the whole Army rejected it with great Indignation, and Hoſtilities were renewed. § 28. Then *Cæpio* poſted himſelf in a Plain, with a River between him and the Enemy; and ſome affirm, that in order to revenge the Inſults of his Cavalry, he ordered them to ſwim croſs the River, and cut Wood on the Mountains where *Viriatus* was poſted. The *Knights* obeyed, and returned with their Wood, and then a Mutiny followed which forced the General to hide himſelf.

The infamous Conduct of Cœpio. § 29. But be that as it will, *Viriatus* renewed his Treaty with *Cæpio*, and the *Conſul* was then guilty of ſuch an infamous Conduct towards him, as has made his Name execrable to this very Day. He corrupted the Perſons the *Luſitanian* ſent to treat with him, and at his Inſtigation, they baſely and perfidiouſly murdered their General and their Friend in his Sleep.

The Death of Viriatus. *His Character.* § 30. His Troops were inconſolable at the Loſs of their General, and when they found they could not revenge it, they teſtified their Grief by a pompous Funeral. He was indeed the greateſt Man *Spain* had ever bred; a great Maſter of the Art of War, and almoſt always victorious; a ſtrict Obſerver of Treaties, and juſt and generous to his own Soldiers; in himſelf chaſte, temperate, and diſintereſted; and in a Word, deemed invincible by *Rome* herſelf. § 31. After his Death the *Luſitanians* choſe *Tantalus* to command them; and he madly undertook to reduce *Saguntum*. *Cæpio* followed him, fought him, forced him and his whole Army to ſurrender at Diſcretion, and thereby put an end to the War. But nevertheleſs, the Senate had ſtill ſo much Honour left, as not to grant him a *Triumph*, tho' they enjoyed the Fruits of his Villany.

§ 32. During theſe Tranſactions, the *Wiſe Lælius* governed *Rome* in Tranquillity; *Craſſus* the *Ædile* employed the Poets *Pacuvius* and *Attius*, to write Plays for the *Games*; the *Tribune Mummius* paſſed the famous *Mummian* Law, which branded falſe Accuſers with a Mark of Infamy; and *T. Manlius Torquatus* tried and condemned his own Son for Oppreſſion, and thereby ſhewed, That all the Rigour of the ancient *Romans* was not yet quite loſt.

The Mummian *Law.*

§ 33. When *Lucius Calpurnius Piſo*, and *M. Popillius Lænas* were choſen *Conſuls*, the *Romans*, to their eternal Reproach, ſtill continued *Cæpio* in the Government of the *Further Province* as *Pro-Conſul*, notwithſtanding his baſe Aſſaſſination of *Viriatus*. They were grown ſo corrupt as to approve of Men who ſerved the Republick, tho' in the moſt odious Manner. But *Hiſpallus the Prætor*, purged *Rome* of the infamous Worſhip of *Jupiter Sabazius*; and of the *Chaldæan* Aſtrologers, who infected the People with their Predictions. 614.

313*th Conſulate.*

The Gabinian *Law.* § 34. At the ſame time, *Gabinius*, the *Tribune of the People*, paſſed *The Gabinian Law*, to reform the Abuſe, as he called it, of voting for Magiſtrates *viva voce*, by requiring the People for the future, to give their Votes in Writing, by *Tablets* or Tickets. And in this reforming Seaſon *Aſellus*, a *Roman Knight*, whom *Scipio Africanus* had juſtly degraded, but was now become a *Tribune of the People*, attempted to humble the *Cenſor*, and oblige him to give him Satisfaction for the Injury. But the Conqueror of *Carthage* laughed at the Proſecution: and when it came to a Trial before the People, he put an end to it, by interrupting the Orator who was boaſting of his Travels, and telling him, That *tho' an Aſs travelled all over the World, it would never make him a good Racer.*

Scipio Africanus's *Jeſt on* Aſellus.

§ 35. And now, the Republick might have ſettled the World in Peace, but choſe rather to be guilty of the moſt notorious Injuſtice. *Pompey* had made a Peace with the *Numantini*, who alone were at War with *Rome*; but the Senate diſannulled it, as they pretended, for want of Form. Tho' the *Pro-Conſul* had received the Deſerters, Hoſtages, and Money, ſtipulated, from theſe unfortunate People; the *Romans* baſely and wickedly broke through the Treaty, for this ſingle Reaſon at bottom, becauſe it was their Intereſt. In the mean time, *Cæpio* ſettled the *Further Province* in order, and put it into a Condition to recover itſelf from what it had ſuffered by the War.

The Baſeneſs and Injuſtice of the Romans *to the* Numantians.

314*th Conſulate.*

§ 36. The next Year, *P. Scipio Naſica*, and *D. Junius Brutus*, were advanced to the *Conſulate*, and *Brutus* was detained ſome time from going to his Province in *Spain* by publick Buſineſs at *Rome*. Deſertions were now grown to an intolerable heighth, and therefore the People made an Example of *Caius Mutianus*, a notorious Offender, whom they tried, condemned, whipped, reduced to Slavery, and for the greater Indignity ſold for one *Seſterce*. This Cauſe was taken from the Cognizance of the *Conſuls*, to whom it belonged, by the *Tribunes of the People*, and their Succeſs in this led them to farther Encroachments. They 615.

Caius Mutianus *ſold for one* Seſterce.

Year of ROME 615. claimed a Right, they had formerly endeavoured to uſurp, that each *Tribune* ſhould have a Power to excuſe any ten Perſons he pleaſed from Service, when new Levies were raiſed: and when the *Conſuls* oppoſed it, they carried their Uſurpations on the *Conſular* Dignity farther than ever, by ſending them to Priſon; and inſolently giving *Naſica* the Nick-name of *Serapio*, as he was dragging thither. Nor did this content them. § 37. They wanted to raiſe a Sedition, and got greater Advantages over the Senate under Pretence of a Famine. But *Naſica*, notwithſtanding his late ill Treatment, oppoſed them with great Dignity and Courage, and diſperſed the People. And then the Senate, in Honour to the *Conſuls*, referred the Cauſe of the *Scantian* Robberies to their Cognizance, tho' it properly belonged to the *Prætor*. The publick Farmers were accuſed, and feintly defended by *C. Cælius*; but when *Galba*, at the Requeſt of *Lælius*, undertook the Cauſe, his Vehemence ſucceeded, and they were acquitted. § 38. In the mean time, *Popillius* received his Orders to break the Peace with *Numantia*, and marched to reduce it. But the brave *Numantini*, who kept all their Men unſeen behind the Walls, and thereby tempted the *Legionaries* to make an Aſſault on the City, ſallied out on the Aſſailants, who retired in Diſorder, and ſo entirely routed the whole *Roman* Army, that it could not face the Enemy any more through the whole Campaign. § 39. On the other hand, the *Conſul Brutus* governed his Province with great Glory. He executed the Orders he brought from *Rome*, of ſettling the Veterans with ſome of *Viriatus*'s Soldiers, in a Colony in *Luſitania*; and called his new Colony, *Valentia*. Then he went and attacked the *Banditti* who ravaged his Province, in their own Country, which they defended with an unparallelled Vigour. Even the *Spaniſh* Women were intermixed with all their Troops, and fought with aſtoniſhing Bravery. They killed their Enemies without Fear, and were killed without a Shriek. Nevertheleſs the *Conſul* at laſt ſubdued, and in regard to their Courage, pardoned them. Afterwards he paſſed the *Durius*, and came to the River *Lethe*, where the *Roman* Soldiers were ſo ſuperſtitious that they were afraid to paſs it, becauſe the Poets had given the ſame Name to a River in Hell; and it was not without ſome Difficulty that he got the better of their Superſtition. 616. § 40. The next Year, *M. Æmilius Lepidus* and *C. Hoſtilius Mancinus Conſuls*, the City was alarmed with many Preſages, but Civil Matters took their uſual Courſe. *L. Caſſius Longinus* paſſed *The Caſſian Law*, which was an Extenſion of *The Gabinian*, and enacted, *That in all Criminal Cauſes, except Treaſon, the People ſhould vote by Tablets*: And *The ſecond Africanus*, by whoſe Intereſt it paſſed, greatly offended the Nobility by it.

The Encroachments of the Tribunes of the People.

By their Stratagems and Bravery the Numantini *defeat* Popilius.

The Bravery of the Spaniſh *Women.*

The Superſtition of the Roman *Troops.*

115*th Conſulate.*

The Caſſian *Law.*

BOOK L.

§ 1. THE Eaſtern Kingdoms having in a manner thrown off their Regard to *Rome*, during her Weſtern Wars, ſhe now ſent the late *Cenſors*, *Scipio Africanus*, and *Mummius*, to viſit all the Nations eaſtward, that were ſubject to, or in Alliance with, her. Their firſt Journey was to *Macedon* and *Greece*, and from thence to *Egypt*, where they found *Euergetes* on the Throne, who was much deformed in Body, and more in Mind. In order to aſcend the Throne, he had murdered his Nephew in the Arms of his Mother, whom he had married; and his Reign was, with regard to himſelf, one continued Act of Brutality, and with regard to his People, of Violence. § 2. From *Alexandria* they ſailed to *Pergamus*, where *Philometor* reigned, and was now become almoſt as mad as *Attalus* was wicked; unleſs it be ſome Proof of his retaining his Senſes, that his Attachment to *Rome* was not diminiſhed. § 3. From thence *Scipio* paſſed on to *Syria*, where the Kingdom was divided between *Demetrius Nicanor the Second*, and *Antiochus Sidetes*. *Demetrius* had, in a Revolt of the *Antiochians*, had recourſe to *Jonathan*, the *Jewiſh* High-Prieſt, who had in a wonderful Manner delivered him. But this he had ungratefully repaid with breach of his Promiſes; and then, *Tryphon*, the Guardian to young *Antiochus* the Son of *Alexander Bala*, drove *Demetrius* from *Antioch* to the moſt eaſtern Provinces of the Kingdom, and ſet his Ward on the Throne. § 4. This done, *Tryphon*, firſt courted *Jonathan*, afterwards deceived him with fair Promiſes; and treacherouſly made him Priſoner in *Ptolemais*. Then he likewiſe over-reached *Simon* the Brother of *Jonathan*, who delivered up *Jonathan*'s two Sons to him, and murdered both the Father and the Children, at *Baſcamon*; and when they were out of his Way, he murdered his Ward, and uſurped the Throne himſelf. § 5. Then *Cleopatra*, the Wife of *Demetrius* whom he had defeated, ſent for *Antiochus Sidetes* her Husband's Brother, put him at the Head of an Army which ſhe had raiſed, and with it dethroned *Tryphon*, and placed *Sidetes* on the Throne. From *Syria* the *Romans* went and paid a welcome Viſit to the *Jews*, whom the Republick had in a particular Manner taken under her Protection; and ſpent in the whole Journey about two Years. § 6.

The Brutalities and Cruelty of Ptolomy Euergetes.

The Bravery of the Spaniſh *Women.*

In the mean time, the *Conſul Mancinus* prepared for *Spain*, and was alarmed with ſome Preſages; whilſt *Brutus* paſſed the *Minius* in *The Further Province*, there attacked the *Bracarini* who had incommoded him, and found their Women fight to the laſt Extremity, and rather die than retreat. Nevertheleſs, *Talabriga*, and other Cities, ſurrendered, and he wrought more on the Inhabitants by his Clemency than by his Sword. Year of ROME 616.

The Numantini *beat* Mancinus, *and make Peace.*

§ 7. And now, the *Conſul Mancinus* took Poſſeſſion of his Army which was encamped near *Numantia*, and, his Men not being able to bear the Looks of the *Numantini*, he ordered them to decamp, and move further off, in the Night. But their Motions were by Accident diſcovered, the *Numantini* purſued them, took their Camp, killed 20000 of them, and forced the *Conſul* to ſue for a Peace, which they made with him, upon the Faith and Honour of *Tiberius Gracchus* his *Quæſtor*.

The Baſeneſs and Injuſtice of the Romans *to them.*

And then again appeared the ſhocking Injuſtice and Falſhood of the *Romans* to thoſe brave People. Tho' theſe generous Enemies had ſaved the Lives of 10000 *Romans* who were in their Power when they made this Peace; and tho' the Senate and People were glad enough to reap this Advantage from it; yet they baſely and unjuſtly reſolved to break it, and would not admit the *Numantian* Ambaſſador within their Walls.

316th Conſulſhip.

§ 8. Indeed, when the new *Conſuls*, *P. Furius Philus*, and *Sex. Attilius Serranus*, were choſen, they admitted them to an Audience; and one of them addreſſed himſelf to the Senate, in ſuch a manner as might have moved them, if they had had any Senſe of Juſtice, or Humanity. But the *Fathers* were too proud to hear of any Thing but Revenge; and they reſolved to extirpate this generous and innocent People. They ordered the Peace to be broken, and pretended to make the injured *Numantini* Satisfaction, by ordering *Mancinus* to be delivered up a Priſoner to them. Such was the boaſted *Roman* Virtue! 617.

Æmilius Lepidus *attacks the* Vaccæi *unjuſtly. They totally defeat him.*

§ 9. During theſe Tranſactions at *Rome*, *M. Æmilius Lepidus* in *Hither Spain*, purely for the Sake of finding himſelf Work, began an unjuſt War with the *Vaccæi*; whilſt he was preparing to beſiege *Palantia* their Capital, Deputies came from *Rome* with a Decree of the Senate, ordering him to deſiſt; but ſtill *Æmilius* perſiſted in his Deſign. Till at length the *Vaccæi* ſo diſtreſſed him with intercepting his Convoys, that he was forced to decamp for Want of Bread and Forage. The Officers obliged the Men to leave their Camp in the Night, and the *Vaccæi* knowing in what Confuſion they retreated, purſued, and killed 6000 of them. Nevertheleſs, when *Æmilius* returned to *Rome* he was treated with more Lenity than he expected. § 10. And now, the new General *Furius*, who came to renew the War with the *Numantini*, firſt delivered up *Mancinus* in form to them; but they juſtly demanded his Army with him, and refuſed to accept of him alone. So that after he had lain a whole Day at the Gate of the City, the *Conſul Furius*, agreeably to the Equity of the *Romans* of that Time, thought this a ſufficient Satisfaction to the injured People; and brought him back to his Camp, and reſtored him to his Rights as *Citizen*. Indeed *Rupilius*, the *Tribune of the People*, oppoſed his being reſtored to his Seat in the Senate, but the People juſtly overruled it. However, *Furius* did not renew the War all the Time he continued in *Spain*, and thereby gave the *Numantini* time to breath.

58th Lustrum.

317th Conſulſhip.

§ 11. But *Brutus* made great Conqueſts in *Luſitania*, and was the only Comfort of his Republick in theſe gloomy Times, when ſhe was threatened with a new War in *Illyricum*, as well as *Spain*, and ſhe therefore continued him in his Government a fourth Time. The Year ended with the 58th *Luſtrum*, *App. Claud. Pulcher*, and *Q. Fulvius Nobilior*, *Cenſors*. 618. § 12. The next Year, *Servius Fulvius Flaccus*, and *Q. Calpurnius Piſo*, were choſen *Conſuls*, and the latter appointed to go to *Spain*, the former to govern *Italy*. But the *Vardæi* rebelling in *Illyricum*, and rejecting all amicable Meaſures, *Flaccus* was ſent with an Army to reduce them; and he did it ſo effectually, that *Rome* at his Return honoured him with a *Triumph*, which was now a new Sight there. § 13.

Brutus *ſubdues the* Callaici.

Calpurnius, on the other hand, was fearful of acting againſt the *Numantini*, leſt he ſhould ſuffer as his Predeceſſors had done; and he contented himſelf with beſieging *Palantia*, and ravaging the Neighbourhood. Whereas *Brutus* acted with great Glory. He penetrated into the Country of the *Callaici*, or *Gallæci*, killed 50000 of them, and almoſt extirpated the Nation. Hence he acquired the Surname of *Callaïcus*, and was ordered to be continued in *Spain*, till the Wars there ſhould be ended. For which Reaſon he did not return to *Rome* to *triumph*, till three Years after this Time. However his Succeſſes made the People reflect with Severity on the Inactivity of the two laſt *Conſuls* in *Tarragonia*; and when *Scipio Africanus* offered his Nephew as a Candidate for the *Quæſtorſhip*, the People deſirous of having *Scipio* himſelf *Conſul* the next Year,

318th Conſulſhip.

diſpenſed with a ſtanding Law to make way for his Promotion. With him *C. Fulvius Flaccus* was advanced to the *Conſulate*; and the Hopes of ſeeing *Scipio* in *Spain*, raiſed the dejected Spirits of the People, notwithſtanding their ill Omens. 619. § 14.

Illyricum *made a Province.*

They ordered him thither without drawing Lots, and *Fulvius* had the Government of *Sicily*. This Year there was a new *Prætorſhip* erected in *Illyricum*; and *Flaccus* made *Prætor*. The People were again alarmed with their ridiculous Prognoſticks, and ordered them to be carefully expiated. But they would not ſuffer *Scipio* to raiſe

any

Year of ROME 619. any Levies. He therefore collected together about 500 Horſe, which he called *The Squadron of his Friends*, borrowed 4000 Voluntiers of the Cities in *Italy*, ſent to *Micipſa* in *Numidia* to ſend him Succours, and then made all haſte to his Province. § 15. As ſoon as he arrived, he made it his Buſineſs to reform his Troops, which he did by freeing his Camp from all Incentives to Idleneſs and Vice, by inuring them conſtantly to very hard Labour and ſevere Diſcipline, and teaching them to encamp with due Care. He drove the Women and Sutlers from the Camp, ordered his Men to lay on the Graſs, and would not ſuffer them even to conſult the Entrails of Beaſts. § 16. After this, he began to place ſome little Confidence in them, and gradually prove their Valour. He juſt ſhewed them *Numantia*, and ravaged ſome of the Fields about it, and after a Feint of marching by the City to try their Courage, drew them off without ſuffering it. Then he led them into the Country of the *Vaccæi*, and ſuffered ſome of them to be drawn into a Snare by the Enemy; but he took Care to come up in time, and taught them how to extricate themſelves out of their Danger. Afterwards he marched into the Country of the *Vaccæi*, who fled before him; but he treated them with great Candor upon this Maxim, That it was Wiſdom to gain the Affections of the People bordering on his Camp. At the ſame time, he made his Troops take very long Marches in a Country where they were much diſtreſſed for want of Water. Thus he wiſely ſpent the whole Summer in reforming his Troops, till he had altered them to his Wiſh; and Frugality, Vigilance, and a Love of Duty, took the Place of Effeminacy, Lazineſs, and Indolence, among them. § 17. Neither did he ſpare, but rather increaſe their Labours in the Winter. He obliged every Man that went out of the Camp, to carry his Tools, and bring back ſome Stakes with him; and upon ſome Complaints of this Hardſhip, ſaid, *That he would not ceaſe to make them bring Paliſades to fortify the Camp, till they had learnt to fortify it with their Swords.* At this Time, he received the expected Succours from *Numidia* with the renowned *Jugurtha* at the Head of them; and the brave Prince and the famous *Marius* rivalled each other in Acts of Glory. § 18. When the Time of Elections came, *P. Mucius Scævola*, and *L. Calpurnius Piſo* were choſen *Conſuls* for the next Year, and *Scipio* ordered to continue *Pro-Conſul* in *Spain*, till *Numantia* ſhould be taken. He reſolved to reduce it by Famine, and began with laying waſte the neighbouring Fields, but with the utmoſt Caution. One Day he drew near a Town ſtrongly ſituated, and ordered a Body of Men to plunder it, but kept within diſtance himſelf; and when his Detachment gave him notice by a Signal, that a Body of the *Numantini* were in Ambuſh there, he ſent another Body to ſupport the former, and they fought the Enemy, and beat them. This gave him ſome Confidence in his Troops, and he reſolved to begin the Siege immediately.

The Wiſdom of Scipio *in diſciplining his Troops.*

620. 319*th Conſulſhip.*

§ 19 *Numantia* ſtood on a Hill of difficult acceſs, and had large Fields within its Walls, which were three Miles in compaſs. The Garriſon is ſaid to have been 4000 Men. Upon *Scipio*'s inveſting it, they offered Peace, which the *Roman* refuſed on any Terms, but that of delivering up themſelves and Arms, at Diſcretion. This they would not comply with, and then the General began his Works with a Ditch ſix Miles in Circumference. § 20. Without this he drew another; and behind that raiſed a Rampart, which he paliſaded, and ſupported with a Wall 8 Foot broad, and 10 high, with Towers in it at the diſtance of every 60 Foot. Then he ſtopped up the Navigation of the River, with a kind of wooden Wall; and when his Works were finiſhed, he had them carefully guarded Day and Night. § 21. On the other hand, though the beſieged were thus carefully ſhut up, ſix of them made their Way through the Enemy's Camp, endeavoured to prevail on the neighbouring Cities to aſſiſt them, and the Youth in *Lutia* reſolved to do it. But the old Men in the City ſent Advice of it, to *Scipio*, who travelled the 300 *Stadia* between *Numantia* and *Lutia* in 8 Hours, made them deliver up 400 of the Rebels, whoſe right Hands he cut off, and then returned to his Camp. § 22. And now, Ambaſſadors came to the General with magnificent Preſents from *Antiochus Sidetes* in *Syria*, and *Scipio* diſtributed them among his Troops. The *Numantini* ſent to deſire him, either to give them Battle, or an honourable Peace; but he refuſed both; and upon this Report, they cut their own Ambaſſadors who brought it in Pieces. § 23. Then they made a deſperate Attempt to conquer the Enemy by force, but were obliged to retire, and after all were for endeavouring to eſcape, but the Women prevented it. So that at laſt they were forced to endure all the Miſeries of a Famine, and to eat one another. Till at length, either by a ſurrender, or by burning both the City and themſelves, (for the Hiſtorians are not agreed) it was utterly deſtroyed. § 24. Then the Senate ſent ten of their Body to ſettle the new Province; and *Scipio* when he returned to *Rome triumphed*. But during his Abode in *Spain*, a fatal Sedition aroſe at *Rome*, which ended with polluting the Capitol with *Roman* Blood, and which was the Prelude to thoſe cruel Civil Wars which afterwards broke out ſucceſſively in the Republick, and cauſed more *Roman* Blood to be ſpilt then had been ſhed in the conqueſt of the whole World.

Numantia *deſcribed.*

inveſted,

beſieged,

deſperately defended,

utterly deſtroyed.

Scipio *triumphs.*

The Birth and Marriage of Tib. Gracchus.

§ 25. *Tiberius Gracchus*, one of the Sons of the famous *Cornelia*, the Daughter of the great *Scipio*, being a Youth of the greatest Accomplishments of Body and Mind, had married the Daughter of *App. Claudius*, *the Prince of the Senate*, and had continued for some Time to espouse the Party of the Senators. But ever since his *Quæstorship* in *Spain*, and the breaking of the Peace MANCINUS had made by his Mediation, he had vowed Revenge to the Nobility. § 26. They had usurped Lands unjustly, cultivated them by Slaves, to the great detriment of the Publick, and had for 250 Years lived in open defiance of *The Licinian Law*, which had been designed to redress these Grievances by enacting, *That no Citizen should possess more than* 500 *Acres*. *T. Gracchus* therefore resolved to revive this Law in revenge to the Nobles. § 27. But according to some Historians, the Reproaches of his Mother *Cornelia*, as well as a Desire to display his Eloquence, the Authority of some great Men, who were in much Reputation for Wisdom, and a Compassion for the Miseries of the *Allies*, all concurred to engage him in this hazardous Attempt. § 28. In order to it, he drew up a very mild Law, requiting, *That those who had above* 500 *Acres, should sell them, and they should be divided among the poor Citizens*; and when he had prepared the *Comitia* for it, proposed it to them. The rich opposed it, and *Gracchus* was forced to enter into many Debates with them, but he got the better both in Point of Argument and Eloquence. § 29. The rich therefore had recourse to Violence and Calumny; and when he proposed his Law, his Friend and Brother *Tribune Octavius Cæcina*, who had been gained by the Nobles, opposed it. But *Gracchus* kept his Temper, and only desired the Assembly to meet again the next Day, on the same Occasion. § 30. When they were met, he endeavoured to prevail on his Collegue to desist, first by Argument, and then by Persuasion. But all being in vain, he suspended all the Magistrates from doing their Offices till the Law should pass; and then made another Attempt towards it. Upon this his Enemies removed by Violence the Preparations he had made for Voting, and Blood was ready to ensue, when upon the Interposal of two venerable Men, *Manlius* and *Fulvius*, he consented to refer his Law to the Senators. § 31. The Senate affected Delays, which *Gracchus* could not bear; and then his last recourse was to put an end to the Opposition, by depriving *Octavius* of his *Tribuneship*. Before he proceeded to this Extremity, he again several Times besought him in a very affecting Manner to prevent it by desisting; but *Octavius* being inexorable, he was deprived, and the Law passed. § 32. Then *Octavius* was dragged from the *Rostra*, and with difficulty escaped safe to his House, whilst *Gracchus* got himself, *Caius Gracchus*, and *App. Claudius* his Father-in-Law, appointed Commissioners to put the new Law in Execution; and they spent great Part of the Year in travelling about *Italy*, to procure Informations. § 33. When *Gracchus* returned from this Progress, he found by the Death of his chief Agent, that his Absence had not abated either the Hatred of the rich, or the Love of the People, towards him. This Man appeared to have been poisoned, as was supposed, by the rich; *Gracchus* took this Occasion to apply himself again for Refuge to his Protectors, who were now the more attached to him; and their Zeal encouraged him to add a new Clause to his Law, concerning the Lands usurped from the Publick. But still there was this great Difficulty in his Way, that all he could get from the rich, would not be enough to satisfy all the Expectants; and he was eased of it by the following Accident. § 34. *Attalus Philometor* King of *Pergamus*, having left his Dominions and Effects by *Will* to the *Romans*, *Eudemus* the *Pergamian*, brought his Treasures to *Rome* at this Time; and *Gracchus* immediately got a new Law passed, enacting, *That this Money should be divided among the poor* Citizens, *who could not have Lands*; *and That the disposal of the Revenues of* Pergamus *should not be in the Senate, but the* Comitia. § 35. By these Steps *Gracchus* most effectually humbled the Senate, and they were very clamorous against him; *Annius* the *Prætor* challenged him to a publick Disputation before the People, and silenced him at first with an artful Question; but afterwards the Eloquence of the *Tribune* triumphed over the Subtlety of the Sophist, and his Credit was the better established by it. § 36. Then *Gracchus* formed great Schemes of raising his Friends, and getting himself the *Tribunate* again the next Year, and in order to the latter, besought the Favour of the People. The *Patricians* raised very malicious Calumnies against him; but nevertheless, when the Time of Election came, he declared himself a Candidate. The first *Tribe* voted for him, but the rich made a Clamour which intimidated the President, and he resigned his Office to *Mummius*, who offered to accept it. The Legality of this was much disputed among the *Tribunes* themselves, and therefore *Gracchus* wisely dismissed the Assembly, and ordered them to meet again the next Day. § 37. But the unseasonable Fears of *Mummius*, and the Dispute among the *Tribunes* ruined his Cause, and he was soon sensible that his Danger was now very great. Indeed the People watched at his Door all Night, conducted him to the *Forum* in the Morning, and guarded him. But after much Clamour there, *Scipio Nasica*, at the Head of the *Conscript Fathers*, broke

Year of ROME 620.

The Licinian *Law.*

The Sempronian *Law proposed,*

and opposed by Octavius *the* Tribune,

who is deprived, and the Law passed.

Commissioners for putting the new Law in execution.

Gracchus *divides the Treasures of* Attalus *among the People.*

The Death of Tiberius Gracchus, Vid. p. 111, 112.

Year of broke into the Crowd by Violence, with an Intent to deſtroy *Gracchus*; and after
ROME ſome Time, he was killed in the Fray. Thus periſhed a Man who was endowed
620. with the greateſt Talents to aggrandize himſelf, and to do Honour to his Country; but a more formidable Enemy to *Rome*, ſays *Cicero*, than that *Numantia* which had given riſe to his Reſentments. § 38. The *Pontifical Annals* pretend his Death was foretold by Preſages; and it is certain, the Senators carried their Revenge beyond the Grave. They juſtified *Naſica* by a Decree, and approved the throwing of the dead Bodies into the *Tyber*. They proſecuted the Friends of the late *Tribune*, with great Severity, put *Caius Billius* to a cruel Death; and the Philoſopher *Bloſius*, after he had teſtified his Regard to *Gracchus* in a manner highly becoming his Profeſſion, retired to *Aſia*. § 39. However the People ſtill kept Poſſeſſion of the Law, nominated a new Commiſſioner in the room of *Gracchus*, and the *Conſcript Fathers* thought fit to ſend *Naſica* on an Embaſſy into *Aſia*, that he might be out of their way. And though *Scipio* upon his return diſapproved of the Proceedings of *Gracchus*, the Fire of Sedition was rather ſtifled than extinguiſhed in *Rome*; whilſt abroad, the Tranquillity was ſo great, that ſhe had no War to terminate, but that with the Slaves in *Sicily*, which we now come to relate. The *Conſuls* choſen for the next Year were
621. *P. Popilius Lænas*, and *P. Rupilius*.

Caius Billius *killed barbarouſly.*

320*th Conſulſhip.*

BOOK LI.

§ 1. *SICILY* being the Grainery of *Italy*, the rich Men of the Iſland, and the *Roman Knights*, engroſſed the Eſtates there as much as they could, and out of Avarice had them cultivated by Slaves inſtead of Freemen, to whom they allowed not ſufficient Neceſſaries of Cloaths, or Food. This obliged them to provide for themſelves by Robbery, till at length they came to deliberate how to deliver themſelves from Slavery. § 2. They wanted only a Leader, and *Eunus* a *Syrian* Slave was a proper Perſon for that Purpoſe. He was artful, and pretending to Predictions was the Oracle of the Country. And when the Slaves of *Damophilus* a very rich *Sicilian* and *Megallis* his termagant Wife, who had been uſed with the utmoſt Cruelty, conſulted *Eunus*, he put himſelf at their Head, took up Arms, and went and plundered the Town of *Enna* and their Maſter's Houſe. § 3. After this Victory, *Eunus* ſent for *Damophilus* and *Megallis* to be formally tried before him; but two of the Slaves tumultuouſly killed *Damophilus*. This made *Eunus* ſenſible that he wanted Authority, and therefore he firſt cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed King, and then paſſed Judgment of Death on the ſurviving Inhabitants of *Enna*, and condemned *Megallis* to be delivered up to thoſe Women-Slaves whom ſhe had treated without Mercy. § 4. Then he aſſumed all the Enſigns and Forms of Royalty, was joined by above 6000 freſh Slaves, and became ſo ſtrong, as to defeat three *Roman Prætors* ſucceſſively, in the Years 616, 617, and 618. § 5. Afterwards *Cleon* another Slave joined him with 5000 Men; and they beat *Hypſæas* the *Prætor* out of the Field, took the City of *Tauromininm*, and made it their Magazine. § 6. *Rome* therefore ſent a *Conſular* Army againſt them in 619; and in 620, the *Conſul Calpurnius Piſo* attacked the Rebels who were beſieging *Meſſana*, raiſed the Siege, and defeated them. § 7. The next Year, the *Conſul Rupilius*, beſieged *Tauromininm*, and took it by Treachery. § 8. From thence he went to *Enna*, which had the ſame Fate. *Cleon* fell into the *Conſul*'s Hand alive, but died of his Wounds; and in both Places 20000 of the Rebels periſhed. § 9. After this *Eunus* was delivered up alive to the *Conſul*, but died in Priſon; and when *Rupilius* had ſettled his Province in Peace, he refuſed a *Triumph*, becauſe it ſhould not be recorded, That *he had conquered* Slaves. He had the Virtue of the firſt Ages of *Rome*; the only Glory he ſought, was that of promoting the publick Good; and the only Reward he deſired, was the Conſciouſneſs of having ſerved his Country.

The War of the Slaves in Sicily.

Taurominium taken.

Siege of Meſſana *raiſed.*

Character of Rupilius.

§ 10. During theſe Wars, *Andronicus*, the illegitimate Son of *Eumenes*, laid Claim to the Kingdom of *Pergamus*, which *Attalus* had given by *Will* to the *Romans*, and having ſeized it, put himſelf into a Condition to maintain War with *Rome*. § 11.
622. The next Year, two Prieſts were choſen *Conſuls*, *P. Lic. Craſſus*, and *Val. Flaccus*, and after a ſharp Conteſt for *The Aſiatick Province*, *Craſſus* was ordered to go thither, and diſpoſſeſs *Andronicus*. At the ſame Time, two *Plebeians*, which had not been done for 220 Years, were choſen *Cenſors*, and they made their *Cenſorſhip*, which was reckoned the 59th, famous for a Law which they got paſſed, obliging all *Romans* to marry at a certain Age. § 12. In the mean Time, the Diſturbances about the *Sempronian* Law, were continued by the *Tribune Carbo*, who was continually complaining to the People, of the Chicaneries of the rich, in oppoſing the Execution of it. And one Day, he called on the great *Scipio*, to know his Thoughts of the Death of *Gracchus*. *Scipio* gave him an Anſwer which he little expected; and then at his

321*th Conſulſhip.* Papirius Carbo.

Scipio *silences the mutinous People.*

Instigation, the People seemed mutinous against that great Man. However *Scipio* resolutely, and intrepidly put them to Silence; and afterwards retired into the Country with his Friend *Lælius*. Year of ROME 622.

§ 13. Then *Carbo*, resolving to push the Interests of the *Tribunes* as far as possible, proposed a Law to make the Office of *Tribuneship* to continue during the Pleasure of the People, without coming to new Elections; and *C. Gracchus* supported him with all his Eloquence. But *Scipio* and *Lælius* opposed it with all their Interest, and got it rejected.

§ 14. In the mean time, *Crassus* set out for *Asia*, depending on Succours from the neighbouring Provinces; but he found neither *Syria* nor *Egypt* in any Condition to assist him. In *Syria*, *Antiochus Sidetes* had been killed by the Priests of a *Parthian* Goddess, whom he pretended to marry, and whose Temple he was going to plunder; and *Demetrius* was scarce settled in the Throne. In *Egypt*, *Euergetes*, after the most shocking Incests, had been deprived, and his divorced Wife *Cleopatra* crowned; upon which he had killed the Son he had by her, cut him in pieces, and sent him as a Present to her, and she was now offering *Demetrius* the King of *Syria*, the Crown of *Egypt*, if he would revenge her Quarrel.

Antiochus Sidetes *killed.*

Euergetes's *shocking Incest and Cruelty.*

§ 15. *Crassus* therefore had recourse to the Kings of *Pontus*, *Cappadocia*, *Bithynia*, and *Paphlagonia*, who all furnished him with Troops, and he marched towards *Pergamus* at the Head of four Armies rather than one. But *Andronicus* lay in Ambush for him as he was returning towards *Rome* with a great Booty, surprized him, defeated his Army, and in the rout took him Prisoner. Then, enraged at his Disgrace, he with a Rod he had in his Hand, struck out the Eye of a *Thracian* Soldier, who was conducting him; upon which the Soldier drew his Sword, stabbed him, and left him dead on the Spot.

The Consul Crassus *killed.*

§ 16. The next Year, *Claud. Pulcher*, and *M. Perperna* a Soldier of Fortune, and not so much as a *Roman Citizen*, were promoted to the *Consulate*; and the latter marched against *Andronicus* with the same Auxiliaries as *Crassus* had done, but pursued him, with such Vigour, that he overtook, and defeated him. Then he besieged him in *Stratonica*, reduced the Place by Famine, took the King Prisoner, and reserved him to grace his *Triumph*. But *Perperna* killed himself with the Fatigue he underwent, and died at *Pergamus*. And the *Romans* very ungratefully delivered up his Father to the *Sabines*, and denied even a *Roman Citizenship*, to the Man whose Son had just conquered a Kingdom for them. 623.

322*d Consulship.*

Perperna *takes* Andronicus *Prisoner, and dies.*

§ 17. In the mean time, the Disturbances in *Rome* were daily encreased by the *Tribunes of the People*; and *Labeo*, who was at the Head of them, seized *Metellus* the *Censor*, (who had refused him a Place in the Senate) at Noon-day, and ordered him to be put to Death. This indeed was prevented by the Interposition of another *Tribune*, but *Labeo* got a Law passed, which gave all the *Tribunes* Seats among the Senators, and confiscated the Estate of the great *Macedonicus*.

The Ingratitude of Rome *to him.*

The Insolence of Labeo.

§ 18. In the next *Consulate* of *C. Sempronius Tuditanus* and *M. Aquillius*, fresh Troubles were raised on account of the *Sempronian Law*. The Commissioners for putting it in execution, were continually stirring up the People against the rich by their Complaints; and the *Allies* of *Rome* complained as much of the Injustice of the Commissioners. *Scipio* therefore took the latter under his Protection, and got the *Consul Sempronius* nominated to supersede the old Commissioners; but *Sempronius* went to his Province, and left *Scipio* to stand the Hatred of the three Commissioners, who charged him with the most odious Designs. 624.

323*d Consulship.*

§ 19. That of the *Dictatorship* was indeed probably true; but it was no matter of just Reproach to him, tho' he was greatly calumniated for it: and after some time, which the City spent in Expiations, and himself in Retirement, he returned to the City, and moved the Senate to displace the Commissioners.

§ 20. This drew upon him the grossest Abuses from *Flaccus*, who was one of them; and the Dispute between them lasted so long that no Decree could that Day be passed. However, the Senate and People made him abundant amends for the Abuses he suffered, by the publick Honours they did him, and seemed determined to make him *Dictator* the next Day. But in the Morning, to the great Grief and Surprize of all true *Romans*, the Hero was found dead in his Bed.

Scipio *murdered.*

§ 21. In all Probability, his Wife *Sempronia* let the Commissioners into his House, and *Carbo* murdered, whilst his two Colleagues held him. Thus died this illustrious Hero, whose Talents and Exploits were so equal to those of *The first Africanus*, that *Rome* herself could not determine which was superior. Their Characters, their Conduct, their Tempers, and their Honours, were equally great; and to the indelible Reproach of their Country, one died with Grief in a kind of Exile, and the other a violent Death, in *Rome*. Such are the Rewards of a Life spent with Glory, in a republican State! 622.

The Ingratitude of Republicks.

§ 22. During these Barbarities at *Rome*, the *Consul Tuditanus* went to *Illyricum*, put an end to a War there, and upon his return *triumphed*. In like manner his Colleague *Aquillius* enjoyed the same Honour in the Year of *Rome* 627, for subduing *Nicomedes*, tho' he did it by the most execrable and inhuman Breach of the Laws of Nations. He poisoned the Springs which supplied the several Towns with Water.

§ 23. And now, the Time destined came, for burning up the Temple of Jupiter

Year of ROME
625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630.

Rome had no military Expedition for either *Cn. Octavius*, or *T. Annius*, her new *Consuls*. The People gave themselves up to Pleasures, Luxury, and Licentiousness; which increased in the succeeding *Consulate* of *L. Cass. Longinus*, and *L. Corn. Cinna*: in whose Time the Senate pardoned the City of *Leuca*, in *Asia*, which they had ordered to be razed, in Gratitude to their constant Friends the Inhabitants of *Marseilles*, who interposed in its Favour. § 24. But when *M. Æmil. Lepidus* and *L. Aurelius Orestes* succeeded, this general Tranquillity was a little interrupted by a Revolt in *Sardinia*, which fell to the Lot of *Aurelius*, and young *C. Gracchus* was his *Quæstor*. *Gracchus* had for some Time retired from publick Life, and applied himself to Eloquence, in which he excelled; but now, under Pretence of a Vision, in which his Brother *Tiberius* appeared to him, and foretold his Fate, he appeared for the *Quæstorship*, and obtained it. § 25. Before he set out for *Sardinia*, he made a fresh Trial of his Eloquence in opposing a Law proposed by *Pennus* the *Tribune*, and failed in the Attempt. But he was of great Use to his *Consul* in his Province, by supplying the Army with Cloaths and Subsistence by his own Interest. §. 26. At the same time, *Rome* was alarmed with the Eruptions of Mount *Ætna*, which threatened *Sicily*; and the Senate grew more and more apprehensive of Danger, from the Popularity *Gracchus* acquired in the Army, by his Benefactions to the Soldiers. They had also the Mortification to see *Fulvius Flaccus*, one of the Commissioners, promoted to the *Consulate* with *Plautius Hypsæus*: and in order to lessen the Interest of *Gracchus* among the Troops, they ordered those Troops to be recalled, and fresh ones sent in their room. § 27. In the City, the *Consul Fulvius*, to ingratiate himself with the *Allies*, drew up two new Laws, by one of which he proposed *to give the Right of Citizenship to all those who had had no Share of the Lands*, the Nobility having in vain desired him to desist, there was reason to fear an immediate Rupture. However, the People of *Marseilles* came to desire the Assistance of *Rome* against the *Salyes*, who had ravaged their Country; and this gave the Senate an Opportunity to send *Fulvius* to *Liguria*, and the pleasing Hopes of procuring Peace to the Republick. But as soon as he was gone, § 28. The *Italian Allies* broke out into open Violence. The Inhabitants of *Fregellæ* began the Rebellion; but their chief Leader *Numitorius Pullus* was terrified into a Discovery of the whole Plot, and when a *Roman* Army was sent against them, they, upon his Advice, submitted, and their City was razed; which stifled the Sedition for some time. § 29. All seemed quiet, at the Advancement of *C. Cassius Longinus*, and *C. Sextius Calvinus*, to the *Consulship*, but this Calm was of short Duration. *C. Gracchus* was weary of his *Pro-Quæstorship* in *Sardinia*, and in Defiance of all Law, returned to *Rome* before it was expired. He was therefore accused before the *Censors*, but so far imposed on his Judges, by his Eloquence, that they acquitted him; and then, flushed with this Success, he thought this the Crisis, for pushing for the *Tribuneship*, which he sollicited with the utmost Diligence and Application. § 30. This roused the Senate, to be more active in opposing him; and his excellent Mother *Cornelia* was very pressing on him to desist. She wrote him among others, two very affecting Letters, upon this Subject; in which she labours to divert him from his Design, with such Tenderness and Affection both for him and her Country, as shew her worthy of the Statue, which the Senate permitted the People to erect to her Honour. § 31. But neither her Intreaties, nor Commands, could prevail; he pursued his Point, and succeeded. He was one of the most perfect Orators *Rome* had ever bred; and his Fellow-*Triumvir Fulvius Flaccus* soon returned from *Marseilles*, to second him in his furious Attempts. *Gracchus* assisted *Fulvius* in getting him a *Triumph* for an Expedition of little Importance, and *Fulvius* was ready to support *Gracchus* in all his Enterprizes. § 32. So that all Things seemed to tend to a Sedition in *Rome*, when *Q. Cæcil. Metellus*, and *T. Quinctius Flamininus*, were made *Consuls*. *Gracchus* began his *Tribuneship* with two Laws, which had a particular View to gratify his Resentments on two particular Persons; and afterwards repealed one of them, at the Desire of *Cornelia*. From private he proceeded to publick Revenge, got his Brother's Law confirmed, new Commissioners appointed for the Distribution of Lands, repaired and improved the publick Roads, and had a Law passed which enacted, *That publick Granaries for Corn should be erected in* Rome, *at the Expence of the State; and That monthly Distributions should be made from thence to every* Citizen *that wanted it, at a very low Price.* § 33. In order to enable the Treasury to bear this Expence, he got Customs laid on all the Ports in *Pergamus*; and passed several other Laws relating to the Service and Cloathing of the Troops, which were very agreeable to the Commons. By these Means he acquired such an absolute Ascendant over them, that he was in a manner become the Master of the World. This could not but raise the Hatred of the Nobility, who would unite all their Interest to crush him, as soon as his Office should expire; and therefore to prevent this, *Flaccus* pressed him to sollicit for the *Tribunate* a second Time, and he succeeded. § 34. During these Attacks on the Senate at *Rome*, the *Consul Metellus* went to the *Baleares* Islands, subdued

324th Consulship.

325th Consulship.

326th Consulship.

C. Gracchus *chosen* Quæstor.

The Fulvian *Laws.*

Fregellæ *rebels, and is razed.*

328th Consulship.

Cornelia's *Letters to* C. Gracchus.

Fulvius *triumphs.*

329th Consulship.

New Laws by C. Gracchus.

C. Gracchus *chosen* Tribune *a 2d Time.*

327th Consulship.

The Inhabitants of the Baleares *Iſlands barbarouſly treated by the* Romans.

The Salyes *ſubdued by* Sextius.

His Gratitude to Crato.

Aix *in* Provence *founded.*

330th Conſulſhip.

dued thoſe poor helpleſs Barbarians, and after his return had a *Triumph*. Out of 30000 of thoſe poor Wretches he ſcarce left 1000 alive. § 35. At the ſame time, the *Conſul Sextius* marched to a more difficult Work, the War in *Tranſalpine Gaul*. But after one Victory over the *Salyes*, he found no Difficulty in ſubduing the whole Nation. He beſieged the Capital, and took it; and gained much on the Affections of the People, by a generous Gratitude to a *Gaul*, named *Crato*, who had ſuffered much from his Countrymen, on account of his Fidelity to the *Romans*. *Sextius* not only gave him his Liberty and Effects, but leave to chooſe out 900 among the Slaves, who ſhould all have their Liberty at his Requeſt. And then, to ſecure his new Conqueſt, the *Conſul* founded *Aix* in *Provence*. § 36. Upon his return to *Rome*, he found the Republick thrown into great Diſorders by *Gracchus*, who to gain over the *Roman Knights* to his Intereſt, firſt drew up a Law for making 600 of them Senators; and this failing, paſſed a Law, whereby he took the Cognizance of all private Cauſes out of the Hands of the Senators, and put it in the *Knights*, which was in effect making the Senators the inferior Order. § 37. This Succeſs emboldened him to proceed ſo far as to ſollicit for the *Conſulſhip*, in ſuch Terms as led the People to conclude, that he intended to appear for it himſelf. But he only recommended his Friend *Fannius*, who was choſen with *Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus*; and then he proceeded to offer another Inſult on the Senate, by changing the Seats of the *Plebeians* in the *Comitium*. They had hitherto been ſo placed, that the Perſons who harangued them, at the ſame Time faced the Senate. But *Gracchus* by altering their Situation contrived it ſo, that when he harangued the Commons, he turned his Back on the Senators; and this at laſt opened the Eyes of the *Conſcript Fathers*. § 38. They undertook to prevail on the *Conſul Fannius* to oppoſe *Gracchus*, and ſucceeded. He proteſted againſt the Law for giving the *Allies* a right of Suffrage; and when the *Allies* came in Crowds to countenance their Protector, and *Fannius* found that nothing but Violence would drive them thence, he dragged ſome of them through the Streets, and turned them out by force. Nor did this even content the *Patricians*. § 39. They got *Livius*, one of the *Tribunes*, into their Meaſures; and inſtead of deſiring him to oppoſe *Gracchus* openly as uſual, they very artfully adviſed him to endeavour to undermine him, by rivalling him in Popularity. So that if *Gracchus* propoſed any Thing for the Intereſt of the People, *Livius* immediately propoſed ſomething elſe, which was more ſo, and thereby eclipſed the former. § 40. *Livius* was likewiſe leſs impetuous, and more circumſpect than *Gracchus*, and thereby made himſelf fewer Enemies. However, the latter was not long inſenſible, that his Intereſt by being divided was leſſened; and he now began to ſhew ſome Reſpect to the *Fathers*, who returned it with greater Civilities. But their Maſter-piece was yet behind. § 41. They prevailed on *Rubrius*, another *Tribune*, to propoſe a Law, for raiſing 6000 *Romans* to re-build and re-people *Carthage*, and to nominate *Gracchus* to be the Leader of the Colony; and he fell into the Snare. He went to *Africa*, and ſpent ſome Months there; but before he could finiſh his new City, which he called *Junonia*, the Senate had him recalled, and upon his return he met with a very cold Reception. § 42. *Livius* had got the Aſcendant during his Abſence; and *Gracchus* was ſoon ſo ſenſible of this, that all his Friends could do, was little enough to keep up his dejected Spirits. However, he took ſome Steps to prevail on the People to elect him *Tribune* the third Time, which was his laſt Game; but at the ſame Time he very imprudently affronted almoſt all the reſt of his Collegues. He beat down the Scaffolds nine of them had erected for ſeeing a Show of *Gladiators*, under Pretence of better accommodating the poor *Citizens*; and thereby provoked thoſe *Tribunes* to reſolve on Revenge, which they ſoon had an Opportunity to execute.

The Artifice of Livius.

Junonia *founded.*

BOOK LII.

331ſt Conſulſhip.

M. Minucius *endeavours to repeal the Law about rebuilding* Carthage.

§ 1. WHEN the Election came on, the old *Tribunes*, whoſe Buſineſs it was to collect the Votes, ſo counted them, that the Majority was declared to be againſt *Gracchus*; and it was a farther Aggravation of his Diſappointment, that *L. Opimius* his open Enemy was choſen *Conſul*, with *Q. Fabius Maximus Æmilianus*. § 2. When thus deprived of the Magiſtracy, *Gracchus* had recourſe to the Law for re-building *Carthage*. He and *Fulvius* raiſed 6000 Men for that Purpoſe; and were then informed that the Law would be repealed. This News brought them to *Rome*, where they found that the Senators had given the *Tribune M. Minucius* Inſtructions for that Purpoſe; and his chief Argument to the People was built on the pretended Prodigies at *Carthage* when the Work was begun. *Gracchus* therefore mounted the *Roſtra* once more, to diſprove this Pretence; and, driven on by the Fury of *Fulvius*, he inſulted the Senate, in a manner not to be forgiven. § 3. On the Day the *Comitia* met, *Fulvius* poſted ſome of his People in the Area before the *Capitol*; and *Gracchus*

Out of Year of *ROME* 630.

631.

632.

Year of ROME 632. *Gracchus*, retired to one of the Portico's of the Temple. There *Antillius* one of the *Conſul*'s *Lictors*, as he was bringing out the Entrails of a Sacrifice which the *Conſul* had made in the Temple, inſulted *Gracchus* and his Friends; upon which one of his Domeſticks drew a Dagger and laid him dead at his Feet. This Accident, together with a ſudden Storm, diſperſed the Aſſembly; and *Gracchus* was deeply affected all Night with what had happened. The furious *Fulvius* on the other hand rejoiced at it, drank hard, and ſlept ſound, till the Noiſe the next Day awoke him. The *Conſul Opimius* had taken Poſſeſſion of the *Capitol*, ordered the Senate to aſſemble, and the dead Body to be laid at the Gate of the Temple where they were to meet.

A Lictor killed in the Capitol by one of Gracchus's *Servants.*

§ 4. As ſoon as they were aſſembled, the *Conſul* repreſented to them the Neceſſity of ſuppreſſing the Sedition, and they gave him an abſolute Power to do ſo. When thus authorized, he immediately ordered a Body of armed Men to take Poſſeſſion of the *Capitol*; and *Fulvius*, on this News, poſted himſelf on the Hill *Aventinus*. *Gracchus* was not ſo haſty; but at laſt, notwithſtanding the moſt tender and affecting Intreaties of his Wife, he followed *Fulvius* thither. § 5. Then they reſolved to fortify the Temple of *Diana*, and invite the Slaves to aſſiſt them, but firſt to offer a Treaty: And *Gracchus* prevailed on *Fulvius* to ſend his youngeſt Son, a very beautiful and very ſenſible Youth, on the Embaſſy. *Opimius* received the Child with deriſion, and ſent him back with an Order to return no more. But *Fulvius* ſent him a ſecond Time, and then the *Conſul* ordered him to be impriſoned; and immediately attacked the Rebels. 250 of them were killed in the Fray, and the reſt deſerted their Chiefs and returned home. *Fulvius* and his Son fled to a Friend's Houſe for Refuge, but were both betrayed and murdered there. *Gracchus* retired firſt to the Temple of *Diana*, then to a ſacred Wood dedicated to the *Furies*, there ordered a Servant to diſpatch him, and the faithful Slave firſt killed his Maſter, and then himſelf. § 6. As ſoon as *Gracchus* was found, one of the Mob cut off his Head, and as he was carrying it to the *Conſul*, one of *Gracchus*'s Friends ſnatched it from him, baſely went with it to the *Conſul* to get the Reward ſet upon it, which was its Weight in Gold; and put a Cheat upon the *Conſul*, by firſt pouring Lead into the Scull. The Body was firſt thrown into the *Tyber*, and then brought to *Sempronia*, who paid it all Funeral Honours. That Heroine ſpent the Remainder of her Life in a moſt glorious Retirement, and had Magnanimity enough never to mention her Sons more, but with indifference. Even the tenderneſs of a Mother was a leſs powerful Paſſion in her Breaſt, than the Love of her Country. *Opimius* cruelly obliged the innocent Son of *Fulvius*, who had only obeyed his Father's Commands, to kill himſelf; and as inhumanly refuſed burial to the Bodies of thoſe who had been ſlain.

Opimius *ſeizes the Capitol*, Fulvius *and* Gracchus *the Hill* Aventinus.

A Battle in Rome.

Fulvius *and his Son killed.*

Gracchus *killed.*

Sempronia's *greatneſs of Mind.*

The Cruelty of Opimius.

§ 7. During theſe Troubles, the late *Conſul Domitius* was ſucceſsfully ſpreading the Terror of the *Roman* Arms in *Gaul*. After the Reduction of the *Salyes*, he obſerved the *Allobroges* to be uneaſy, and to prevent their being joined by the *Arverni*, he entered into an Alliance with the faithful *Ædui*, their Neighbours. Upon this, the *Arverni* began Hoſtilities with the *Ædui*, who complained to *Domitius*; and *Bitultick*, the King of the *Arverni* boldly ordered him to leave *Gaul*. But the *Roman* beat the *Allobroges* in a pitched Battle at *Vindalia*, killed 20000 *Gauls*, and took 3000 Priſoners. § 8. Then *Bitultick* raiſed an Army of 200000 Men, and

633. came up with the *Romans*, after the Advancement of *P. Manilius*, and *C. Papirius Carbo*, to the *Conſulate*. But the *Romans* eaſily defeated this undiſciplined Multitude; and *Domitius* baſely deceived the credulous *Gaul*, and under Pretence of an amicable Treaty, firſt got him into his Power, and then ſeized, and ſent him Priſoner to *Rome*. § 9. Upon this, the *Allobroges* ſubmitted; and *Fabius* and *Domitius*, after they had erected *Trophies* in the Country, returned to the Capital, where the Senate confirmed the Baſeneſs of *Domitius*, by a freſh Act of Injuſtice. They not only detained the injured *Bitultick*, and baſely expoſed him in the *Triumphs* of his Conquerors; but ſent for his Son a Priſoner thither, and had him educated there. § 10 In the mean time *Decius Mus*, one of the *Tribunes*, endeavoured to recover the Power and Credit of the People by accuſing the late *Conſul Opimius* of the Death of *Gracchus*. But the *Conſul Carbo*, had ſo much Influence on the People, that they acquitted him, thereby reſtoring Tranquillity to the Senate; and *L. Cæcilius Metellus* was elected *Conſul*, with *L. Aurelius Cotta*. § 11. The

The Battle of Vindalia.

332*d Conſulſhip.*

The Treachery of Domitius, *and Injuſtice of the Senate.*

634. latter ſpent his Summer in *Gaul*, the former, in *Illyricum*; where he ſubdued the *Segeſtani*, made War unjuſtly on the *Dalmati*, and tho' they received him without a Battle, aſſumed the Title of *Dalmaticus*, and according to *Appian*, was honoured with a *Triumph* for his pretended Conqueſt. § 12. In the mean time *Craſſus*, a young Orator of great Character, accuſed the late *Conſul Papirius* of State Crimes, with ſuch Strength and Life, that, according to *Val. Maximus*, he poiſoned himſelf. And it ought to be remembered to the Honour of the young *Roman*, That he generouſly diſdained to make uſe of baſe Means to carry on his Accuſation; for when one of the Slaves of the accuſed brought his private Papers which he had ſtolen, to the

333*d Conſulſhip.*

The Injuſtice of the Roman Generals.

Papirius Carbo *poiſons himſelf.*

The Generosity of young Crassus *the Orator.*

Accuser, the generous *Roman* had such an Abhorrence of the Treachery, that he sent back the Slave in Chains, and the Box unopened. § 13. And now, the famous *Marius* first appeared in publick Office as *Tribune of the People*, and soon discovered his true Character, which was, That his Vices and Virtues, like his Prosperity and Misfortunes, were all excessive in their kind. He proposed making the Bridges narrower over which the People passed to vote; this the *Consul Cotta* opposed, and *Metellus*, *the Prince of the Senate*, upon an Appeal, determined in his Favour. But the *Tribune* immediately ordered one of his Officers to seize *Metellus*, and carry him to Prison; and by that Means gained his Point. He likewise opposed a Distribution of Corn among the Poor, and thereby acquired for the present, the Reputation of Integrity; but it was not long before he undeceived the People.

Year of ROME 634.

C. Marius *Tribune of the People. His Character.*

334th Consulship.

§ 14. The next Promotion to the *Consulate*, was that of *M. Porcius Cato*, and *Q. Marcius Rex.* The former died soon in *Numidia*, and left the latter sole *Consul* for almost the whole Year. Before he went to *Transalpine Gaul*, he lost his Son; and on that Occasion affected a great show of false Magnanimity, in pretending not to be at all afflicted with his Loss. It was then very absurdly imagined to be beneath the Dignity of a Philosopher, to be affected by those Passions, which, under due Regulations, are an Honour to human Nature. When he came to his Province, he formed a Design to clear a Way for the *Roman* Armies from the *Alpes* to the *Pyrenees*; and the next Year put it in Execution. The *Stœni* opposed it with great Courage; and when they found the *Romans* had surrounded them, their Hopes of another Life made them despise this with Slavery, and they burned their Houses, killed their Wives and Children, and threw themselves into the Flames. After this, *Marcius* founded the City of *Narbonne*, by a Colony first called *Narbo Marcius* from himself, to secure his Conquest; and returned to *Rome*, and *Triumphed*. § 15. The new *Consuls L. Cæcilius Metellus*, and *Q. Mucius Scævola* were already near the End of their Year, which was so peaceable, that the *Romans* had little else to do, but to attend their Superstitions; and their Successors *C. Licinius Geta* and *Q. Fabius Eburnus* had as little Opportunity to acquire Glory as themselves. Now, *C. Marius* stood for the *Prætorship*, and with great difficulty obtained it, by Corruption. For this he was accused before the People, but escaped Censure. § 16. The next Year *Æmilius Scaurus*, and *L. Cæcilius Metellus* were created *Consuls*. The former had raised his Family out of the Dust, and now maintained his Dignity with much Grandeur and Constancy; punished the Insolence of the *Prætor Decius Mus*, who refused to pay him due Honour, with great Courage and Severity; and revived the Dignity of the *Consulate* so far, as to propose Laws in the *Comitia*, by one of which he restrained the excessive Luxury of the *Romans*. By this Means, he still preserved some Order in *Rome*, and his Zeal for Order was well seconded by the venerable *Censors*, *L. Metellus Dalmaticus*, and *Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus*. They struck two and thirty unworthy Senators out of the Roll, proscribed Games of Hazard and Concerts of Musick, and nominated *Scaurus*, *Prince of the Senate*. § 17. From *Rome*, *Scaurus* marched to *Gaul*, where he, without Difficulty, subdued the *Gentisci* and *Carni*; and spent the rest of the Summer, in employing his Troops, in making a very good Road through a miry and almost impassible Country. He begun and finished *The Way* from the Gate of *Luna* to *Dertona*, and at his Return the Republick decreed him a *Triumph*.

634.

635.

636.

637.

638.

The false Magnanimity of the Romans.

335th Consulship.

336th Consulship.

C. Marius *Prætor.*

337th Consulship.

Æmilius Scaurus *revives the Honour of the* Consulate.

L. Metellus Dalmaticus, Cn. Dom. Ahenobarbus, *Censors.*

Scaurus, Prince of the Senate.

338th Consulship.

The Courage of the Stœni.

Narbonne *founded.*

§ 18. *M' Acilius Balbus*, and *C. Porcius Cato* were then honoured with the *Consular Fasces*. *Transalpine Gaul* was now reduced to the State of a *Prætorian* Province; and *Porcius* was sent to reduce the *Scordisci* in *Thrace*, who had made Incursions on *Macedon*. Those Barbarians burnt their Captives alive for Sacrifices, and made Cups of their Sculls; and when *Porcius* came near them, they drew him into impassible Places, and cut off all his Army to a Man, *Porcius* himself only escaped. But *T. Didius*, the *Roman Prætor* in *Illyricum*, soon repaired the Loss, and drove the Enemy back to their own Country. For this, the *Romans* honoured him with a *Triumph*; and tho' they did not expressly condemn *Porcius* for his Misfortune, they took occasion to accuse him unjustly of Oppression, and under that Pretence, banished him to *Tarragona*. § 19 And now, an infamous Intrigue was discovered, between several of the *Vestals*, and their Gallants. *L. Betucius Barrus*, a professed Debauchee began the Incest with *Æmilia*, who drew in *Licinia* and *Marcia* to the like Crimes. Upon the Accusation of a Slave, *Betucius* and *Æmilia* were condemned to the usual Punishment; but the *Pontifices*, to give the less Scandal, by lessening the Number of the condemned, acquitted *Licinia* and *Marcia*. This raised great Clamours among the People; and *Seduceius*, § 20. One of the *Tribunes*, revived the Affair, and brought it before them. They nominated *Lucius Crassus*, *Prætor*, to rehear the Cause; and he condemned the *Vestals* to be burnt alive, and their Accomplices to be whipped to Death. Nor did this satisfy the Commons, till a Temple was built to *Venus*, under the Appellation of *Verticordia*, because the Goddess was here to be implored *to turn the Hearts* of the *Roman* Women

639.

Porcius *defeated by the* Scordisci.

T. Didius *Triumphs.*

Porcius *banished.*

The Incontinence of the Vestals punished.

A Temple erected to Venus Verticordia.

Year of Virtue. ROME 639. to 641.

§ 21. In the mean time, the *Cimbri* and *Teutones*, left their Country, which was *Jutland* and its Neighbourhood, and marched Southward, in search of new Habitations. The first attacked the *Boii*, who soon drove them from their Country; and they were now penetrated so low as *Vindelicia*, and committing Devastations on the Banks of the *Drave*. *Rome* therefore, as soon as *Caius Cæcilius Metellus*, and *Cn. Papirius Carbo*, her new *Consuls*, were chosen, sent the latter against them. *Metellus* was ordered to subdue the *Scordisci* in *Macedon*, which he did so effectually, that upon his Return he was honoured with a *Triumph*, and with this most agreeable Circumstance; That his Brother, who was now returned from suppressing the Rebellion in *Sardinia* and *Corsica*, after two Years Labours and Victories there, was ordered to *Triumph* with him. § 22. But *Papirius* was not so successful against the *Cimbri*. They offered him a Peace, which he pretended to accept; and afterwards, by corrupting their Guides, treacherously drew them into a Snare, as he imagined, and attacked their Camp. But they resisted him with such Bravery, that they entirely routed his *Legions*; and then, to the great Joy of *Rome*, instead of entering *Italy*, they turned their Arms towards the *Helvetii*. § 23. This Deliverance quickened the Zeal of the *Romans* in punishing all Accomplices in the late Guilt of the *Vestals*, and the famous Orator *M. Antonius*, the Grandfather of *M. Anthony* was accused, but honourably acquitted. And now, *Rome* was in such Tranquillity, that she had only the *Scordisci* to extirpate, when *M. Livius Drusus*, and *L. Calpurnius Piso* were honoured with the *Consulate*; and she sent *Drusus* against them, who after some Time obliged them to quit their Country, and settle on the other Side the *Danube*. So that the *Romans* might have shut the Temple of *Janus*, if they had not been under some Apprehensions from *Jugurtha*.

An Inundation of Cimbri and Teutones.

339th Consulship.

The Consul C. Cæcilius and his Brother triumph together.

The Consul Papirius defeated by the Cimbri.

340th Consulship.

BOOK LIII.

§ 1. THIS Prince, tho' the Grandson of *Massinissa*, was not Heir to his Grandfather's Kingdom, because illegitimate. § 2. Nevertheless, King *Micipsa* his Father's Brother, had had him educated with his own Sons *Adherbal* and *Hiempsal*; and growing jealous of him, had sent him to the Siege of *Numantia*, in hopes of getting rid of him; but after his Return from thence with Glory, he adopted him to be Joint-Heir of his Kingdom with his Cousins. § 3. No sooner was the old King dead, than *Jugurtha* got *Hiempsal* murdered, and in a short Time, made himself Master of almost the whole Kingdom. *Adherbal* therefore came to *Rome*, to lay his Complaints before the Senate. § 4. *Jugurtha*, sensible how much this might affect him, made his Application there likewise, and knowing how venal the *Romans* were, made no doubt of succeeding by Money. He furnished his Ministers plentifully; and when the Cause came to be debated before the *Fathers*, his Presents were soon found to have more Weight, than the just Complaint and unquestionable Rights of *Adherbal*. They took no notice of the Assassination, or Usurpation; but only ordered ten Commissioners to go to *Africa*, to divide the Kingdom between the Brothers. § 5. As soon as the Commissioners arrived, *Jugurtha* corrupted *Opimius*, the Chief of them, and *Prince of the Senate*; and they made a very partial Division in his Favour. This so much encouraged him, that not content with the better, he attacked and invaded his Brother's worser Part of the Kingdom; and having at last with much Difficulty, drawn *Adherbal* into the Field, defeated his Army, and besieged *Cirtha* his Capital.

Jugurtha *not Heir to the Crown of* Numidia, *because illegitimate, but adopted to it by* Micipsa. Hiempsal killed, *and the Kingdom usurped.* *The Venality of the* Roman *Senate.* Opimius *corrupted.* Jugurtha *besieges* Cirtha.

§ 6. Nevertheless, the Usurper's Money had such Effect, that *Rome* only sent a kind of mock Commission to *Africa*, to persuade the Parties to Peace; and the Commissioners finding *Jugurtha* untractable, returned without seeing *Adherbal*, who was shut up in the besieged City. As soon as they were gone, *Jugurtha* pursued the Siege, and *Adherbal* sent a very just Complaint to the *Roman* Senate. But they only ordered a fresh Commission, which came to *Utica*, and summoned *Jugurtha* to appear before them. § 7. After some Difficulty he obeyed. The Commissioners readily accepted of his Excuses, and returned, without ordering him to raise the Siege. After their Departure, he forced the City to surrender by Capitulation; and when he had taken it, very perfidiously broke his Promise, put the Inhabitants to Death, and killed *Adherbal* with Tortures in his own Palace. § 8. Nor would even these enormous Crimes have been punished by the *Romans*, if the Commons had not interposed. But upon the Complaint of one of their *Tribunes* to them, the Senate were in a manner forced to order that one of the new *Consuls* should go to *Numidia*. This happened to be *L. Calpurnius Bestia*, a Man extremely avaritious, who was promoted with a much more worthy Collegue, *P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica*.

The Corruption of the Senate, and their Commissioners. Cirtha *taken, and* Adherbal *basely tortured to Death by* Jugurtha.

642. *341st Consulship.*

§ 9. *Bestia*,

Beſtia's *Corruption.* — § 9. *Beſtia*, after he had rendered a freſh Embaſſy from *Jugurtha* fruitleſs, haſtened to *Africa* with an Army; there brought the King to a Conference, and he and *Scaurus* ſold the Intereſt and Honour of their Country. — Year of *ROME* 642.

The Conſul Naſica *dies.* — § 10. He made a Peace with *Jugurtha* upon Terms very diſhonourable for *Rome*; and ſoon after his Collegue *Naſica* died, in his Office, which haſtened *Beſtia*'s return, to preſide at the next

342*d Conſulſhip.* — Elections. — § 11. The Perſons promoted were *M. Minucius Rufus*, and *Sp.* — 643.
Poſtumius Albinus, to whom *Macedon* was allotted for his Province. Thither he marched to reduce the *Scordiſci*, whom he conquered by Stratagem; and after a two

Albinus *triumphs.* — Years ſucceſsful Expedition, he returned to *Rome*, and was honoured with a *Triumph* for it. — § 12. In the mean time, the People of *Rome* looked with Deteſta-

C. Memmius's *Speech to the People, p.* 210. — tion on the Peace ſold to *Jugurtha*; and at the Motion of *C. Memmius*, one of their *Tribunes*, ordered him to be ſummoned to appear before them. *Caſſius* the *Prætor*, a Man of unſpotted Probity, was ſent to *Africa* with this Decree; and when he landed there, — § 13. He found the Army univerſally corrupted, and had great Difficulty to perſuade the King to obey the Summons. But at laſt he complied, and came to *Rome* where, by bribing *Caius Bæbius Sulca*, one of the *Tribunes*, he eſcaped even without cenſure. — § 14. This Impunity made him ſtill more audacious; and, hearing that his Relation *Maſſiva*, demanded the Crown of *Numidia* of the *Romans*, he reſolved to have him aſſaſſinated, even in *Rome* itſelf. *Bomilcar*, his Confident, took care of the Execution; and upon the Diſcovery, *Jugur-*

Maſſiva *aſſaſſinated.* — *tha* firſt contrived his Eſcape, and then fled to *Africa* himſelf, with this ſevere, but

Jugurtha's *Reflection on* Rome. — juſt Reflection on the City, That *ſhe would even ſell herſelf, as ſoon as ſhe could find any one rich enough to give her her Price.* — § 15. Immediately after his Departure, the Senate diſannulled the pretended Peace made with him, and the *Conſul Poſtumius* ſoon followed him to *Africa*, to command the *Roman* Army there. But the artful *Numidian* found means to divert him from Action, and protract the Time, till he forced him to return to *Rome* without effecting any Thing.

The Licinian *Law againſt Luxury.* — § 16. Upon his return, he found great Diſturbances in *Rome*, occaſioned by ſome *Tribunes of the People*. *Licinius* had paſſed a Law againſt Luxury; and *Mamilius* another, for erecting a Tribunal to try thoſe whom *Jugurtha* had corrupted. Upon this Merit, they endeavoured to get themſelves continued in their Office; and *Annius* (upon what Plea is not ſaid) joined in this Attempt. But this ended only in pro-

343*d Conſulſhip.* — tracting the Elections; which at laſt came on, and *Q. Cæcilius Metellus*, with *M. Ju-* — 644.
nius Silanus, were choſen *Conſuls*. — § 17. The latter was ſent to *Narbonne Gaul* to prevent the threatened Incurſions of the *Cimbri*, and others; and he gave them

Silanus *defeated.* — Battle. But they routed his Army at the firſt Onſet, and except the Cities which they could not take for want of underſtanding Sieges, the whole Province was expoſed to their Rapines. — § 18. *Metellus* made War in *Numidia* with better Succeſs.

A. Poſtumius *and his Army* paſs under the Yoke. — *Aulus Poſtumius*, whom his Brother had left in the Command, had been ſurrounded by *Jugurtha*, baſely conſented to a ſhameful Peace, and with his whole Army had *paſſed under the Yoke.* His Brother the *Conſul*, — § 19. Would fain have repaired this Loſs; but the People refuſed to grant him any new Levies, which they reſerved for his Succeſſor *Metellus*.

On him they founded all their Hopes of Succeſs; and he made his Preparations with great Care and Wiſdom. His firſt Step was to chooſe himſelf good Subalterns,

C. Marius. — among whom was the famous *Marius*; and when he came to *Africa*, — § 20. He ſpent the whole Summer, in inuring his diſorderly Troops to Diſcipline. — § 21. After this, he faught the *Numidian* with his own Weapons, oppoſing Artifice with Artifice; never marched but in the moſt exact Order, and with the utmoſt Circumſpection; and in this manner appeared before *Vacca*, which ſurrendered to him.

Vacca *taken.* — § 22. Then he advanced ſtill further, and found *Jugurtha* laying in Ambuſh for him, near the *Muthullus*; where, after a fierce Conteſt, he gained a double Victory over

Jugurtha *defeated.* — him, in one Day. After this Succeſs, he retired, — § 23, to a Camp pitched by his Lieutenant *Rutilius*, 20 Miles from the Field of Battle; and there received Intelligence, that *Jugurtha* was raiſing a new Army. But nevertheleſs, he only ſent out his Troops in Parties, to ravage the Country; which was the moſt effectual Way of ruining the King.

When this News came to *Rome*, the People were very liberal of their Praiſes to him; and after they had elected *Serv. Sulpicius Galba*, and *M. Aurelius Scaurus*,

344*th Conſulſhip.* — § 24. to the *Conſulſhip*, they continued him *Pro-Conſul* in *Numidia*. Then his Lieu- — 645.
tenant *Marius*, who had very great Abilities as a Commander, became his Rival; and that obliged him to act with greater Caution. He took care to have his Convoys very ſtrongly guarded, and always ſent out his whole Cavalry together upon a Forrage. And when he found, he could not draw *Jugurtha*, who was continually harraſſing the *Roman* Army with great Addreſs, to a Battle; he reſolved, if poſſible, to

Zama *beſieged.* — force him to it. — § 25. In order to this, he determined to beſiege *Zama*; but *Jugurtha* got Intelligence of his Deſign, came thither before him, and placed a ſtrong Garriſon in it of *Roman* Deſerters. Then he haſtened to *Sicca*, whither *Marius*

Year of *ROME* 645. was gone for Proviſions, attacked him, and there learnt firſt to dread the Conqueror, who was afterwards to compleat his Ruin. When the Convoys came up, *Metellus* began the Siege of *Zama*; but the beſieged made ſo vigorous a Defence, that he was forced to raiſe it, and put his Troops into Winter-Quarters in the *Roman Province*.

Jugurtha *beaten by* Marius. *The Siege of* Zama *raiſed.*

§ 26. There he had a private Conference with *Bomilcar*, whom he prevailed on to betray *Jugurtha*; and, at his Perſuaſions, the *Numidian* King offered the *Romans* to ſurrender, and went ſo far as to deliver up to them his Money, Elephants, Horſes, and Deſerters. But when he came to ſurrender up himſelf, his Fears made him fly off; and he never thought of Peace more. § 27. He raiſed a new Army; and prevailed on the Citizens of *Vacca*, to murder the *Roman* Garriſon, and come over to him. Upon this News, *Metellus* marched thither, retook, and ſacked the City; and afterwards, was obliged, through the Intrigues and Malice of *Marius*, to bring his Friend *Turpilius*, the late Governor of *Vacca*, who alone had eſcaped the Fury of the Revolters, to a Trial. He was unjuſtly condemned, and executed; and after his Innocence appeared, *Marius* triumphed at the Injury which he had forced *Metellus* to do his Friend. § 28. And now, upon the News that the *Romans* were inclined to continue *Metellus* in this Command, *Marius*'s Hatred to his General, broke out into open Attacks upon him. He ſpread Calumnies of him among the Troops, whom he adviſed to ſend bad Accounts of their General to *Rome*; and openly begged the Votes of the *Roman* Merchants at *Utica*, for chooſing him *Conſul* at the next Election, in order thereby to enable him to ſupplant *Metellus*. He alſo prevailed on *Gauda*, whom *Metellus* had diſobliged, to write to the Senate much in his Favour; and at laſt, publickly aſked his General's Leave to return to *Rome*, to make his Intereſt there.

Jugurtha *ſurrenders his Money, Elephants, &c.* Vacca *revolts, and is retaken.* Turpilius *executed.* Marius's *ill Uſage of* Metellus.

§ 29. *Metellus* received this Application with Haughtineſs, and refuſed to grant his Requeſt: and at the ſame Time, to finiſh the War at once, applied again to *Bomilcar*, to perform his Promiſe of delivering up *Jugurtha* to him, alive or dead. But he had been ſuſpected by the King, ever ſince he had adviſed him to ſurrender; and therefore applied to *Nabdalſa*, to join with him in the Plot. This *Numidian* Lord readily came into the Propoſal, but before the Execution of it, the Secret was accidentally diſcovered by his Secretary, and by him communicated to the King; who condemned *Bomilcar*, and moſt of his Accomplices, to die. § 30. This fruſtrated the Hopes of *Metellus*, upon which he reſolved to take the Field; and being at laſt wearied out with the Importunities of *Marius*, gave him leave to go to *Rome*, twelve Days before the Election. *Marius* reached the City, in ſix Days after his ſetting out, and there conducted his Affair ſo well, that he was choſen *Conſul*, with *L. Caſſius Longinus*: After which the *Cenſors* concluded the Year with the *Cenſus* and *Luſtrum*.

Nabdalſa's *Plot diſcovered.* Bomilcar *executed.* 63*d* Lustrum.

646. § 31. Immediately after his Election *Marius* applyed himſelf to ſupplanting his old General, and did it with great Boldneſs and Succeſs. The Senate had by Decree appointed *Metellus* to be *Pro-Conſul* again in *Numidia*. But *Marius* applied to the People by one of their *Tribunes*, and they determined, that he only ſhould continue the War with *Jugurtha*. His Collegue had *Gallia Narbonenſis* for his Province, where he had room to have gained great Glory. But he raſhly fell into an Ambuſh laid for him by the *Tigurini*, and there periſhed. After his Death, his Lieutenant *Popillius* ſhamefully ſurrendered, and *paſſed under the Yoke* with his Army; for which he was proſecuted with uncommon Zeal, as ſoon as he returned to *Rome*. The *Tribune Cælius Caldus* got the *Caſſian* Law extended to State-Crimes, to pave the Way for his Condemnation; and to avoid it, he went into a voluntary Baniſhment. Then § 32. *Scaurus* is ſaid to have got himſelf elected *Conſul*, by Artifice, in the room of *Popillius*, for the remaining Part of the Year; and *Spurius Florus Balbus*, a *Tribune of the People*, paſſed a new Law, with intent to put an End to the Troubles about the Diſtribution of the Lands; but it was ineffectual to that Purpoſe. § 33. *Marius* was detained at *Rome* againſt his Will by the Election of the new *Conſul*, and he treated the Nobility with great Contempt, and made his Levies with great Inſolence.

345*th Conſulate.* Romans *defeated by the* Tigurini, *and* paſs under the Yoke. *The* Cœlian *Law.*

§ 34. In the mean time, *Metellus*, ignorant of what paſſed at *Rome*, purſued *Jugurtha*, defeated him, and then reſolved to beſiege *Thala*. In this Place the King had depoſited his Treaſures; and when the *Romans* had croſſed a barren Deſert, which was thought impaſſable, and was come up to it, *Jugurtha* left it, and retired. Nevertheleſs the Garriſon, who were *Roman* Deſerters, defended it with Bravery; but at laſt burnt the King's Palace, and themſelves in it; and after a forty Days Siege, *Thala* was taken. Then, the *Pro-Conſul*, upon Information that Attempts were made to draw the Inhabitants of *Great Leptis* to a Revolt, ſent a Detachment thither; and thereby kept the neighbouring Country in a State of Tranquillity. § 35. As for *Jugurtha*, he obtained Succours of the *Getuli*, and prevailed on *Bocchus*, King of *Mauritania*, to join all his Forces with the *Numidians*, and beſiege

Thala *beſieged, and taken.* Bocchus *joins* Jugurtha.

The Magnanimity of Metellus.

tha. *Metellus* therefore kept now on his guard, and watched the Motions of the *Allies.* § 36. But whilſt he was enjoying ſome Tranquillity, Advice came to him of the Promotion of *Marius*; and he was ſo ſtung with it, that he could ſcarce keep up his Dignity on the Occaſion. Nevertheleſs, he had ſo much Magnanimity, as to ſtifle thoſe ſtrong Reſentments in regard to the publick Good, and ſpent all the Time he had left in *Africa*, in endeavouring to draw off *Bocchus* from *Jugurtha*, tho' it would greatly facilitate the Reduction of *Numidia*, for his perfidious and ungrateful Rival. § 37. At length, when News came that *Marius* was landed at *Utica*, *Metellus* left the Army with his Lieutenant to deliver it to him, and before the new General came to the Camp, went directly to *Rome*. There he ſoon wiped off the Calumnies which had been unjuſtly caſt upon him; upon Application to the Commons, obtained a *Triumph*; and tho' accuſed of Oppreſſion, was moſt honourably acquitted.

Year of ROME 646.

A Triumph decreed him.

§ 38. On the other hand, *Marius*, acted with Caution in *Africa*, and ſpent the Summer without any conſiderable Action, till Autumn drew nigh, and then he began to ſink in the Eſteem of his Troops. This animated § 39, him to undertake ſome glorious Enterprize, and he determined to attempt *Capſa*. It was not without great Fatigues that his Army croſſed the burning Deſerts that ſurrounded it; but they ſurmounted them, and ſurprized the City; and then *Marius* diſplayed his natural Cruelty and Inhumanity. He diſmantled the City, which made no Reſiſtance, put the *Citizens* able to bear Arms to the Sword, notwithſtanding they offered to ſurrender at Diſcretion, and made all the reſt Slaves. § 40. This Succeſs, and this Cruelty, made him revered by his Troops, and dreaded by his Enemies; and he now undertook the Siege of *Mulucha*, perhaps the ſtrongeſt Fort then in the World. It was indeed ſo ſituated, and ſo well ſupplied with Proviſions and Ammunition, that it was not to be reduced either by Force or Famine. All Attacks made upon it were fruitleſs. But a Soldier, by Accident diſcovered a back Way up the Rock, and it was taken by Surprize, and both Garriſon and Inhabitants put to the Sword. § 41. Theſe Conqueſts were made in the Abſence of *Sylla*, the *Conſul's Quæſtor*, whoſe Birth, Education, and Manners, were a direct Contraſt to his own; and therefore he deſpiſed him for his Softneſs and Effeminacy, and had left him behind him in *Italy*. But now, when the Army was ready to go into Winter-Quarters, *Sylla* brought his Reinforcement to it. Upon his Arrival he was ſoon ſenſible of the Injury done him, in being robbed of the Opportunity he might have had of acquiring Glory in the Campaign; and became ſo totally changed in Conduct, from a Life of Softneſs and Pleaſure to a Life of Hardſhip and Fatigue, that he gained the Affections of all the Army, and was at laſt taken into the Friendſhip, of *Marius* himſelf. Then, nothing ſeemed wanting to the *Quæſtor*, but an Opportunity to ſhew himſelf; and he ſoon found means to recover the Time he had loſt. § 42. *Jugurtha*, having at laſt prevailed on *Bocchus* to join him, the two Kings ſurprized the *Roman* Army, towards the cloſe of Day, and gained ſome Advantages over it. But the next Morning *Marius* returned the Surprize upon them, and made a moſt terrible Slaughter of their Troops. Four Days after this Defeat, § 43. They again came up with the *Roman* Army, hoping to find them once more off their Guard. But *Marius* had learnt more Caution, and they found the *Romans* ready to receive them. They killed ſo many of the *Africans* in this Battle, that it ſeemed probable the War was ended by it; and *Rome* was indebted for this great Succeſs, to the Bravery of her *Quæſtor*, as well as to the Conduct of her General. This was *Sylla*'s firſt Opportunity of ſhewing his Conduct and Courage; and he diſplayed both, greatly to his Advantage.

Capſa taken.

The Cruelties and Inhumanities of Marius.

Mulucha *beſieged,*

and taken.

Character of Marius *and* Sylla *compared.*

Sylla's *change in Conduct.*

Jugurtha *and* Bocchus *defeated a firſt,*

and a ſecond Time.

Sylla's *Bravery and Conduct.*

§ 44. After the Labours of the Campaign, Negotiations ſucceeded. *Bocchus* ſent Offers of a Treaty to *Marius*, who ſent *Manlius* and *Sylla* to him; and the *Mauritanian* reſolved to ſend five Ambaſſadors, firſt to the *Conſul*, and then to *Rome*. Theſe were received by *Sylla*, in the Abſence of *Marius*, with the higheſt Marks of Honour; and upon the General's return, their Propoſals were accepted; and two of them were ſent back to carry the News, whilſt the other three were ſent forward, to ſettle the Peace at *Rome*. § 45. When they arrived there, *C. Attilius Serranus* and *Q. Servilius Cæpio* were in Poſſeſſion of the *Conſulate*, and the latter had *Narbonne-Gaul*, the former *Italy*, for his Province. The Senate, when they had heard the Ambaſſadors, granted their Maſter's Requeſt as to the Peace; but left it to him to merit the Alliance he propoſed with them, before they would grant it. This *Bocchus* well knew was meant of his delivering up *Jugurtha*, and he reſolving to comply, deſired *Marius* to ſend *Sylla* to him, to facilitate his Deſigns; and *Sylla* readily accepted of the Office. *Jugurtha*, in the mean time, tho' in want of every Thing, ſtill ſupported himſelf by his Courage; and when he heard of the intended Peace, ſent *Aſpar*, a faithful and able Miniſter, to *Bocchus* to ſecure his Intereſts; not doubting but he ſhould ſtill get himſelf included in the Treaty. At the ſame time, he § 46. intercepted *Sylla* in his March to *Bocchus*, after his Son *Volux* had met him; and,

646th Conſulſhip.

647.

The Conſtancy and Courage of Jugurtha.

Year of *ROME* 647. and, when, in all Appearance he muſt have had him in his Power, he ſuffered the *Roman* with only his Attendants as Ambaſſador, to paſs through the *Numidian* Army without Moleſtation. *Sylla* had ſuſpected *Volux* of Treachery, upon the Approach of the *Numidians*; but had with great Generoſity offered him his Life: And this extraordinary Piece of Good-Fortune in thus eſcaping the *Numidian* Army, from which among others he was denominated *The fortunate Sylla*, was the immediate Reward of his Magnanimity. § 47. After this eſcape, he was ſoon brought to the *Mauritanian* Court, and there received with great Appearance of Reſpect by *Bocchus*, who was ſtill wavering. His Heart was with *Jugurtha*. But nevertheleſs, the *Roman*, in a private Conference in the Night, gained his Point; and obtained an abſolute Promiſe of delivering up the *Numidian* to him; and it was agreed to invite him thither, under Pretence of including him in the Treaty. § 48. The next Morning, *Bocchus* ſent *Aſpar* to his Maſter with this Meſſage, and returned in eight Days with full Inſtructions. But theſe were to demand, that *Sylla* ſhould be delivered up to *Jugurtha*, as the only means whereby they could be ſecure, that the *Romans* would keep the Peace; and the perfidious *Bocchus* was immediately ſo ſtruck with the Propoſal, that he promiſed to perform it. So that, he had now baſely engaged himſelf to deliver up the *Roman* to the *Numidian*, and the *Numidian* to the *Roman*; and ſtill continued wavering between both, till the very Night before the appointed Conference between the two Kings and *Sylla*. Then the *Pro-Quæſtor* fixed him; and the next Day, his *Mauritanians* ſeized *Jugurtha* at the Interview, and delivered him up a Priſoner to the *Romans*. Thus was *Sylla* fortunate to a very extraordinary Degree, both in eſcaping Captivity himſelf, and in finiſhing the *Jugurthan* War by the Captivity of that King.

Sylla's *Magnanimity.*

The double Treachery of Bocchus;

who delivers up Jugurtha *to* Sylla.

BOOK LIV.

§ 1. *ROME* received the captive King with great Joy; but was not ſo well ſatisfied with the Succeſs of the *Conſul Cæpio*, in *Gaul*. He had recovered *Toulouſe*, the Capital of the *Tectoſages*, from the *Cimbri*; but had given it up to be plundered, and robbed the Temples of thoſe immenſe Sums, which the *Tectoſages* were ſaid to have brought thither, from the plunder of the Temple of *Delphi*. The next Year, § 3. *P. Rutilius Rufus*, and *Cn. Mallius Maximus* were advanced to the *Conſulate*, and *Marius* continued *Pro-Conſul* in *Numidia*; where he divided the Dominions of the deprived King. § 4. The *Conſul Mallius* was ſent into *Tranſalpine Gaul* to aſſiſt *Cæpio*, who was not ſtrong enough to reſiſt the united Barbarians, who threatened *Italy* with an Inundation; but by imprudently quarrelling with the *Pro-Conſul*, and dividing the two Armies, he gave the Enemies an Opportunity to attack them ſeparately, and they utterly deſtroyed them. They killed 20000 *Legionaries* and Auxiliaries, and dedicated all their Spoils to the injured Gods whoſe Temples the *Romans* had robbed. § 5. This News filled *Rome* with as much Terror, as if *Hannibal* had been again coming down the *Alpes*; and ſhe puniſhed *Cæpio* for his neglect by Depoſition. This left the whole Government in the Hands of *Rutilius*, and he immediately ſet about raiſing an Army to oppoſe the victorious *Cimbri*, which afterwards preſerved, and was the Glory of the Republick. § 6. In the mean time, the *Cimbri* and *Gauls*, called their Priſoner *Æmilius Scaurus* before them, and aſked his Opinion of their Deſcent into *Italy*. The *Roman* with great Conſtancy contended for the Honour of his Country, and ſhewed little Deference to his preſent Maſters; upon which, one of their Kings drew his Sword, and ſtabbed him. But it was not long e're the *Romans*, as a People, ſhewed the World, they were not behind thoſe Barbarians in Acts of Cruelty. § 7. The Republick in this Diſtreſs, raiſed *C. Flavius Fimbria* to the *Conſulate*, and with him *C. Marius*, tho' abſent. His Character was the ſole Cauſe of the Promotion of the latter without his Knowledge; and he returned to *Rome*, and on the firſt Day of *January* both entered on his Office, and *triumphed* on Account of his *Numidian* Conqueſt. The moſt affecting Part of the Show, was the Captive *Jugurtha*, who was barbarouſly led in Chains after the Victor's Chariot, treated with the utmoſt Inſolence by the Soldiery after the Proceſſion, and then thrown into a Dungeon in which he periſhed.

Cœpio *recovers* Toulouſe *from the* Cimbri, *and plunders the Temples there of immenſe Riches.*

347*th Conſulſhip.*

Cœpio *and* Mallius *entirely defeated by the* Gauls.

Cœpio *depoſed.*

Scaurus *barbarouſly ſtabbed by* Bojorix.

348*th Conſulſhip.*

Jugurtha *more barbarouſly treated by the* Romans.

§ 8. As ſoon as the Victor was come from his Chariot, he went to the Senate-houſe in his triumphal Robes, there had the Choice of the two Armies now on Foot, and was appointed to manage the War beyond the *Alpes*. Theſe Honours to ſo great a Friend to the People was a great Mortification to the *Patricians*, and encouraged four of the *Tribunes*, to make Attempts againſt them. § 9. *Domitius Ahenobarbus*, *Caſſius Longinus*, *Servilius Glaucia*, and *Marcius Philippus*, all attempted new Laws in Diminution of the Power of the Senators, and the three former ſucceeded.

The Domitian *Law*; *The* Cassian, *The* Servilian.

The first transferred the Power of Electing the *Pontifices* from their own College to the People. The second got it enacted, That every *Citizen* degraded by a *Plebiscitum*, should for ever be deprived of his Seat in the Senate. And the third, That the *Allies* of *Latium* who should accuse a Senator, and prove the Charge, should enjoy all the Privileges of *Roman Citizens*. § 10. In the mean Time, *Marius* went to *Transalpine Gaul*; there inured his Troops to strict Discipline against the Return of the *Cimbri*, who were gone to *Spain*; and not thinking these Troops sufficient to withstand them, sent to the King of *Bithynia* for Succours. That Prince answered, That his Dominions were exhausted of Men, by the vast Numbers of his People whom the *Publicans* had sent into Slavery; and this Representation had such Effect, that the Senate ordered all Men of free Condition brought from the Country of any Ally, to be set at Liberty. But this Decree gave rise to a new War, of which *Marius* was the innocent Occasion.

Year of ROME 649.

The Cause of the new War of the Slaves.

The War with the Slaves.

Vettius *rises, is betrayed, and kills himself.*

§ 11. Upon the first News of it, the unhappy Slaves at *Nuceria* broke off their Chains, and set themselves at Liberty: And at *Capua*, a Storm was raised by *Vettius*, a young *Roman Knight*, in order to secure a beautiful Female Slave, which he had bought, but could not pay for. He got together a Body of 700 Slaves, and then fortified himself. *Lucullus* the *Prætor* who was sent against him, corrupted his General *Apollonius* who betrayed him, and then he was forced to kill himself. But this was only the prelude to greater Troubles in *Sicily*. § 12. The Slaves there, upon being refused Justice by *Licinius Nerva* the *Prætor*, took Arms; and the *Prætor* not being able to withstand them, prevailed on a Leader of the *Banditti* to betray them, and their Castle was delivered up, and they all perished. But *Licinius* § 13, instead of keeping the Field, disbanded his Troops, and this gave them an Opportunity to rise again. They made one *Salvius* their King, increased to the Number of 20000 Foot, and 2000 Horse, and then defeated the *Prætor* in his Turn, and took 4000 of his Men Prisoners. § 14. This Victory encouraged *Salvius* to besiege *Morgantia*, which was relieved by the faithful Slaves there; but the base *Prætor* refused to give them their promised Reward, and this increased the Evil. They went over to the Rebels; and one *Athenio* another Slave made a fresh Insurrection, caused himself likewise to be proclaimed a King, and besieged *Lilybæum*. The Attempt was indeed fruitless, but he raised the Siege with Credit among his Troops. § 15. On the other hand, *Salvius*, finding his Army to be 30000 strong, resolved to make *Triocala* the Capital of his new Dominions, began to build a Citadel and Palace there, and having prevailed on *Athenio* to come thither, clapped him up a Prisoner in his new Castle. Such were the Beginnings of this new War.

Some Slaves rise in Sicily, *and are destroyed by* Servilius.

Others rise and defeat him.

The great Equity of Marius *in his Nephew's Case.*

§ 16. In the mean time, *Marius* was waiting for the Return of the *Cimbri* to *Narbonne-Gaul*; and there gave a remarkable Instance of his Equity. His Nephew *Trebonius* had been killed by a private Centinel, on whom he made an infamous Attempt; and *Marius* was so far from condemning the Soldier, that he publickly applauded and rewarded him for his Virtue. The Fame of this helped to continue him in his Honours at *Rome*; and he was now raised § 17, to the *Consulate* a third Time, and ordered to continue in *Gaul*. His Collegue, was *L. Aurelius Orestes*, who continued at *Rome*; and was there employed in averting *Auguries*, and entertained with the Trial of a trifling vain Man, *T. Albucius*; who was made *Prætor* of *Sardinia*, and afterwards condemned to Banishment, for vainly decreeing himself a sort of Triumph in his Province, tho' he had done nothing to deserve it.

349th Consulship. 650.

T. Albucius *banished.*

M. Fulvius *drives the* Cimbri *out of* Spain.

§ 18 During these Transactions at *Rome*, the Republick was very hard pressed in all Places; and *Marcius Fulvius*, the *Prætor* in *Spain*, gained great Reputation by his Conduct against her Enemies there. Tho' he had but one *Legion* under his Command, he found Means to haras the *Cimbri* in such a manner, as made them leave *Spain*, and return to *Gaul*. But before their Arrival, a swarm of *Marsi* appeared there; and *Sylla*, who was sent by *Marius* to oppose them, prevailed on them by gentle Means to come over to the *Romans*. After this, the General and his Lieutenant parted; and *Marius* being recalled to *Rome* to preside at the Elections, acted a Part there very suitable to his great Ambition. § 19. He was very desirous of being continued *Consul*, and in order to gain this difficult Point, pretended modestly to decline it. And the *Tribune Apuleius* being in the Secret with him, he at length prevailed on the People, to compel him to accept of the *Consulate* the fourth Time, with *Q. Lutatius Catulus* for his Collegue.

Marius *and* Sylla *part.*

350th Consulship. 651.

The Cilician *Pyrates distress* Rome.

The Factions of Apuleius.

§ 20. All *Gaul* was now in motion, and the Season hastened the Generals from *Rome*, which they left in a great Consternation at the new Troubles both abroad and at home. Abroad, the *Cilician* Pyrates much distressed the City, by taking her Transports of Provisions; and she was forced to send *M. Antonius*, whose Daughter they had carried into Captivity, to destroy them. At Home, the *Tribune Apuleius* raised great Disturbances, by endeavouring to promote *Equitius*, a very worthless and obscure Man, to the *Tribunate*. To this end, he invented a Story, that *Equitius* was of the *Gracchian* Family; but, *Q. Cæcilius Metellus* discovered the Cheat, and

Year of ROME 651. and, at the Hazard of his Life, refuſed to enroll *Equitius* among the *Citizens* of *Rome*.

§ 21. In the mean, Time *Marius* was waiting for the Barbarians in *Tranſalpine Gaul*; and they, in a general Council, reſolved to enter *Italy* two different Ways, the *Cimbri* over the Eaſtern, and the *Teutones* over the Weſtern *Alpes*. *Marius* therefore marched to oppoſe the latter, and poſted himſelf near the City of *Arles*; where he made that famous new Communication between the *Rhone* and the Sea, which from him was called *Foſſa Mariana*. *The* Cimbri *reſolve to enter* Italy. Foſſa Mariana.

§ 22. When he had encamped there, the Barbarians came and inſulted him in his Trenches. But he would not ſuffer his Men to engage them; and when other Means failed, he made uſe of the Authority of *Martha*, a pretended Propheteſs, whom his Wife had ſent to him, to reſtrain their Ardour.

§ 23. Till at length, the *Teutones*, tired out with his Delays, were forced to decamp; and then the *Roman* being forced to decamp likewiſe, followed them to the City of *Aix* in *Provence*.

§ 24. There a Battle enſued, in which he defeated the *Ambrones*, and purſued them to a kind of Fortification made of Carts, where their Wives had ſtayed, during the Fight. And when the Women ſaw their Huſbands fleeing and the Enemy purſuing, they fell with great Fury both on the Purſuers and the purſued. After their firſt Rage, they deſired to capitulate upon this ſingle Condition, That their Honour ſhould be preſerved; and when that was denied, they firſt killed their Children and then themſelves. So remarkable was the Love of Chaſtity which remained with theſe barbarian Women, after it was extinguiſhed in *Rome!* Marius *defeats the* Ambrones. *The remarkable Chaſtity of the Barbarian Women.*

§ 25. Two Days after this, he came to a pitched Battle with the *Teutones* alſo, who fought with great Bravery; but he at laſt gained a compleat Victory, in which the loweſt Accounts ſay, that 100000 were killed on the Spot.

§ 26 With this joyful News *Marius* diſpatched a Courier to *Rome*, where the People were ſo tranſported with it, that they in Gratitude advanced him to the *Conſulate* the fifth Time; and whilſt their Meſſengers were bringing him the Congratulations and Compliments of the People, his Soldiers offered him all the Booty. But he generouſly accepted only what might be uſeful in his *Triumph*, and dedicated the reſt to the Gods. All the combuſtible Things were gathered together in one Pile, and the *Conſul* himſelf, dreſſed like one of the *Salii*, ſet fire to it. The Collegue the *Romans* gave him was *Manius Aquilius*, whoſe Merit will appear hereafter. Marius *defeats the* Teutones, *and is choſen* Conſul *the fifth Time.*

652. 351*ſt Conſulſhip.*

§ 27. The new Year was begun at *Rome* with Applications to Acts of Religion, which the People thought the more neceſſary, becauſe two enormous Crimes were now committed, which had ſcarce been heard of before. Theſe were Parricide and Mutilation; and the *Romans* ſeverely puniſhed and expiated both. *Publicius Malleolus*, who had murdered his Mother, was by a new Law ſewed up in a Sack, and thrown into the *Tyber*; and a Slave who had mutilated himſelf, in imitation of the Prieſts of *Cybele*, was baniſhed *Rome*, and tranſported. *Parricide and Mutilation puniſhed.*

§ 28. In the mean time, *Catulus* now *Pro-Conſul* not being able to withſtand the *Cimbri*, retired before them, and pitched two Camps on the River *Atheſis*, one on each Side, intending there to make a Stand againſt them. The *Cimbri* entered *Italy*, and came to the River; and finding it not fordable, threw Trees and pieces of Rocks into it, to make it more rapid and more narrow. And then their terrible Appearance ſtruck the *Romans* with ſuch a Pannick, that it was not in the Power of *Catulus*, to hinder thoſe in his larger Camp, from ſhamefully fleeing with Precipitation; whilſt thoſe in the little Camp, who made ſome ſtand, obtained an honourable Capitulation. *The* Cimbri *enter* Italy, *and ſtrike the* Romans *with a pannick.*

§ 29. Nevertheleſs, had the *Cimbri* known how to have made the right uſe of their Victory, they might doubtleſs have taken *Rome*. But they lingered, in expectation of the coming up of the *Teutones*, and thereby gave the *Romans* Time to recall *Marius* and his Troops from *Gaul*. By Order of the Senate he brought his Army to that of *Catulus* on the *Po*; and there received a great Mortification from his old Lieutenant *Sylla*, who by a ſuperior Conduct was enabled to ſupply his Army with Proviſions in diſtreſs, and who from this Time entered into an open Competition with him, notwithſtanding his great Advantages. Marius *mortified by* Sylla, *who enters into an open Competition with him.*

§ 30. In the mean time, the *Cimbri* tired at length with their Inaction, firſt ſent a Deputation to the *Romans*, and then *Bojorix* their King came to *Marius*'s Camp, and challenged him to fix the Day and Place of Battle. The *Conſul* named the Plain of *Verceille*, and the third Day from that Time; and then and there fought a bloody Battle with them, in which he totally defeated them. *The* Romans *entirely defeat the* Cimbri.

§ 31. From the Plain, the *Romans* marched to the Enemy's Camp, and there had a kind of new Engagement with their Wives, who firſt attacked Friends and Enemies with great Rage, and then murdered themſelves and Children by all the Methods they could contrive. Thus was almoſt the whole Nation of theſe People extirpated; and *Sylla* had the Pleaſure to take more Colours from the Enemy than *Marius*, and to find, that the *Pro-Conſul*'s Troops had done more Execution among them than the *Conſul*'s. But when the News came to *Rome*, the People gave all the Honour of it to *Marius* whom they adored, and would have had the *Triumph* confined to him; tho', he had the Modeſty himſelf not to exclude *Catulus* from his Share of it. After their Proceſſion, Marius *and* Catulus tri-umph *together;*

and build Temples, in Memory of their Victory.

each General built a Temple in Memory of their Victory: *Marius*, in a very plain manner, to *Virtue* and *Honour*, and *Catulus* with great Elegance and Beauty, to *The Fortune of this Day.* Year of ROME 652.

§ 32. Thus was *Italy* delivered from her Fears of the *Teutones* and *Cimbri*; and in *Sicily*, the *Prætor Lucius Licinius Lucullus* had gained a great Victory over the two Kings of the Slaves, and killed 20000 of them. But he was so dilatory in besieging *Triocala*, that he gave the Slaves Time to recover their Spirits, and they forced him to raise the Siege with Disgrace.

Licinius *defeats the Slaves, but is forced to raise the Siege of* Triocala.

§ 33. His Successor in this Province, who was *C. Servilius*, was even more unfortunate than himself. The Slaves beat him in a pitched Battle, and after a fruitless Attempt on *Messana*, besieged *Macella* and took it. *Rome* therefore now sent the *Consul Aquilius* against them; and he,

C. Servilius *defeated. The Consul* Aquilius *puts an end to the War, and has an* Ovation.

§ 34, after he had reduced them to great streights for Want, in the Year of his *Consulship*, put the Issue of the War on a single Combat with *Athenio*, in his *Pro-Consulate*, and succeeded. He slew the Slave, and by defeating his Army put an end to the War; and upon his Return to *Rome*, was honoured with an *Ovation* for his Reward.

BOOK LV.

The Corruption of the Romans.

§ 1. AFTER the Defeat of the *Cimbri*, and Reduction of the Slaves, *Rome* had scarce any Enemies left abroad, but nourished such in her own Bosom, as were much more mischievous to her than the Barbarians. She was grown, to the greatest excess, luxurious, debauched, venal; these Vices naturally produced Seditions; and they, together with the Ambition and Jealousy of *Marius* and *Sylla*, plainly threatened her with the greatest Mischiefs.

3d Consulship. 653.

§ 2. *Marius* now stood for a sixth *Consulate*, and by his Intrigues and Money, procured it for himself and *L. Valerius Flaccus*, a weak Man whom he governed as he pleased. As soon as elected,

Marius's *Association with* Apuleius, *who murders his Competitor, and the* Prætor Glaucia.

he entered into an Association, with *Apuleius Saturninus*, who being refused the *Tribunate*, first murdered his Competitor who was legally chosen, and then tumultuously got himself proclaimed *Tribune*; and with *Glaucia*, the *Prætor of Rome*, whom he bullied into his Measures: And the Resolution of these *Triumviri* was, to assume all Power to themselves, by any Means they should find necessary in order to it.

§ 3. When Ambassadors came from the King of *Pontus*, *Apuleius*, instigated by *Marius*, used them brutally in order to provoke their Master to begin a War. The Ambassadors complained of this ill Usage to the Senate, and the *Fathers* were very glad of an Opportunity to humble the insolent *Tribune*; but when the Time came for passing Sentence, the Populace surrounded the Hall in such Crouds, that they intimidated the Senators, and he was acquitted by a majority of Votes. After this Victory, his next Step was to pay his Court to his Friend *Marius*, and shew his Gratitude to the People, by making new Laws. In order to the former, he got it enacted, That the Lands seized by the *Cimbri*, and those conquered in *Africa* by the *Romans*, should be unjustly taken from the true Owners, and given to *Marius's* Soldiers. And in order to the latter, he proposed a Law, that the People of *Rome* should have as much Corn as they wanted, out of the publick Treasury, *gratis*; but he could not get it passed.

§ 4. This Disappointment however, did not at all discourage the seditious *Tribune*. He tacked several pernicious Clauses to the Bill in favour of the *Marian* Soldiers, and when the People refused to pass them, compelled them to it by open Violence. The next Day, when the *Plebiscitum* was brought to be confirmed by the Senate, *Marius* exclaimed against the late Violences, and declared he would not take the Oath which the new Law required. But four Days after, he assembled the *Fathers* in great haste, declared he had altered his Opinion, and insisted on the Oath.

Metellus *banished.*

All this was a Plot laid for the great *Metellus*, whom the *Triumviri* all hated, and who they imagined would never concur in such infamous Proceedings; and he accordingly fell into the Snare. He absolutely refused the Oath, and was therefore banished to *Rhodes*, or *Smyrna*.

§ 5. The Confederates triumphed in having ruined their common Enemy; but did not reap those Advantages from it, which they had expected. *Marius* pretended to act a neutral Part, and hold the Ballance even between the *Patrician* and *Plebeian* Parties, hoping thereby to continue himself in the *Consulate* another Year. This indeed answered the End, till his Deceit came to be discovered by an Accident; but then, instead of being caressed, he became suspected by both Parties.

§ 6. *Apuleius* and *Glaucia* canvassed, independently on the *Consul*, the former for a 3d *Tribuneship*, the latter for the *Consulate*, and both resolved to stick at nothing. *Apuleius*, not content with succeeding himself, set up the contemptible *Equitius* for *Tribune*, and spirited up the Populace to break open the Prison to which he had been sent by *Marius*, and proclaim him by Violence. And when the Election for *Consuls* came on, *Glaucia* finding he had a formidable Competitor in

Year of ROME 653. the excellent *Memmius*, ſent and had him murdered in the open *Forum*; and then he and *Apuleius*, to avoid the Puniſhment they deſerved, openly attempted to deſtroy the Republick it ſelf. They carried a Multitude of deſperate Men to the Houſe of *Apuleius*, who there exhorted them to an open Rebellion, and upon their offering him the Title of *King*, he accepted it. § 7. The next Day they ſeized the *Capitol*, and upon Orders given by the Senate, the *Conſuls* armed the People, and came and beſieged them there. *Marius*, to ſubdue them the ſooner, cut off the Water-Pipes that ſupplied the Mount, and this reduced them to great Extremities. Nevertheleſs, *Apuleius* and *Glaucia* ſtill retained Hopes of Favour from him, and ſent him a Deputation offering a Submiſſion. This he accepted, promiſed them their Lives, which it was not in his Power to give, and gave them leave to come out of the *Capitol* to ſave them. But the People were ſo enraged, that the *Conſul* himſelf could not protect them. They, and the chief of their Friends, were all killed, and torn in pieces by the Populace.

Memmius *murdered.* Apuleius *and* Glaucia *rebel,* *and are killed.*

§ 8. When the Storm was blown over, the *Comitia* were aſſembled in Tranquillity and all the late Acts of Violence declared null and void; and when the *Tribes* were aſſembled again for electing *Conſuls*, they added *A. Poſtumius Albinus* to *Marcus Antonius*, who had been elected on the Day that *Memmius* was murdered. § 9. *Antonius* begun his Year with religious Ceremonies, in order to avert the Evils foreboded by ſome late imaginary Prognoſticks; and had the Pleaſure to ſee the *Games* given by *Claudius Pulcher* the *Ædile*, celebrated without Trouble or Confuſion. But it was not long e're the Leaven of Sedition which *Marius* had ſown among the *Tribunes*, began to ſhew it ſelf in *Sextius Titius*. § 10. He attempted to ingratiate himſelf with the People, and raiſe new Troubles by reviving the *Gracchian* Law about the Lands; but the *Conſul M. Antonius* prevented the Miſchiefs intended, and brought him into ſuch Contempt with the People, that as ſoon as he was out of his Office, he was accuſed of infamous Crimes, and baniſhed. § 11. And now, after *Marius* and his Friends were thus fully diſappointed, it was thought a proper Seaſon to recall *Metellus Numidicus*; who ſhewed as much greatneſs of Mind on this unexpected Honour, as he had done on his undeſerved Condemnation. He received the News without a change of Countenance, and returned to *Rome* with the ſame compoſure of Mind, with which he had left it. § 12. Soon after his Return, the Republick raiſed his Relation *Q. Cæcilius Metellus* to the *Conſulſhip* at his Requeſt, and joined with him *T. Didius*. They began their Year with two wholſome Laws againſt the Artifices of the *Tribunes* in relation to the manner of paſſing Laws; and about this Time, the late *Conſul Antonius* gave a remarkable Proof of the Power of his Eloquence, in his Defence of *M'. Aquilius*, who had ſubdued the Slaves in *Sicily*. He was accuſed of grievous Crimes, which were too notorious to be denied; but *Antonius* applied himſelf with ſuch Art and Force to the Paſſions of his Judges, that he got him acquitted. § 13. Then the *Conſuls* drew Lots for their Provinces, and *Didius* ſet out for *Spain*, and carried with him *Sertorius* a brave Officer, whoſe Aſſiſtance was of the greateſt Importance to him. It was probably owing to him, that he gained his firſt Victory there; and his Conduct in reducing the Cities of *Caſtulo* and *Gyriſænium* was maſterly. But when the *Conſul* had, by the Help of *Sertorius*, reduced the Rebels, he very baſely and treacherouſly cut in pieces a large *Colony* of *Spaniards* near *Colenda*, and *Rome* was ſo much degenerated, as to applaud the Cruelty. This inſpired the Rebels with freſh Courage, and they fought a Battle with ſuch Bravery, as would have encouraged them to have gone on, had not *Didius* by Stratagem over-reached them. But he at length brought them to his own Terms, and five Years after his *Conſulſhip*, returned to *Rome* to *triumph*.

654. 353*d* Conſulſhip. Sextius Titius, *the* Tribune, *oppoſed by* M. Antonius, *and baniſhed.* Metellus *recalled.* *His greatneſs of Mind.* 354*th* Conſulſhip. M'. Aquilius *acquitted.* Sertorius *his Conduct in* Spain. *The Cruelty of* Didius *approved at* Rome.

§ 14. In the mean time, the *Conſul Metellus* continued at *Rome*, and preſerved the Peace there. All Speeches that tended to Sedition were ſeverely puniſhed, as in the Caſe of *C. Plautius Decianus*, who was baniſhed; and the profligate *Marcus Duronius* was not ſo much applauded, as he might have expected, for the looſe Speech he made to the People in favour of Licentiouſneſs. § 15. In *Aſia*, the excellent *Pro-Conſul*, *P. Mucius Scævola*, puniſhed the Iniquity of the *Roman Knights* in a very exemplary manner; and other Governours of Provinces were thereby encouraged to follow ſo glorious an Example. § 16 The next *Conſuls* were, *C. Cornelius Lentulus* and *P. Licinius Craſſus*, whoſe Year was as peaceable as the preceding, tho' *Marius* was now returned from his *Aſiatick* Expedition, where he had by Inſolence and Haughtineſs endeavoured to provoke *Mithridates* to begin a War, and thereby laid the Foundation of that Hatred to *Rome*, which afterwards made him ſo inveterate an Enemy to the Republick. *Marius* aſpired at the *Cenſorſhip*, but finding the Attempt would be vain, deſiſted; and the Perſons promoted were *L. Valerius Flaccus* and *M. Antonius*, who depoſed *Duronius* for his late Speech to the People, and celebrated the 65th *Luſtrum*. § 17. *Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus*, and *C. Caſſius Longinus* the two ſucceeding *Conſuls*, continued the Tranquillity which had now been preſerved for ſome Years; and this encouraged the People to reject the many War-

C. Plautius Decianus *baniſhed.* M. Duronius. Duronius *depoſed.* 65th Luſtrum. 655. 656. 355*th* Conſulſhip. 356*th* Conſulſhip. 657. riors

357th Consulship. riors who desired to succeed them, § 18, and prefer *L. Licinius Crassus* the famous Orator, and *Q. Mucius Scævola* a learned Civilian, before them. But these pacifick *Consuls*, tho' without Design, sowed the Seeds of one of the most cruel Wars that ever broke out in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*. They got the *Mucia-Licinian* Law passed, which obliged the *Allies* who lived in *Rome*, and falsly pretended to the Right of *Roman Citizenship*, to return to their own Homes; and this Law, tho' very just and equitable in itself, was so resented by the People of the *Italian* Provinces, that it afterwards gave Birth to the *War of the Allies*. At the same time *Servilius Cæpio* was unjustly accused again for his former Faults, and at the Instigation of *Norbanus* the *Tribune*, was, by Violence and Sedition, banished a second Time for the same Offences. And when, § 19, the *Consuls* came to their Provinces, *Scævola* found so little to do in *Transalpine Gaul*, that he generously disbanded his Army before his Year expired, to save the Expence of it; and *Crassus*, though he sought for Enemies in *Cisalpine Gaul*, could find none, but a Company of strolling Robbers, whom he defeated. Nevertheless, the latter demanded a *Triumph* at his return, but his Collegue, from a pure Regard to Equity, opposed, and prevented it. § 20. The next Year *Domitius Ahenobarbus* was promoted; and at the same Time *Cælius Caldus*, a Man of no Birth or Merit, was preferred to several Competitors who had both. Their *Consulship* was chiefly remarkable for that extraordinary Instance of the Power of Eloquence, which *M. Antonius* is thought to have shewn in his Defence of *Norbanus*. He was accused of his late Sedition against *Cæpio*, and the Fact was notorious. Nevertheless *Antonius* represented his Crime in so favourable a Light, that his Judges acquitted him. But if it be remembered, That *Norbanus* had, in the very Act for which he was accused, been endeavouring to avenge the Cause of those who were now his Judges; there will perhaps appear little just Reason to ascribe so much to the Force of his Advocate's Rhetorick. § 21. The *Consulate* of *C. Valerius Flaccus* and *M. Herennius*, was likewise spent in peaceful Employments. At least, we have nothing recorded of it, but the pompous *Show* of Lions with which *Sylla* entertained the People in the *Circus*; the Success of *M. Curius* in his Contention for the Inheritance of a *Citizen*, who had conditionally devised his Estate to him; § 22, the great Applications of the *Romans* to Eloquence; and the unjust Condemnation of *P. Rutil. Rufus* an old *Consul*, who pleaded his own Cause.

But the next Year drew the *Consul C. Claudius Pulcher*, and *M. Perperna* into their *Provinces*. § 23. In *Asia*, *Mithridates the Sixth* was taking the most horrible Steps to enlarge his Dominions. In order to seize the Throne of *Cappadocia* he murdered one of his Nephews with his own Hands, and drove the other into a foreign Country, where he died. Their Mother therefore § 24, to stop his Progress, joined with her Husband in setting up a pretended Son of hers as Heir to the Crown; which led *Mithridates* likewise to set up another Pretender, and when the Cause was tried at *Rome*, the Senate determined for neither, but gave the *Cappadocians* leave to erect themselves into an independent Republick, and afterwards to choose themselves a King. § 25. *Mithridates* enraged at this Disappointment, prevailed on his Son-in-Law *Tigranes* to invade *Cappadocia*, upon which *Ariobarzaaes*, the new King, immediately fled to *Rome* for Protection. The Senate ordered *Sylla* to carry him back to his Dominions; and he had the Glory first to restore him, and then to receive an Embassy from the *Parthians*, who were till now unknown to the *Romans*. § 26. In the mean time, *Cn. Dom. Ahenobarbus* one of the *Censors*, accused his Collegue *L. Crassus* of Luxury, he having been so fond of *Murænæ*, as to have put himself in Mourning for one of them, and erected a Tomb for it; and both joined in driving some *Latin Rhetoricians* out of *Rome*.

§ 27. In the succeeding *Consulate* of *Sex. Jul. Cæsar*, and *L. Mar. Philippus*, *Mar. Liv. Drusus*, *Tribune of the People*, caused *The War of the Allies* to break out, by attempting to put in execution his favourite and well-meant Scheme of reconciling all Orders of Men in the Republick to each other. This Scheme he published § 28, with Confidence, and to ingratiate himself with the Commons, got a Law passed for giving them *gratis* what Bread they should want. But when he came to begin the Execution with a Compromise between the Senate and *Knights*, § 29, he found both Parties join in opposing him, and sent the *Consul Philippus* to Prison. In the mean time, § 30, the *Allies* were impatient to have his Promise performed, of getting them the Rights of *Citizens*, whereas *Knights*, *Senators*, and even the *Roman People* all declared against him, and the *Consuls*, tho' he had just then saved them from a Conspiracy, conspired to destroy him. In short § 31, he was murdered at his own Door, and the Senate pursued their Hatred to him beyond the Grave. Several Men of great Distinction were banished, for having concurred in the Attempt to grant the Right of *Citizenship* to the *Allies*. § 32. Upon this, *Q. Pompædius*, the most famous Warrior against the *Marsi*, put himself at the Head of 10000 Men, and marched towards *Rome*. The next Year, § 33, the *Allies* erected themselves into a Republick in Opposition to that of *Rome*; made *Corfinium*

Scævola's *Probity*, *and Equity*.

358th Consulship.

The Power of Eloquence shewn by M. Antonius.

359th Consulship.

The Cause of M. Curius.

P. Rut. Rufus *unjustly condemned*.

360th Consulship.

The Cruelty of Mithridates.

Two Pretenders to the Throne of Cappadocia.

Ariobarzanes *restored by* Sylla.

A Roman Censor *puts himself in Mourning upon the Death of a Fish*.

361st Consulship.

Drusus *Author of* The War of the Allies.

Drusus *assassinated*.

362d Consulship.

Year of ROME 658.

659.

660.

661.

662.

663.

Year of *Corfinium* their Capital; the *Aſculani* murdered *Q. Servilius* the *Roman Pro-Conſul*,
ROME who attempted to prevent their riſing; and the *Conſuls*, *L. Jul. Cæſar*, and *P. Rutil.* 362d *Con-*
663. *Lupus*, choſe the greateſt Men in the Republick for their Lieutenants, to carry on the *ſulſhip.*
War againſt them. Whilſt *Rome* was taking theſe wiſe Meaſures, the *Allies* alſo *The Repub-*
§ 34, choſe their *Conſuls* and *Prætors*, at *Corfinium*; and *Cn. Pompeius*, who, to revenge *lick of the*
the Death of *Servilius* on the *Aſculani*, attempted to take their City by Aſſault, was put Allies
to flight, and ſuffered a conſiderable Loſs. In the Country of the *Marſi*, *Preſenteius*, one of *erected.*
their Generals § 35, defeated *Perperna*, who commanded there under the *Roman Conſul* Perperna
Rutilius, and he loſt above 4000 Men; and *Vettius* laid an Ambuſh for *Rutilius* himſelf, *defeated.*
killed him upon the Spot, and 8000 Men with him. This News, and the Sight of Rutilius
the *Conſul*'s Body, filled the People at *Rome* with great Terror; § 36, and to *killed.*
increaſe it, their *Pro-Conſul Cæpio*, who ſucceeded *Rutilius* in part of his command, ſuf- Cœpio
fered himſelf to be over-reached by the *Italian Conſul Pompædius*, and was ſlain, with *ſlain.*
the greateſt Part of his Army. Theſe Succeſſes raiſed the Courage of the *Marſi*, Aponius
§ 37, and the Confederates took many Towns, and gained many Victories in *Cam-* *defeated.*
pania, *Lucania*, and moſt other Provinces. The firſt Victory the *Romans* gained in Acerræ *re-*
the Year, was by their *Conſul Cæſar*. He was attacked in his Camp by the *Italian* *lieved.*
Conſul Aponius, who was beſieging *Acerræ*; but *Cæſar* repulſed him, with the Loſs
of 6000 *Samnites*. Nevertheleſs *Aponius* § 38, ſtill continued before *Acerræ*;
and *Cæſar* therefore marched a ſecond Time to its Relief, and raiſed the Siege. In the
mean while, *Marius* § 39, defeated *Aſinius* the General of the *Marrucini* and
Marſi; and *Sylla* compleated his Victory with that General's Death. *Sulpicius* alſo Aſculum
went to relieve *Cn. Pompeius*, who was beſieged in *Firmum* by *Afranius* the General *beſieged.*
of the *Picentes*, attacked his Camp, and killed him in the Action, with moſt of his
Troops: and then *Pompeius* went and beſieged the reſt in *Aſculum*, whither they had
fled for Refuge. This News § 41, diſperſed all Clouds in *Rome*. Never- Freedmen
theleſs, the *Marſi* defeated old *Marius*, and the Fame of this induced the *Umbri* *inliſted.*
and *Hetrurians* to declare for them. This obliged the Republick to order ſome *Freed-*
men (which was never done but in great Criſes) to be inliſted; and her Generals de-
feated both the *Umbri* and *Hetrurians*. And the *Conſul Cæſar*, § 42, to put *The* Julian
an end to the War before his Office expired, made a *Conſular* Law, from him called *Law.*
The Julian, enacting, *That all the* Italian *Nations whoſe Alliance with* Rome *was in-*
664. *diſputable, ſhould enjoy the Rights of* Roman Citizens. But this Law was ſo ſlowly 363d *Con-*
put in execution, that it did not immediately anſwer that end; and therefore, § 43, *ſulſhip.*
Cn. Pompeius Strabo, and *L. Porcius Cato*, the *Conſuls* for the next Year, were obliged
to neglect all Affairs abroad, and confine themſelves to the War ſo near Home. The
former went to carry on the Siege of *Aſculum*, and deſtroyed a whole Army of *Marſi*, *The Brave-*
who came under their General *Francus*, to relieve it. Nevertheleſs, the Place § 44, *ry of* Juda-
held out ſtill, depending on relief from the intrepid *Judacilius* their Countryman; and cilius,
he ordered them to make a Sally at a Time appointed, promiſing to force his way
into the Place through the *Roman* Army. Accordingly, he made the Attempt, and *his Death.*
tho' not ſeconded by the *Aſculans*, bravely performed his Promiſe, and with a few
Troops came into the City. This done, he firſt put to death thoſe who had pre-
vented the Sally, and then killed himſelf by Poiſon, that he might not ſurvive the
ruin of his Country.

§ 45. In the mean time, *Aſellio* the *Prætor Urbanus*, ſo exaſperated the People at Aſellio
Rome, by the many Judgments he gave againſt Uſury, that they murdered him as he *aſſaſſinat-*
was offering Sacrifice; and *Plautius*, the *Tribune of the People*, § 46, by a *ed.*
new Law deprived the *Roman Knights* of their Juriſdiction, and when he had put the
laſt Hand to *The Julian Law*, got it confirmed by the People. This § 47,
brought the *Italians* to *Rome* in ſuch Numbers, that the new *Citizens* ſoon became *The new*
more numerous than the old; and to prevent their being Maſters of Elections, new Citizens
Cenſors were choſen, who formed them into *new Tribes*, and conſequently obliged *formed into*
them to vote laſt, which very much leſſened their Power. During theſe Regulations Tribes.
at *Rome*, § 48, the War was proſecuted with Vigour in the Provinces; and Por. Cato
the *Roman Conſul Pompeius*, defeated the *Italian Prætor Vettius Cato*, and afterwards *killed.*
granted him a friendly Conference. On the other hand, § 49, the *Conſul* Marius
Porcius Cato was killed in a Battle with the *Marſi*, and his Army cut in Pieces. But Egnatius
the *Roman Pro-Conſul Coſconius*, firſt defeated, and killed the famous *Marius Egna-* *killed.*
tius, in a pitch'd Battle; and afterwards defeated *Trebonius* the *Samnite*, who ſucceeded *The* Lari-
Egnatius in his Command, and reduced the Countries of the *Larinates*, *Venuſii*, and nates, &c.
Pediculi, to Obedience. § 50. Theſe Loſſes gave the Confederates Pain for *reduced.*
Corfinium, and they removed their Senate and Magazines from thence to *Eſernia* in Eſernia
Samnium. They alſo ſent an Embaſſy to *Mithridates*, in *Aſia*, who had now de- *made the*
clared againſt *Rome*, hoping to obtain from him ſufficient Aſſiſtance to recover their *Capital of*
Affairs. But the fortunate *Sylla* fruſtrated their Expectations. He firſt reduced and *the* Allies.
plundered *Stabiæ*; then marched againſt the *Roman* Army, who had murdered their Stabiæ
General *Poſtumius*, and inſtead of puniſhing them, only added them to his own *Le-* *taken.*
gions. § 51. When his Army was doubled, he beſieged *Pompeii*, which Pompeii

brought *Cluentius* to the Relief of it; and when the latter had been worſted, he ſoon repaired his Loſſes with a Reinforcement of *Gauls*. Theſe bid the *Romans* Defiance; but their Champion, who challenged the braveſt *Roman* to a ſingle Combat at the Head of the Armies, being killed by a young *Moor*, the reſt fled and all the Troops of *Cluentius* with them. *Sylla* purſued them, cut 30000 of them in Pieces, and then reduced *Pompeii*. This done, he came up with *Cluentius* at *Nola*, attacked him, killed him in Battle, and with him 20000 *Samnites*. From *Nola* the Conqueror went and reduced *Aſculana*, and all *Hirpinia*; and from thence § 53, proceeded to *Samnium*. There the famous *Aponius* ſurrounded him in narrow Paſſes, and reduced him to the utmoſt Diſtreſs. But he found means to deceive *Aponius*, and eſcape. He agreed to a Truce with him, then ſtole out of his Camp in the Dark, during the Ceſſation, and taking a Compaſs, came and attacked the *Samnites* behind, and defeated them. And laſtly, he then marched to *Bovianum*, § 54, and took it by Storm. In the mean time, the *Conſul Pompeius* § 55, reduced *Aſculum*, and by ſo doing, in a manner finiſhed the War. When Winter approached, the Generals returned to *Rome*, § 56, where *Sylla*, and his Friend Q. *Pompeius Rufus*, were choſen *Conſuls* for the ſucceeding Year; and the *Conſul Pompeius* only, was honoured with a *Triumph* on Account of this War, as having commanded in Chief in it, and almoſt put an End to it.

Year of ROME 664.

and taken. Cluentius *killed.* Hirpinia *reduced.*

Aponius *defeated.* Bovianum *taken.* Aſculum *reduced.* 364*th Conſulſhip.* Pompeius *triumphs.*

665.

BOOK LVI.

§ 1. AS ſoon as *Sylla* was entered on his new Office, his Heart was ſet on going into *Aſia*, to carry on the War with *Mithridates*. But *P. Sulpicius*, a *Tribune of the People*, who prevented the Promotion of one *Julius Cæſar*, (not the Conqueror of the World) to the *Conſulate*, and who was wholly devoted to *Marius*, concurred with the latter in endeavouring to ſupplant *Sylla*, and deprive him of that Commiſſion. *Marius*, § 2, wanted it himſelf; and his Friend *Sulpicius*, the better to ſupport his Pretenſions, began with paſſing ſeveral Laws in their Favour. In the mean time, § 3, the *Veſtini* and *Peligni*, ſubmitted to *Rome*, and promiſed to ſurrender up their Leader *Vettius*. But as they were dragging him along in Chains, a faithful Slave, to prevent his Ignominy, firſt ſtabbed his Maſter, and then himſelf. The *Italian Conſul Pompædius* was alſo vanquiſhed about this time, and killed in Battle. The laſt Place, § 4, that held out for the *Allies* was *Nola*, and *Sylla* went to reduce it; but was recalled to the City, to reſtrain the Inſolence of *Sulpicius*, who had uſurped the moſt unjuſt Tyranny in *Rome*. As ſoon as returned, he began with prevailing on the Senate to order ſeveral *Feriæ* to be kept. But *Sulpicius*, came with his Friends armed to the Senate, raiſed a Tumult there, in which the Son of the *Conſul Pompeius* was killed, and *Sylla* took Refuge in the Houſe of *Marius*, who made him promiſe to get the Decree concerning the *Feriæ* recalled. The Senate did ſo, and *Sylla* returned to his Army; but *Sulpicius*, not content with this, forced the Senate likewiſe to declare *Pompeius* deprived of his Office; and then, § 5, aſſembled the People, and procured a Decree from them, That *Marius* ſhould go and command in *Aſia*. Upon this News, *Sylla* artfully repreſented to his Troops the Injuries done him; and they, after they had killed the Meſſengers *Marius* ſent to bring them to him, intreated their old General to lead them to *Rome* to revenge his Quarrel. § 6. *Rome* was filled with Terror at his Approach; the *Conſul Pompeius* joined him with other Troops; and then he poſted ſome at the Gates of *Rome*, entered the City with others, fought *Marius*, who oppoſed him, in the Streets, and forced him to flee to the Citadel. § 7. The next Day, the *Conſuls* required the Senate to diſannul the Laws of *Sulpicius*, and make others in Diminution of the Power of the *Tribunes*, proſcribed the chief Perſons concerned againſt them; and ſet a Price on the Heads of *Marius* and *Sulpicius*. A Slave of the latter betrayed him, for the Sake of the Reward, and he was beheaded; and when *Sylla* came to reward the Slave, he ordered the Money to be paid him for his Diſcovery, and at the ſame Time, commanded him to be thrown down from *The Tarpeian Rock* for betraying his Maſter.

Marius, § 8, was fled, but *Sylla*'s Emiſſaries purſued him with as much Zeal, as they had done *Sulpicius*, and his Sufferings and Dangers in his Flight and Exile were very extraordinary, and would be as affecting, if we could forget his Crimes. § 9. He firſt retired to his Country-houſe with *Marius* his Son, and *Granius* his Son-in-Law, and after he had ſent the former for Proviſions, got on board a Bark, and put to Sea; but was forced to return to the Shore, and ramble about the Fields, and beg Bread of Cow-herds. In the mean time, young *Marius* was ſurrounded, and eſcaped, by being packed up in a Bundle of Beans. The Father, after he had eſcaped his Purſuers by ſwimming to two Boats near the Shore, was again forced to Land to get a little reſt, and was there left alone and aſleep; and ſome Troops from *Minturnæ* at laſt found him hidup to the Chin in Water, with Weeds put over his Head, and led him

Sulpicius *tries to ſupplant* Sylla.

Vettius *generouſly killed by his Slave.* Pompædius *killed.*

The People appoint Marius *to go to* Aſia.

Sylla *enters* Rome *by force.*

Sylla's *Juſtice to the Slave who betrayed* Sulpicius

Marius's *Flight, and Adventures.*

Year of ROME 665. him thither naked and in Chains, to execute him there, according to the Decree of the Senate. But Providence was ſtill determined § 10, to preſerve him. The Executioner who was ſent to diſpatch him in Priſon, was, or pretended to be, ſo ſtruck with his Appearance, that he durſt not kill him; and upon this Report the People of *Minturnæ* reſolved to make him amends for their hard Treatment of him. § 11. They furniſhed him with a Ship, laden with Proviſions and Preſents; and, after ſome Time, he landed on the Coaſt of *Africa*. There his Son *Marius* found him; and, whilſt the Son was relating to him his Eſcape from *Mandreſtal*, a petty King of *Numidia*, who had received him with much outward Reſpect, the Father alarmed at the Sight of two Scorpions fighting, perſuaded thoſe about him to flee to a Fiſherman's Bark, and put out to Sea. Which they had no ſooner done, than the Shore was covered with *Mandreſtal*'s Soldiers, who came to ſeize young *Marius*, and give him up a Sacrifice to the *Romans*. But they were both already out of reach; and ſpent the Winter in rambling about the Iſlands which lay near *Africa*. § 12. In the mean time, the *Conſul Pompeius Rufus* went to take Poſſeſſion of his Army, which was ſtill in the Hands of the late *Conſul Pompeius Strabo*; and the latter ſtirred up the Soldiers to a Mutiny, and they murdered the former as he was offering Sacrifice. This Aſſaſſination of his Collegue alarmed *Sylla*, and he immediately prepared to ſet out for *Aſia*. But before he marched, § 13, *Cn. Octavius* and *L. Cornelius Cinna*, entered upon the *Conſulſhip*, and the latter, tho' he had ſworn an inviolable Attachment to *Sylla*, ordered him to be cited to appear on a Charge of Male-Adminiſtration. To prevent this, he immediately embarked at *Capua*, and ſailed for the Eaſt; and *Cinna*, as ſoon as he was gone, uſurped great Authority in *Rome*. Reſolving to get a Law paſſed by Violence in favour of the *New Citizens* the *Allies*, he ordered them § 14, to come armed to the *Comitium*. The old *Citizens* did the ſame, and a Battle enſued, in which 10000 of the new *Citizens* are ſaid to have been killed upon the Spot; and at laſt, *Cinna* himſelf left *Rome*, and went to the neighbouring Cities to get Troops and Money to maintain what he called *The Cauſe of the Allies*. As ſoon as he was gone, the Senate deprived him, and choſe *L. Corn. Merula*, *Conſul* in his room; and this ſo quickened him in his Application, § 15, that he ſoon aſſembled no leſs than 30 *Legions*, and then reſolved to recall the Exiles.

666. *Pompeius Rufus aſſaſſinated. 365th Conſulſhip. A Battle in the Comitium. Cinna driven from Rome, and deprived, raiſes a great Army, recalls Marius, and beſieges Rome.*

He ſent *Marius* Word that he might return to *Italy* without fear of the Senate or its Decrees; and *Marius* § 16, readily left the Coaſts of *Africa*, and landed in *Hetruria*. As ſoon as arrived, he ſent to offer *Cinna* his Service; and the latter, tho' againſt the Inclination and Advice of the famous *Sertorius*, who had joined him, accepted the Offer, and gave *Marius* the Title of *Pro-Conſul*. And now, § 17, theſe three Commanders took each his Province in this new War, and went and beſieged *Rome*. *Pompeius Strabo* had joined the *Conſuls*, after *Cinna* and *Sertorius* had refuſed his Offers, and was encamped without the Walls of the City to defend it. Within, the two *Conſuls* were too obſervant of old Laws and Cuſtoms, to provide well for their Defence; and the Senate recalled *Metellus* from *Samnium*, who was likewiſe too ſcrupulous on ſuch an Occaſion, and this made their Friends deſert in Companies to the Enemy. § 18. However, *Octavius* found Means to raiſe an Army, and *Metellus*, and *Pompeius Strabo*, commanded each his own: And *Cinna* undertook to get the latter aſſaſſinated in his own Tent. But *Strabo*'s Son, (afterwards *Pompey the Great*) ſaved his Father's Life, and prevented the Deſertion of his Army, by a Courage and Conduct worthy of that great Fame which he afterwards acquired. Nevertheleſs *Cinna*, § 19, reſolved to purſue the Siege; and the point in view, was to ſtarve the three Armies that defended it. To this end, *Marius* ſeized the neighbouring Cities, and reduced *Rome* to extreme Want. A Plague alſo broke out in *Strabo*'s Camp, and he was himſelf killed with Lightening. Theſe Diſtreſſes, § 20, led the moſt timorous Citizens to adviſe a Treaty with *Cinna*, and their Advice prevailed. The Senate, § 21, ſent three of their Body to his Camp, with all the Marks of Supplicants; and he inſiſting on the Senate's acknowledging him to be *Conſul*, the Deputies returned to the City for Inſtructions, and upon their Report, the *Conſul Merula* reſigned his Office, to make Way for that Recognition. Then the Deputies repaired again to the Camp, and upon a Promiſe from *Cinna*, That no *Roman* of Condition ſhould, with his Conſent, be put to Death, the Gates of the City were ordered to be opened to him.

Strabo's Life ſaved by his Son, but he is killed by Lightening. Cinna and Marius enter Rome.

He entered *Rome* with *Marius*, who was ſurrounded by 6000 Men whom he choſe for his Guards, and called his *Bardiates*; and as ſoon as they came thither, the latter ordered theſe Villains § 22, to murder all thoſe who ſhould ſalute him, and not be favourably received by him. *Cinna*, for the preſent, exerciſed his Cruelty only on his Collegue *Octavius*, who ſtill took upon him to exerciſe his Office, and was ſlain in his *Curule* Chair by *Cenſorinus*. But the Luſt and Cruelties of *Marius*'s *Bardiates* were ſuch § 23, That *Cinna*, and *Sertorius*, reſolving to rid the City of them, ordered them all to be killed in the Night. After this, the Chiefs of the Conſpiracy

The Cruelty of Marius. Octavius killed. The Bardiates killed.

ſpiracy met, and at the Motion of *Marius* it was reſolved to cut the Throats of all the Senators that could be found in the City; and their Eſtates were put up to Sale, and their Houſes plundered. In the mean time § 24, the *Marian* Soldiers diſperſed themſelves about the Country in ſearch of the illuſtrious *Romans*, who had retired thither for Safety; and the famous *Marcus Antonius* being diſcovered, *Marius* ſent *Anius* to murder him, received his Head with great Joy as he ſat at Table, and after he had made it Matter of Sport to his Gueſts, ordered it to be ſtuck up on a Pole with the reſt, before the *Roſtra*. Nor did even this ſatisfy the blood-thirſty Tyrant. Year of *ROME* 666.

Catulus *and* Merula *kill themſelves.*

He ordered, § 25, *Lutatius Catulus*, and the late *Conſul Merula*, to be ſummoned before the People; and they, knowing the inevitable Conſequence of the Accuſation, prevented it by voluntary Deaths. *Catulus* ſuffocated, or poiſoned himſelf; *Merula* ordered his Veins to be opened in the Temple of *Mars*, whoſe High-Prieſt he was, and ſprinkled his Altar with his Blood. And now, the *Conſulate* being near expiring, the unhappy Citizens hoped for ſome reſpite. But *Cinna* would not truſt them with chooſing him a Succeſſor. He nominated himſelf for *Conſul* the next Year, and made *Marius* his Collegue.

366th Conſulſhip. Marius *dies.*

§ 26. As ſoon as they entered on their Office, the latter purſued his Cruelties, and continued them to his Death, which happened a few Days after. Nor was even this any Reſpite to the unfortunate City, whoſe Streets flowed with Blood. *Cinna* aſſociated with him in the Government, tho' not in the Office of *Conſul*, *Marius* the Son, who had imbibed the Spirit of his Father; and he put all the *Patricians* he could find in *Rome*, or its Neighbourhood, to the Sword. 667.

The Cruelty of his Son.

BOOK LVII.

§ 1. DURING theſe Wars in *Italy*, *Mithridates* ſecretly endeavoured to leſſen the Power of the *Romans* in the Eaſt; and to that end, privately aſſiſted *Tigranes*, in depriving *Ariobarzanes* King of *Armenia*, a ſecond Time; and ſupported *Socrates*, who claimed *Bithynia* from *Nicomedes*, whom the *Romans* had acknowledged to be King of *Numidia*, with his Arms and Advice. *Rome* therefore ſent three Senators to ſettle the two diſputed Crowns; and theſe Commiſſioners, after they had reſtored *Nicomedes*, prevailed on him, § 2, to commit Hoſtilities in *Pontus*, thereby to force *Mithridates* to declare himſelf openly. Theſe Inſults he bore with great Patience till all his Preparations were made, and then ſent *Pelopidas* to the three *Romans*, who openly threatened them in his Maſter's Name. § 3. Upon this, they raiſed three Armies; and *Mithridates*, at the Head of a prodigious Body of Troops, marched to invade *Bithynia*. *Nicomedes* oppoſed him with only 40000 Men, but was entirely defeated, and his Camp plundered. § 4. Then the victorious Army marched againſt the *Roman* Generals, and diſperſed them; and *Mithridates* ſeized *Bithynia*, and ſubdued *Lycia*, and all the *Roman* Provinces in *Aſia*. At *Laodicea*, the *Roman* General *Oppius* was delivered up to him, and the *Leſbians* ſurrendered into his Hands *M. Aquilius*, the chief of the three *Roman* Commiſſioners; who was treated with great Scorn and Inſolence, and at laſt killed, by having melted Gold poured down his Throat. § 5. At *Stratonica* in *Caria*, which he reduced, he fell in Love with the incomparable *Monimia*, and finding her Virtue Proof againſt all Temptations, married her. § 6. In the mean time, the *Romans*, having finiſhed their War with the *Allies*, reſolved to ſend *Sylla* to ſtop the Progreſs of this mighty Conqueror in the Eaſt; and *Mithridates* reſolved to attempt the Reduction of the *Rhodians* (the only *Allies* on all the *Aſiatick* Coaſts that remained faithful to *Rome*) before the formidable *Sylla* arrived. But firſt the Barbarian inhumanly ordered all the *Romans* and *Italians* in *Aſia* to be put to Death, and at leaſt 80000 of them were maſſacred; and then he ſailed for *Rhodes*, § 7, where he was bravely received, and forced to return, without Succeſs. § 8. After this Diſappointment, he attempted to draw *Greece* into a Revolt, before the *Roman* General came; and ſucceeded ſo well, that *Athens*, and all the reſt of the Country, declared for him. Only *Bruttius Sura*, § 9, made ſome Reſiſtance with Succeſs, both by Sea and Land; and at laſt was forced to give way to ſuperior Forces, and retire.

Ariobarzanes *again deprived.*

Nicomedes *reſtored.*

Mithridates *invades* Bithynia, *beats* Nicomedes, *ſeizes all the* Roman Provinces *in* Aſia, *baſely inſults the* Roman *Generals, marries the virtuous* Monimia, *inhumanly maſſacres the* Romans, *and draws* Greece *into a Revolt.*

Sylla *arrives in* Theſſaly, *and beſieges* Athens.

§ 10. But as ſoon as *Sylla* landed in *Theſſaly*, the *Greeks* in general as readily returned to their Duty as they had deſerted it; and, *Athens* only being obſtinate in her Rebellion, the *Roman* beſieged it. However, the Enemy defended it ſo bravely, § 11, that his Attacks all the reſt of the Year, were fruitleſs, and he was then reduced to great Diſtreſs for want of Money. But he found out an Expedient for this Difficulty, §. 12, by plundering the Temples of *Apollo* and *Æſculapius* of their Riches; which his *Quæſtor Lucullus*, a brave Man, whom he afterwards ſent to get a Fleet, coined for him, and called the Money by his own Name.

Lucullian *Money.*

Year of *ROME* 667. § 13. Then *Sylla* renewed the Siege, and after many brave Actions on both Sides, § 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, took the upper Part of the City by Storm, § 19, and maſſacred all the People; and reduced the Lower, called *Cecropia*, by Famine. From *Athens*, § 20, he marched to *Patronis*, where *Hortenſius* joined him with a ſeaſonable Reinforcement from *Theſſaly*, and there waited for *Archelaus* and *Taxiles*, two Generals of *Mithridates*, who were coming with innumerable Forces to oppoſe him. In the mean time, § 21, many Senators, driven from *Rome*, by *Cinna*'s Cruelties, came to his Camp; and *Cinna*, by his own Authority, had nominated *Valerius Flaccus*, whom he had made *Conſul* after the Death of old *Marius*, to deprive *Sylla* of his Command, and ſucceed him. Nevertheleſs, *Sylla*, § 22, marched to meet *Taxiles* and *Mithridates*, and after he had brought his Forces, who were terrified at the Sight of the Numbers of the *Aſiaticks*, to deſire a Battle, § 23, fought them near *Chæronea*, entirely defeated them, § 24, and took their Camp. Then § 25, he reſolved to reſettle *Greece* in order, and began at *Athens*. There he put the Tyrant *Ariſtio* to Death; and afterwards deprived the *Thebans* of half their Lands, which he gave to the Temples of *Apollo* at *Delphi*, and *Æſculapius* at *Epidaurus*, by way of Reſtitution for the Treaſures he had taken from them. At length, § 26, a Squadron, which was ſent before the *Conſul Valerius*, arrived in *Theſſaly*, and the Troops as ſoon as landed, went over to *Sylla*, and informed him, That all Power at *Rome* was in the Hands of his Enemies, tho' his Friend *Pompey* had been acquitted on an unjuſt Accuſation.

Takes Athens,

§ 27. This ſhewed *Sylla* the Neceſſity of his conquering *Mithridates* before he could ſafely return to *Rome*; and he marched againſt *Dorylas*, whom *Mithridates* had ſent to *Archelaus* with 80000 freſh Troops, drove him § 28, out of the Field in a pitched Battle, and the next Day, § 29, attacked his Camp and took it, and thereby entirely reduced all *Greece*. In the mean time *Mithridates*, § 30, alarmed at theſe Misfortunes, in order to put it out of their Power to hurt him, reſolved to oppreſs, if not deſtroy the *Aſiaticks*; cruelly cut off the *Galatian* Lords, treacherouſly ſeized the chief of the *Ciots*, and reſolved to tranſplant them into another Country. The *Epheſians* therefore § 31, ſhut their Gates againſt him, and revolted, and many other Cities followed their Example; which, together with the Plots he diſcovered in his own Court and Family ſo terrified him, that he ſent *Archelaus* § 32 to *Sylla*, and agreed on a Peace with him.

beats Dorylas,

and reconquers all Greece.

Mithridates *oppreſſes the* Aſiaticks,

and agrees to a Peace with Sylla.

§ 33. And now, the *Conſul Valerius* arrived at laſt at *Byzantium*, with his Lieutenant *Fimbria*; and as ſoon as they landed, great Differences aroſe between the two Generals. § 34. At *Rome*, *Cinna* without aſſembling the *Comitia*, declared

367th Conſulſhip.

668. himſelf *Conſul* the third Time, and *Papirius Carbo*, his Collegue; and many, oppreſſed with his Cruelties, fled to *Sylla*'s Camp for Refuge, among whom were his Wife *Metella* and her Children. In the mean time, § 35, *Fimbria* mutinied againſt *Valerius*, ſeized him in *Nicomedia*, and put him to Death; and *Cinna*, inſtead of puniſhing, rewarded the Villainy, by declaring him General in the *Levant*. As for *Sylla*, § 36, he firſt went to ſubdue the *Thracians* and ſome other Nations who had revolted from the *Romans*, and then continued his Negotiations with *Mithridates* to compleat the Peace, which *Fimbria* now obſtructed. This Uſurper, as ſoon as he had got Poſſeſſion of the Army paſſed over into *Aſia*, defeated the Son of *Mithridates*, and ſhut up the King himſelf in *Pitane*; and at the ſame time, § 37, the great *Lucullus*, arrived before that Port with the Fleet *Sylla* had ſent him to collect. *Fimbria* therefore § 38, deſired him not to let the King eſcape; but he deſpiſed the Orders of a Man whom he deteſted, ſailed away, and left the Sea open to *Mithridates*, who retired to *Lesbos*. However *Fimbria* took *Pitane*, and ſeveral other Places, and treated the Inhabitants with unparallelled Inſolence and Cruelty. In the mean time, *Sylla*, § 39, ſent to *Mithridates* to confirm the Peace; and *Mithridates*, in a Conference, § 40, at *Dardanus*, performed all the Conditions required of him upon the Spot. § 41. *Sylla*'s Army, who were impatient to come to a Battle with *Mithridates*, murmured at this News; but he had the Addreſs to turn their Rage againſt the Uſurper *Fimbria*, and led them to attack him. When the two *Roman* Armies were within reach of each other, that of *Fimbria* § 42, declared openly againſt him, and the Uſurper fled to *Pergamus*, and there ſtabbed himſelf. After his Death *Sylla*, § 43, who was now in the higheſt pitch of Proſperity, uſed his Succeſſes with great Moderation, both with Regard to *Fimbria*'s Soldiers and the *Aſiaticks*; and immediately reſolved to return to *Italy*.

Fimbria *murders* Valerius.

Sylla *ſubdues the* Thracians.

Fimbria *beſieges* Pitane,

and takes it.

Sylla *confirms the Peace with* Mithridates.

Fimbria *kills himſelf.*

669. § 44, *Cinna* ſtill continued himſelf and *Papirius Carbo Conſuls* at *Rome*; and the Senate, to whom *Sylla* had written a Letter of great Temper and Moderation, ordered Ambaſſadors to be ſent, to deſire him not carry his Reſentments ſo far, as to produce a Civil War. Theſe Ambaſſadors met him § 45, at *Dyrrachium* upon his Return to *Italy*; but there he ſpoke a very different Language. He told them, he was coming to *Rome* full of Rage and Revenge. The News of this which fled be-

368th Conſulſhip.

Sylla *returns to* Italy.

fore them to *Italy*, ſo alarmed the *Conſuls* that they raiſed two Armies to oppoſe his landing. But *Cinna*'s *Legionaries* grew mutinous, and in a Tumult murdered him.

Cinna *murdered.*

Upon this, § 46, *Carbo*, now ſole Maſter of the Republick prevailed on the Senate to order Troops to be raiſed to keep *Sylla* out of *Italy* by Force of Arms; and 200000 Men were raiſed for that Purpoſe. Nevertheleſs. § 47, *Sylla* landed his Troops at *Brunduſium* and *Tarentum*, and the *Pro-Conſul Metellus* joined him. Year of ROME 670.

Sylla *lands.*

(369*th Conſulſhip.*) The New *Conſuls*, *L. Cornelius Scipio*, and *Jun. Norbanus* were now at the Head of the Republick, and the latter drew near *Sylla*, § 48, whoſe Troops ran to Arms without Orders, attacked and defeated the *Conſul*, and killed 7000 of his Men. The Fame of this greatly increaſed *Sylla*'s Friends in *Italy*; nevertheleſs the *Conſul Scipio* drew near, and in a manner ſurrounded him. And in this diſtreſs, he had recourſe to his old Artifice, of pretending to treat of Peace, and during the Treaty found Means to corrupt *Scipio*'s Troops, § 50, and drew off his whole Army to himſelf. The *Conſul* and his Son were at his Mercy; but he § 51, generouſly ſent them to their Friends under a Guard.

defeats Norbanus,

and overreaches Cornelius Scipio.

The News of this Surprize ſo alarmed the brave *Sertorius*, that he retired to his Province of *Spain*, to ſupport the *Plebeian* Party there; and on the other Hand, induced young *Pompey* to declare for the *Patrician*. He aſſembled Troops in *Picenum*, § 52, and of his own Authority proclaimed himſelf General; made three Generals who oppoſed him quit the Field, and leave the Country open to him; drew off another Army which *Scipio* had raiſed, § 53, defeated *Papirius Carbo*'s Cavalry; and at laſt reached *Sylla*, who received him with peculiar Marks of Diſtinction. § 54. This addition to his Troops increaſed the Fears of the People of *Rome*, and *Carbo*, who tyrannized there, forced them to chooſe himſelf § 55, and young *Marius Conſuls* for the next Year, and they ſtripped the Temples of their Ornaments to ſupply themſelves with Money. Then *Marius*, § 56, who was as cruel as his Father, ordered the *Prætor Urbanus* to murder all *Sylla*'s Friends at *Rome*; and theſe Cruelties turned *Sylla*'s Heart.

Sertorius *retires.*

Pompey *appears,*

and joins Sylla.

(370*th Conſulſhip.*) 671.

The Cruelty of young Marius *turns* Sylla*'s Heart.*

§ 57. After he had defeated *Marius* in a pitched Battle, and forced him to take Refuge in *Præneſte*, he maſſacred all the *Samnites* that fell into his Hands without Mercy. § 58. Then he blocked up *Præneſte*; and his Friends having been ſucceſsful as well as himſelf in this Campaign, he entered *Rome* without Oppoſition. § 59. There he profeſſed great mildneſs, and after he had only promoted his own Friends, left the Capital with Precipitation to prevent the Relief of *Præneſte*.

Præneſte *beſieged.*

Carbo *defeated,*

and retires.

§ 60, *Carbo* was advancing towards it, and made great Efforts to that end; but *Sylla* ſucceſſively defeated two of his *Roman* Generals, and three of the Confederates, and kept his Ground. § 61. At the ſame time, young *Marius* did all that was poſſible to eſcape, but in vain. And ſo great was the Succeſs of *Metellus*, and *Sylla*'s other Friends in *Italy*, § 62, that *Carbo*, deſpairing of Succeſs there, withdrew to *Africa*. But when *Sylla* therefore thought the War at an end, *Pontius Teleſinus* a *Samnite*, § 63, came with a great Army to relieve *Marius*; and not ſucceeding, bravely reſolved, and immediately marched, to ſurprize *Rome*. But he was too dilatory in the Execution. He gave *Sylla* Time § 64, to come up with him, and after a furious Battle, the *Roman* gained a compleat Victory; and from henceforwards, became the moſt cruel and inhuman of Men. § 65, He murdered Thouſands at a Time, who had voluntarily ſurrendered to him, in cool Blood; and heard their Cries with great Compoſure and Tranquillity. § 66. After this, *Præneſte* ſurrendered, young *Marius* killed himſelf, or was killed by his Friends, and the Conqueror treated the *Samnites* and *Præneſtini* there with as much Inhumanity, as he immediately afterwards ſhewed to the moſt illuſtrious *Romans*.

Teleſinus *the Samnite attempts great Things.*

The great Cruelty of Sylla.

Præneſte *ſurrendered and young* Marius *killed.*

BOOK LVIII.

Sylla *kills* 9000 Patricians, Knights, *and* Citizens.

§ 1, 2. AS ſoon as returned to *Rome*, he told the People in *Comitia*, that all his Enemies ſhould periſh; and immediately fixed up Proſcription after Proſcription, which were executed with all poſſible Circumſtances of Cruelty; and were ſo extenſive, that ſome ſay, 9000 *Senators, Knights*, and *Citizens*, all periſhed by his Orders, or the Fury of his Agents, of whom the infamous *Catiline* was Chief.

Pompey *defeats* Carbo, *and puts him to death.*

§ 3. From *Rome* he extended his Cruelties to the Provinces, which he likewiſe treated without Mercy; and during theſe Oppreſſions, his Friend *Pompey* § 4, went and drove *Carbo* out of *Africa*; and afterwards § 5, ſeized *Carbo* himſelf, brought him to *Sicily*, and there put him to Death. And now, § 6, *Sylla* being abſolute Maſter of *Rome*, and all the *Roman* State, got himſelf choſen *Dictator*; then choſe § 7, *Val. Flaccus* his *Maſter of the Horſe*; and made a Law, That no one ſhould be choſen *Conſul*, till he had firſt been *Prætor*. Notwithſtanding this

Sylla Dictator.

Year of ROME
671, 672. Law, and *Sylla*'s Orders to the contrary, *Lucret. Ofella*, who had carried on the Siege of *Præneſte* under him, preſuming on that Merit, perſiſted in ſtanding for the *Conſulate*; but *Sylla* ordered a *Centurion* to cut off his Head: and then § 8, his Friends *Tull. Decula*, and *Corn. Dolabella* were choſen *Conſuls*. As ſoon as choſen, *Sylla* ſent them to their Provinces; but continued himſelf in the Capital, where he made 13 new Laws for the Reformation of the State, which were all, except that relating to Proſcriptions, allowed to be equitable and judicious. § 9. At this Time, *Cicero* firſt pleaded in private, in defence of *Quinctius*; and *Sylla*, § 10, at the Requeſt of the *Egyptians*, ſent them a King, whom they murdered in 19 Days. Then § 11, after he had enfranchiſed 10000 Slaves, and called them *Cornelians*, and rewarded his old *Legionaries* with Eſtates in the Country, he entertained the People with a very magnificent *Triumph*, which was ſucceeded by very pompous *Games*. § 12. In the mean time, the *Marian* Faction began to revive in *Africa*, and gave *Sylla* umbrage. *Domitius Ahenobarbus* had there raiſed 20000 Men, and prevailed on *Hiarbas* one of the Kings of *Numidia*, to join him. *Sylla* therefore ordered *Pompey* thither, and he defeated them, killed *Domitius*, and took *Hiarbas* Priſoner. § 13. This extraordinary Succeſs alarmed the *Dictator* himſelf, and

673. he ordered the young Hero to diſmiſs his Troops, and he readily obeyed. § 14. The next Year, the *Dictator* deſired to be choſen *Conſul* likewiſe, and *Q. Metellus* was choſen with him. Their Year paſſed in great Tranquillity at *Rome*, and *Sylla* gave the People ſuch magnificent Entertainments, § 15, as now ſeem to ſurpaſs all Credit. § 16. But in the midſt of all, he received two Mortifications, one of which at leaſt gave him real Uneaſineſs. The firſt was the Death of his Wife *Metella*, his Concern for whom was ſoon worn off by *Valeria*, whom he accidentally met at a Show, and afterwards married. The ſecond § 17, *Pompey*'s *Triumph*; which the Victor in a manner extorted from him againſt his Will. However § 18, he, this Year, in which *Cicero* firſt pleaded in Publick, ſubdued *Nola*, and *Volaterræ*, the only Cities that held out againſt him; and when all *Italy* was ſubdued, he deſired to be left out of the *Conſulate* for the next Year,

674. § 19, and *P. Servil. Vatia*, and *App. Claudius Pulcher* were promoted § 20. And now, to the great Surprize of all the World, he grew weary of publick Buſineſs, and had Magnanimity enough to lay down the *Dictatorſhip*. This done, § 21, he gave up himſelf to infamous Company and lewd Practices; and in the ſucceed-

675. ing *Conſulate* of *Æmil. Lepidus* and *Q. Lutat. Catulus*, died of an Impoſtume, § 22, and was buried with great funeral Pomp and Magnificence.

§. 23. Immediately after his Death the *Marian* Faction revived. The *Conſul Lepidus*, bent on new Diſturbances, made a great Intereſt all over *Italy*, and marched towards *Rome* at the Head of an Army, to compel the People to continue him *Conſul* another Year. But *Pompey* defeated him near *Rome*; then he § 24, went and conquered *Jun. Brutus*, one of his Lieutenants, in *Ciſalpine Gaul*, and beheaded *Brutus* himſelf; and upon this News, the Senate declared *Lepidus* an Enemy to the Republick, and drove him again from *Rome*, whither he was advancing a ſecond Time. § 25. After this, *Junius Brutus*, and *Æmil. Livianus* were peace-

676. ably choſen *Conſuls*; *Catulus* followed *Lepidus* into *Hetruria*, there fought a third Battle with him, and drove him from the Continent, to *Sardinia*, where he ſoon languiſhed away and died.

§ 26. During theſe Tranſactions at home, *Muræna*, whom *Sylla* had left in *Aſia*, unjuſtly attacked the King of *Pontus*, and forced him into the ſecond *Mithridatic* War. The King complained to the Senate, who acted a double Part with him, § 27, by ſending private Inſtructions to *Muræna*, different from his publick ones, and he therefore renewed the War. But the *Aſiaticks* drove him at laſt into *Phrygia*, and then the *Romans* ſent him Orders, § 28, to conclude a Peace in earneſt, which he did; and thereby left *Mithridates* at Leiſure to conquer the *Aſiatick Scythians*, and *Colchians*, and privately ſtir up *Tigranes* to dethrone *Ariobarzanes*.

§ 29. In the mean time, *Sertorius* drew great Part of *Spain* into a Revolt againſt *Sylla*; but *Annius*, whom *Sylla* ſent thither, forced him to flee out of the Province. He joined ſome *Cilician* Pyrates, § 30, and afterwards, went into *Africa*, and beat a *Roman* Army there. The Fame of this led the *Luſitanians* to invite him to their Country. § 31, and he there defeated *Didius*, and other *Roman* Generals, formally § 32. choſe himſelf a Senate, out of the *Patricians* that had fled to him; and erected *Luſitania* into a new Republick, in Competition to that with *Rome*; and this now determined the Republick to ſend *Pompey* againſt him. In the Capital, § 33, *J. Cæſar* appeared with great Credit at the Bar; and afterwards ſhewed an extraordinary Reſolution and Courage, when taken Priſoner by Pyrates. § 34, The chief Buſineſs of the new *Conſuls Cn. Octav. Nepos*, and *L. Scribonius Curio* was to prevent any

677. increaſe of Power to the *Tribunes of the People*, in which they ſucceeded. In the mean time, § 35, *Pompey* arrived in *Spain*, where *Sertorius* was revered as a Man inſpired, if

not

kills Ofella.
371 *1ſt Conſulſhip.*
Sylla's *Laws.*
Sylla *triumphs*;
is jealous of Pompey.
372 *2d Conſulſhip.*
His great Entrainments.
He marries Valeria.
Cicero *ſpeaks in publick.*
373 *3d Conſulſhip.*
Sylla *reſigns the* Dictatorſhip.
374 *4th Conſulſhip.*
his Death.
The War of Lepidus.
375 *5th Conſulſhip.*
his Death.
2d Mithridatic *War unjuſtly begun by the* Romans.
Sertorius *defeats* Didius.
J. Cæſar *appears at the Bar.*
376 *6th Conſulſhip.*

Sertorius *defeats* Pompey, *the first Time,* (377*th Conſulſhip.*)

not adored as a God. He had found means to impoſe on the People, by a tame Doe, which he kept, and pretended it revealed future Things to him. And when § 36, *Pompey* came to relieve *Lauron* which *Sertorius* beſieged, the latter not only took the Place in ſpight of him; but afterwards, § 37, fought a Battle with him, killed 10000 of his Men, and drove him out of the Field. § 38. The next Year, *L. Octavius* and *Aurelius Cotta*, were choſen *Conſuls*, and upon a Complaint made, that the Famine occaſioned in *Rome* by the *Cilician* Pyrates who infeſted the Seas, was owing to *Sylla*'s having leſſened the Power of the *Tribunes of the People*, *Cotta* was weak enough to give up one Point in their Favour, to the great Prejudice of the Republick. He conſented, that for the future, the *Tribunes* might be promoted to ſuperior Offices, which *Sylla* had prohibited by Law. In this Campaign, *Sertorius*, to recover the Loſs his Lieutenant *Hirtuleius* had ſuffered in a Defeat by *Metellus*, reſolved to fight *Pompey* ſeparately, and did ſo § 40, with great Succeſs. Soon after, § 41, he engaged both *Pompey* and *Metellus*, and gained a great Victory over both. The Fame of this ſpread his Reputation all over the known World, and, § 42, *Mithridates*, now reſolving on a War with *Rome*, ſent to *Spain* to enter into a Treaty with him. He offered *Sertorius* 3000 *Talents*, and 40 Galleys, if he would give him up the *Roman* Dominions in *Aſia*. But the brave *Roman*, § 43, ſignally diſplayed his Conſtancy and Firmneſs on this Occaſion. He would not conſent to injure his Country, tho' making War with him, ſo much as to give up *The Aſiatick Province*; and *Mithridates* concluded the Peace with him without that Article, and then made prodigious Preparations for the War. In the mean time, § 44, *P. Servilius* chaſed ſome of the Pyrates, took *Iſaure* their Capital, and was honoured with a *Triumph*, and the Title of *Iſauricus*, for his Succeſs.

Year of *ROME* 677. 678.

a ſecond Time, and a third Time with Metellus. Mithridates *offers a Treaty with him.* *His ſignal Love of his Country.*

378*th Conſulſhip.*

§ 45. The next Year, *Licin. Lucullus*, and *Aurelius Cotta*, were choſen *Conſuls*; and the former, having it greatly at Heart, to get the chief Command in the *Levant*, and not being able to ſucceed without it, paid his Court to a Miſtreſs of *Cethegus*, one of the *Tribunes of the People*, and by her Intereſt in the *Tribune*, prevailed. His Collegue obtained the Command of the Fleet that was to guard *Bithynia*; but before he ſailed, § 46, got an extraordinary Commiſſion for *M. Antonius*, the Father of *Mark Anthony*, which was that of Commander-General of all the Coaſts of the *Mediterranean*. *Antonius* ſet out with great Confidence in queſt of the Pyrates; but the Pyrates utterly deſtroyed his Fleet, and he died of Grief. § 47. When *Cotta* arrived, *Mithridates* was in Motion with his mighty Armies, and made a quick Progreſs, in reducing the Cities of *Paphlagonia* to his Obedience. In ſubmitting to him, the Inhabitants imagined they ſubmitted to the Authority of *Rome*; becauſe *Varius*, whom *Sertorius* had ſent to *Aſia*, in Quality of *Pro-Conſul*, always preceded the King's Troops, attended by his *Lictors* with their *Faſces*. § 48. The *Bithynians* likewiſe would readily have revolted, if they had not been kept to their Duty by *Julius Cæſar*, who without any Commiſſion raiſed Troops, and at the Age of 24, diſcovered a very uncommon Degree of Valour and Prudence in this his firſt lick Expedition. On the other hand, *Cotta*, § 49, attacked the *Aſiatick* Fleet, but was beaten, and forced to retire for Refuge to *Chalcedon*, and the Enemy inveſted him there. *Lucullus* therefore marched to his relief, and without fighting forced *Mithridates* to retire. The King went from thence to beſiege *Cyzicus*, § 50, 51, and made great Efforts to take it, but in vain. *Lucullus* forced him to flee, and by Conduct, rather than Action, deſtroyed his mighty Army of near 300000 Men. From thence the *Roman* went and beſieged *Lampſacus*, and after his Lieutenant had taken ſeveral Places, put an end to the Campaign by a compleat Victory over the *Aſiatick* Fleet, in which he took *Varius*, and his two Lieutenants Priſoners.

M. Antonius's *Commiſſion, ill Succeſs, and Death.* *The third* Mithridatick *War.* Julius Cæſar's *firſt Expedition.* Cotta *beaten.* Cyzicus *beſieged.* Lucullus *deſtroys* Mithridates's *Army, and Fleet.*

§ 53. Nor was *Rome* now leſs ſucceſsful in *Spain*, than in *Aſia*. *Sertorius* was become quite another Man, and his Subaltern *Perperna* reſolved to ſupplant him, and uſurp the command. To this end he firſt baſely laboured to prejudice all the *Luſitanians*, and *Spaniards* againſt him; and then § 54, formed a Plot againſt his Life, and at an Entertainment at *Oſca*, treacherouſly murdered his General and his Friend, who by his *Will* had made him his ſole Legatee. § 55. As ſoon as *Sertorius* was dead, the Traitor ſeized his Effects and Papers, and uſurped the Command of the Army. But *Metellus* ſo much deſpiſed him, that he marched away, and left *Pompey* to finiſh the War himſelf. Which he did, § 56, by an eaſy Victory; in which the Traitor was taken Priſoner, and after the Conqueror had taken him, he would not vouchſafe to ſee him, tho' he earneſtly intreated for that Honour. *Pompey* firſt ordered him to ſend the Papers which contained *Sertorius*'s Correſpondences with many Perſons of Diſtinction at *Rome*; then commanded *Perperna* to be beheaded; and then, very generouſly, or very politickly, burnt the Papers unopened, in the Preſence of all the Officers of his Army.

Perperna *murders his General* Sertorius. Pompey *beats and takes the Traitor Priſoner.* *and burns* Sertorius's *Papers unopened.*

679.

BOOK LIX.

Year of *ROME* 680. § 1. SCARCE was the Rebellion in *Spain* at an end, when a new Storm aroſe in the Heart of *Italy*. In the next *Conſulate* of *Terentius Varro*, and *Caſſius Varus*, ſome Slaves of *Capua* broke off their Chains, took up Arms, and under the Conduct of *Spartacus*, a *Thracian* of uncommon Abilities, firſt defeated the *Capuan* Militia, and afterwards *Claudius Pulcher*, a *Roman Prætor*, at the Head of 3000 Men. § 2. Theſe ſucceſsful Beginnings ſo raiſed the Reputation of *Spartacus*, that he ſoon had an Army of 10000 Men, and then he took ſeveral Cities, in which his Men, contrary to his Inclinations, committed great Devaſtations; and therefore he reſolved to lead them out of the Country. When he had firſt by an ingenious Stratagem eſcaped the Snares laid for him by the *Prætor Vatinius*, and afterwards defeated the *Prætor*, he marched into *Ciſalpine Gaul*; and finding that his Troops, now 10000 Men, were ungovernable, and therefore uncapable of carrying on a War, he intended only to give them an Opportunity of returning into their own Countries. But, § 3, the next Year, when *Gellius Poplicola*, and *Corn. Lentulus* were 681. choſen *Conſuls*, and the *Romans* ſent three Armies againſt him, *Cnixus* one of the Chiefs of the *Gallic* Slaves ſeparated from him, and was cut off with his Army by the *Roman Pro-Conſul Gellius*, and *Anius*. Upon this News, *Spartacus* turned back, and with great Bravery attacked the *Roman* Generals before they had joined, defeated them both, and then returned into *Lucania*.

§ 4. Whilſt the *Romans* were ſuffering theſe Diſhonours in *Italy*, *Lucullus* was purſuing *Mithridates* in the Eaſt. The King ſent to the neighbouring Princes to join him, with little Succeſs; and *Lucullus*, § 5, that he might not drive him to deſpair, attacked ſeveral Places at once, and proceeded but ſlowly againſt them. This raiſed the Murmurs of his Troops againſt him; and § 6, when he had gained over *Phœnix*, one of the Enemy's Generals, he marched to meet *Mithridates* in the Plains of *Cabira*, and had ſeveral Skirmiſhes with him. In one of thoſe he took *Pomponius* Priſoner, who being aſked whether he would grant the King his Friendſhip if he had him cured of his Wounds, replied, *He muſt firſt gain the Friendſhip of* Lucullus: And *Mithridates* as magnanimouſly ſtopped thoſe who would have killed him for this Anſwer, and ſaid, *An unfortunate brave Man ſhould never be the Object of his Revenge*. Nevertheleſs, when the King found he could not bring *Lucullus* to a Battle, he hired a young *Scythian* Lord § 7, to aſſaſſinate him in his Tent. But the Attempt was by Accident prevented from taking effect; and ſoon after, § 8, *Lucullus* was as accidentally delivered from the Inconveniences he ſuffered in a bad Situation, and brought, under the Guidance of a fugitive *Greek*, to the top of a Mountain over-againſt the King's Camp. Then the Skirmiſhes were renewed between the two Armies, and *Lucullus* having routed a large Detachment of *Aſiaticks*, their whole Army were ſtruck with ſuch a Pannick upon it, that they all fell upon one another, ran away in haſte out of the Camp, and diſperſed; and the King himſelf had been taken Priſoner, if the *Romans* ſent after him had not fought with one another for his Baggage, and thereby given him Time to eſcape. He retired § 9, to *Tigranes* in *Armenia*, and left his Queens and Siſters ſhould fall into the Enemy's Hands, ſent an Eunuch, to put them all to death; and he inhumanly put theſe cruel Orders in Execution. § 10. This Barbarity exaſperated the People of *Pontus* againſt the King, and they ſurrendered up moſt of their ſtrong Holds to *Lucullus*; who took *Amiſos* their Capital by Storm, and treated the conquered with ſuch Humanity, that he gained both their Love and Eſteem. In the mean time, § 11, the *Pro-Conſul Servilius*, in *Macedon*, ſeverely puniſhed a *Legion* which mutinied againſt him, and marched his Army through ſo many rough and unknown Countries, that he was honoured with a *Triumph* on his return.

682. § 12. During theſe Tranſactions in the Eaſt, *Aufidius Oreſtes* and *Lentulus Sura* were promoted to the *Conſulate*, and the brave *Craſſus* was nominated *Prætor* to act againſt *Spartacus*. § 13. The Reputation of *Craſſus* was ſo good, that he ſoon raiſed a very large Army, recovered the Loſs his Lieutenant *Mummius* had ſuffered by his Raſhneſs, and defeated *Spartacus*, who after a fruitleſs Attempt to get to *Sicily*, poſted himſelf in a Peninſula near *Rhegium*. There, § 14, *Craſſus* ſhut him in, intending to have ſtarved him. But he bravely forced his way through the Lines, and became again Maſter of the Field. He would probably have been invincible, if his Troops had not been again divided. But the *German* and *Gallic* Slaves ſeparated from him, and choſe their own Commanders; and then *Craſſus* found means to draw them into a Snare, and killed 30000 of them, before *Spartacus* could come to their relief. § 15. In the mean time, *Pompey* returned from *Spain*, and the *Romans* reſolved to ſend him to finiſh he War with the Slaves. *Craſſus* therefore, that

379th Conſulſhip.
The War of the Slaves under Spartacus.
His firſt Succeſſes, and Prudence.
380th Conſulſhip.
Cnixus *beaten.*
Spartacus *defeats* Gellius *and* Anius.
Lucullus *purſues* Mithridates.
The Bravery of Pomponius, *and Magnanimity of* Mithridates.
The Aſiatick *Army, ſtruck with a Panick, diſperſes.*
Mithridates *retires to* Armenia, *and murders his Wives and Siſters.*
Lucullus *takes* Amiſos.
Servilius *makes a Progreſs in* Macedon, *and* triumphs.
381ſt Conſulſhip.
The Prætor Craſſus *defeats* Spartacus, *who recovers himſelf.*
His Army divided and beaten by Craſſus,

that his Rival might not reap the Fruits of his paſt Labours, reſolved to give a deci- Year of
and himſelf ſlain. ſive Battle immediately; *Spartacus* was ſlain in it fighting with great Bravery, and *ROME*
§ 16, his Troops utterly deſtroyed. When *Pompey* came, there was only a 682.
The Romans *partial to* Pompey. ſmall Body of 5000 Fugitives in Arms: but nevertheleſs, ſuch was the Partiality of the *Romans* for their Idol, that *Craſſus* with great Difficulty obtained an *Ovation*, whilſt *Pompey*, who had done much leſs in *Spain*, was honoured with a *Triumph* for what he did there.

§ 17. In *Aſia*, *Lucullus*, after he had conquered almoſt all *Pontus*, ſent *Claudius* to
Lucullus *offends the* Publicans *by his Juſtice.* *Tigranes*, to require him to deliver up *Mithridates*. The *Armenian* King peremptorily refuſed it; and when *Claudius* returned, § 18, he found the great *Lucullus* very compaſſionately eaſing the *Aſiaticks* of the grievous Oppreſſions they ſuffered from the *Publicans*. This exaſperated the *Publicans* againſt him, and they ſent to *Rome* defamatory Stories of him, which by degrees diſpoſed the People to recall him, tho'
351*ſt Conſulſhip.* they were not very haſty in it. § 19. The two Rivals, *Pompey* and *Craſſus*, 683.
Craſſus *and* Pompey *Rivals at* Rome. now contended with Zeal for the *Conſulſhip*, and both ſucceeded. But *Pompey*, § 20, who artfully accommodated himſelf to all Seaſons and Parties, greatly gained the Aſcendant in the Affections of the People, and was in reality Maſter of all Favours, and the Arbiter of every Man's Fortune. The new *Cenſors*, § 21, *Poplicola* and *Lentulus*, who puniſhed the irregular with great Severity, paid him very diſtinguiſhing Honours; and, tho' *Craſſus*, § 22, entertained the People with a ſurprizing Profuſion and Magnificence at 10000 Tables, he could not get the better of his Rival in their Eſteem. At this Time, *Cicero*'s Eloquence prevailed againſt *Verres*
Cicero *pleads againſt* Verres. the oppreſſive *Sicilian Prætor*, who was forced to go into Baniſhment; and *Virgil* was born.

Virgil *born.* § 23. In the mean time, the City of *Heraclea*, after a two Years Siege, ſurrendered
Cotta *plunders* Heraclea. to *Cotta*, who very baſely plundered it, and greatly enriched himſelf with the Spoils.
Lucullus *takes* Synope, *defeats* Tigranes, *a firſt, and ſecond Time; and takes* Tigranocerta. Whilſt *Lucullus* § 24, who took *Synope* by Aſſault, treated the Inhabitants with great Generoſity and Good-Nature. After this, § 25, *Lucullus* boldly reſolved to attack *Tigranes* and *Mithridates* together, entered *Armenia*, at the Head of only 12000 Foot and 3000 Horſe, and attacked and defeated *Tigranes*, near *Tigranocerta*, his favourite City. § 26. Upon this, *Tigranes* ſoon got together an Army of 300000 Men, at which *Lucullus* greatly rejoiced. He hoped to deſtroy all the Forces of the moſt powerful Monarch at one Blow; and in order to bring him to a Battle, laid ſiege to *Tigranocerta*. Accordingly *Tigranes* advanced with his Army, and *Lucullus* § 27, bravely attacked him, gained a compleat Victory over him, in which he killed an 100000 Men, and in a few Days after § 28, made himſelf Maſter of *Tigranocerta*, in which he found great Treaſures. And now, whilſt *Rome*
383*d Conſulſhip.* § 29, was advancing *Hortenſius*, a famous Orator, and *Cæcilius Metellus*, to 684.
her greateſt Honours, and amuſing herſelf with Shows, this great General, § 30, formed the vaſt Deſign of ſubduing all *Aſia*. To this end, he ſent an Embaſſy, as *Tigranes* and *Mithridates* had done, to *Arſaces*, the powerful King of the *Parthians*, to engage him into an offenſive and defenſive Alliance with him. The *Parthian* § 31, amuſed both Parties, with evaſive Anſwers, or falſe Promiſes; and *Lucullus* therefore reſolved on Revenge, and to this end, ſent for all the *Roman* Troops he had left in *Pontus*. But thoſe Troops deſpiſed his Orders; the Infection of their Mutiny ſpread itſelf even to the Army he had with him, and the People of *Rome* (who
384*th Conſulſhip.* § 32, to wound the General through his Lieutenant's Side, condemned *Cotta* for plundering *Heraclea*) deprived him of his Titles and Government; and § 33, 685.
raiſed *Cæcilius Metellus* and *Marcius Rex* to the *Conſulate*. In the mean time,
But his Troops mutiny, and he is ill uſed at Rome. § 34, *Lucullus* intent on finiſhing the great Work he had begun, prevailed, though with much Difficulty, on his Troops to take the Field, and march againſt *Tigranes* and *Mithridates*, who appeared each at the Head of a ſeparate Army. But they were grown more cautious, and unwilling to engage; and therefore § 35, in order to draw *Tigranes* to a Battle, the *Roman* marched towards *Artaxata*, where *Tigranes* had placed his Wives and Children. Upon this, the *Armenian* ventured a pitched
Defeats Tigranes *again.* Battle, in which the *Romans* gained a compleat Victory, and made a greater Slaughter of the Enemy than in the Battle of *Tigranocerta*. After this Succeſs, § 36,
His Troops refuſe to beſiege Artaxata. *Lucullus* would fain have taken *Artaxata*, but his Troops forced him to lead them into *Meſopotamia*; and there he finiſhed this glorious Campaign, with taking *Niſibis*, a ſtrong City on the River *Mygdonius*.
Niſibis *taken.* § 37. Nevertheleſs, *Metellus* gained more Honour at *Rome* by his *Cretan* Expedition, than *Lucullus* by theſe prodigious Conqueſts in *Aſia*. The *Romans*, who were
Cydonia *taken.* ſo fond of their own Liberties, were ever intent on robbing other Nations of theirs, and could not brook the Independence of the Iſland of *Crete*; and therefore they ſent *Metellus* againſt it, and he, in this Campaign, took *Cydonia* the Capital, and ſeveral other Cities.
§ 38. At *Rome*, the People raiſed *Calpurnius Piſo* and *Acilius Glabrio* to the 686.
Conſulate; and their *Tribunes*, through *Pompey*'s private Aſſiſtance, began to recover their former Degrees of Power to the great Danger of the Republick. *Cornelius*

Year of ROME 686. the *Tribune*, to mortify the *Patricians*, got the *Calpurnian* Law paſſed, which forbad unlawful canvaſſings for Elections. *Roſcius Otho* honoured the *Knights* with a new Mark of Diſtinction. And *Gabinius*, § 39, in all Probability, at the Inſtigation of *Pompey*, propoſed *The Gabinian Law*; which was for erecting a new Office of *Pro-Conſul of the Seas*, with a larger Province and greater Degree of Power than had ever yet been given to any Magiſtrate. The Deſign was to clear the Seas of the Pyrates, and the Man in view was *Pompey*. And therefore § 40, tho' he pretended to decline it, his uſual Artifice being to decline thoſe Things which he moſt deſired, and thereby conceal his Ambition under the Appearance of Modeſty; yet neither § 41, the Oppoſition of two *Tribunes*, nor the wiſe and juſt Reaſonings of *Catulus* the *Prince of the Senate*, could divert the People from it. The Law was paſſed, that new Office erected, and *Pompey* inveſted with it. Which was no ſooner done, but he made Preparations § 42, for this great Expedition; and carried it on with ſuch Succeſs, that inſtead of the three Years allowed him, he finiſhed it in leſs than four Months. § 43. He drove the Pyrates out of the Seas, took all their Faſtneſſes, and tranſplanted the Priſoners he took into deſerted Cities, but chiefly to *Soli*, which he called *Pompeiopolis* from his own Name.

The Calpurnian *Law.*

Pompey's *Artifice.*

choſen Pro-Conſul of the Seas.

deſtroys the Pyrates.

Pompeiopolis.

BOOK LX.

§ 1. WHEN *Pompey* had thus finiſhed the War with the Pyrates, he was much inclined, as uſual, to rob *Metellus*, who had almoſt reduced *Crete*, of the Glory of his Labours, and aſſume to himſelf the Honour of the Conqueſt of the Iſland. The People ſent an Invitation to him, and he readily ſent a Lieutenant with ſome Troops to take that Province out of the Hands of *Metellus*. But the old General oppoſed his Lieutenant by Force of Arms, drove him out of the Iſland, and compleated the Reduction of it himſelf. And tho' *Pompey* had Intereſt enough to get it poſtponed for three Years, the People at laſt did him the Juſtice of a *Triumph* for his Victory. The Jealouſy of *Pompey*, § 2, appeared likewiſe in a ſtronger light with Regard to the brave *Lucullus*. He had lately loſt much Ground, and ſome Credit. The *Romans* had ſent *Glabrio* and *Marcius Rex* to ſucceed him; *Mithridates* had beaten his Lieutenant *Fabius*, and in another Battle, § 3, gained a great Victory over *Triarius*: And § 4, when he came to oppoſe the junction of the ſeparate Armies of *Mithridates* and *Tigranes*, his *Legionaries* abſolutely refuſed to obey him. *Cappadocia* was therefore a Prey to the latter, and the former was by degrees recovering his old Cities; and *Pompey*, who wanted to reap the Glory of the paſt Exploits of *Metellus*, took this Method to procure a Commiſſion to ſucceed him. § 5. Soon after the Promotion of *Æmilius Lepidus* and *Volcatius Tullus* to the *Conſulate*, *Manilius* the *Tribune of the People* § 6, propoſed the Law, from him called *The Manilian*, which enacted, *That* Pompey *ſhould have a new Commiſſion, empowering him to ſucceed* Lucullus *and carry on the War in* Aſia, *added to that of* Pro-Conſul of the Seas. This was indeed giving him almoſt an abſolute Power over the greateſt Part of the known World; but nevertheleſs, with the Aſſiſtance of *Julius Cæſar* and *Cicero* now *Prætor*, it was paſſed. And when § 7, the News of this extraordinary Authority was brought him in *Aſia*, *Pompey* ſignally diſplayed both his Diſſimulation, and his Meanneſs of Spirit. He pretended great Concern at being burthened with this Authority; but left no Means untried to leſſen, and, if poſſible, utterly deſtroy, the Fame of his Predeceſſor in *Aſia*. *Lucullus* expreſſed great Reſentment at this: But the new General artfully drew off all his Troops from him, and he was forced to return to *Rome*. § 8. There, after three Years Sollicitation, he obtained a *Triumph*, which was very magnificent; gave himſelf up to Pleaſures; lived in the moſt pompous and expenſive Way imaginable; and died, much lamented by the *Romans* in a very advanced Age.

Pompey's *baſeneſs to* Metellus, *who beats his Lieutenant, reduces* Crete, *and triumphs.*

Pompey's *baſe attempt to ſupplant* Lucullus.

687. 386*th Conſulſhip.* *The* Manilian *Law.*

Pompey's *Diſſimulation and Meanneſs of Spirit.*

Lucullus *triumphs.* *His Death.*

§ 9. In the mean time, *Pompey* tried to bring *Mithridates* to a Peace which he refuſed; and then the *Roman* marched after him, ſurrounded him and his Army in his own Dominions, and had like to have ſtarved them there. But the King at length broke through the Enemy's Lines, and retired towards *Great Armenia*. § 10. There old *Tigranes* was much weakened by the Revolt of his Son, who went over to *Pompey*; and the *Roman* Army, § 11, purſuing hard after *Mithridates*, overtook him near the *Euphrates*, attacked him in the Night, and entirely routed his Army. § 12. *Pompey* founded a new City upon the Place, which he called *Nicopolis*, from his Victory; and then entered *Great Armenia*, where after he had taken ſeveral Cities, old *Tigranes* came and ſurrendered up himſelf and Kingdom to the *Roman* General, who received him with great Civility and Reſpect. § 13. The next Day, *Pompey* adjuſted the Diſputes between the Father and Son,

Pompey *ſurrounds* Mithridates, *and defeats him.*

Nicopolis *founded.*

Tigranes *ſurrenders up himſelf and Kingdom to* Pompey, *and King-dom to Tigranes*

Pompey *puts his Son in Chains, and very unjuſtly ſeizes the Kingdom of* Syria, *and makes it a* Roman Province.

Tigranes in Poſſeſſion of his old Dominions, and gave the Prince *Sophene* and *Gordiene*. But the latter ſoon after formed another Plot againſt his Father, and then *Pompey* ſeized him and put him in Chains; and, during his ſtay in *Armenia*, added *Syria* to the Dominions of *Rome*. § 14. That ancient Kingdom had been poſſeſſed by the Race of the *Seleucidæ* above 200 Years, and the only remaining Branch of it, who had a Title to that Throne, was *Antiochus*. § 15. He therefore came and made his Claim to *Pompey*; but the *Roman*, who had only the outſide of Virtue, very unjuſtly deprived him of his Inheritance, and made it a *Roman Province*. § 16. This done, he marched in purſuit of *Mithridates*, and in his March, made all the North of *Aſia* know and dread the *Roman* Name. Year of *ROME* 687.

387*th Conſulſhip.* Catiline's *Character, and his Plots.*

§ 17. In the mean time, *Aurel. Cotta*, and *Manlius Torquatus* obtained the *Conſulate* at *Rome*, but with great Difficulty. They had the infamous *Catiline* for a Competitor; who had committed Murders without Number, and whoſe Luſts and Inceſts are not to be deſcribed. § 18. But he had a Mixture of ſeeming Virtues with theſe real Vices, and thereby attached ſo many People to him, that he formed two Plots, for murdering the *Conſuls* and deſtroying the Government, and failed in both. § 19. Nevertheleſs, *Cæſar* and *Craſſus* ſtill retained ſome Affection for him; and the latter got the ſeditious *Piſo* ſent *Pro-Prætor* into *Spain*, where he was killed. 688.

Pompey *ſubdues* Oreſes, *and* Artoces, *and* Coſis.

§ 20. During this Winter, *Oreſes* King of *Albania* formed a Deſign to ſurprize *Pompey*'s Troops in their Winter Quarters, on the Feaſt of *Saturnalia*; but *Pompey* was informed of it, defeated all his Parties, and forced him to ſue for a Peace, which was granted him. § 21. Then *Pompey* marched after *Mithridates*, ſubdued *Artoces*, King of *Armenia*, who oppoſed him in his March; and forced that Prince to make ſuch a Peace with *Rome*, as her General approved. § 22. From thence he reſolved to enter *Colchis*; but upon Information, that *Coſis*, the Brother of *Oreſes*, had prevailed on him to ſhake off the *Roman* Yoke, he turned towards him, § 23, fought a pitched Battle with him, in which he killed *Coſis* with his own Hand, utterly deſtroyed his Army, and then conquered and ravaged all *Albania*. § 24. After this Defeat, *Oreſes* ſubmitted to the Dominion of the *Romans*: *Pompey* granted Peace to many other Nations on the *Caſpian* Sea; and then returned to *Little Armenia*, to ſettle the Affairs of his Conqueſts. § 25. In the mean time, *Mithridates* advanced towards the *Cimmerian Boſphorus*, where his Son *Machares* reigned, and the latter for fear of his Father, killed himſelf; upon which *Mithridates* ſeized his Dominions, and thereby enabled himſelf to carry on the War.

Machares *kills himſelf.*

The Cruelty of Mithridates.

§ 26. *Pompey*, in his Way from *Armenia* to *Pontus*, came to a Caſtle, where *Mithridates* had left ſome of his Wives and Daughters; and *Stratonice* who commanded in it, ſurrendered it up to *Pompey*, upon a Promiſe of Safety and Protection to her Son *Xiphares*. But *Mithridates*, when he heard the News, ordered her Son to be cut in pieces in her own Sight, and thereby revenged the ill Treatment of his Wife on his own Blood. § 27. When the *Roman* General came to *Pontus*, he there ſettled the conquered Countries, and diſpoſed of Crowns and Provinces at Pleaſure.

Jul. Cæſar *captivates the Hearts of the People at* Rome.

§ 28. But whilſt he was thus ſhining in the *Levant*, *Julius Cæſar* was captivating the Hearts of the People at *Rome*. He was naturally generous; and being now *Ædile*, § 29, he affected Popularity more than ever. His Behaviour was ſo very engaging, that no Man went from him diſpleaſed. His Manner, and the very Tone of his Voice, helped to make him agreeable; and he gained ſo much on the People, by the magnificent Shows he gave them, that they choſe his Friend *C. Julius Cæſar Conſul* with *Marcius Figulus*. 689.

378*th Conſulſhip.* Pompey *enters* Syria.

§ 30. On the other hand, *Pompey* was purſuing his mighty Scheme of reducing the whole Empire of the *Seleucidæ* in *Aſia*, to the State of a *Roman Province*; and to this End, intended to enter *Syria* by *Comagene*. But there he found two little Kings in Arms, and ſubdued them both; and on his Journey received the News of the Death of *Mithridates*. § 31. This Prince, who was reſiding in the *Boſphorus*, had formed the romantick Scheme of forcing his Way, like *Hannibal*, into *Italy*, and raiſed a great Army § 32, for that Purpoſe, and being

Mithridates *propoſes to enter* Italy, *is betrayed,*

Maſter of *Panticapæum* on one Side of the *Boſphorus*, he reſolved to ſeize *Phanagoria*, which was on the other. But the *Phanagorians* received a *Roman* Garriſon; and the Officer whom he ſent with his Daughters to the *Scythian* Kings, betrayed him, and delivered them up to *Pompey*. § 33. Nevertheleſs, the King declared his Deſign of going into *Italy*, at which his Troops greatly murmured; and § 34, having pronounced Sentence of Death on his Son *Pharnaces* for a Conſpiracy, the Son drew the Army into an open Revolt, and forced *Mithridates* to flee to his Palace for Refuge. § 35. There, he firſt took Poiſon, which was too ſlow in its Operation; and then, a faithful *Gaul*, at his own Requeſt, diſpatched him.

and killed.

§ 36. The Meſſengers of *Pharnaces* brought this News, and his Submiſſion, to *Pompey*, and he received them graciouſly. He did not carry his Virtue ſo far as to revenge

Year of *ROME* 689. venge Crimes which were for his Advantage. Then he entered *Arabia*, and when he had ſeized the Dominions of *Aretas*, turned towards *Phœnicia* and *Judæa*. § 37. *Hyrcanus* and *Ariſtobulus*, the Sons of *Alexander Jannæus*, were then diſputing for thoſe Provinces; and when *Pompey* entered *Damaſcus*, they both ſent Ambaſſadors to him. The *Roman* ordered both Brothers to appear in Perſon before him; and upon hearing their Pleas, inclined to favour *Hyrcanus*. This *Ariſtobulus* perceived, and went from *Damaſcus* without taking his Leave of *Pompey*; which ſo enraged him, that he marched after *Ariſtobulus*, took all his Forts in the Country, forced him to retire to *Jeruſalem*; and § 39, after he had for ſome Time beſieged *the Temple*, which was the Citadel of that City, he took it by Storm. § 40. Then he entered the *Temple* himſelf, with all the State of a Conqueror; and diſplayed his Moderation ſo ſignally on this Occaſion, as has deſervedly gained him the Praiſes of all the Ancients: He carried away none of the Golden Veſſels or other Treaſures which he found there; tho' they were ſo great, as to amount to almoſt forty Millions of Pounds *Sterling*.

Pompey ſubdues Arabia,

enters Judæa, and takes Jeruſalem.

His great Moderation, on that Occaſion.

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——— Lake, *Eſq; in* Croſby-Square.
The Right Honourable Thomas, *Lord* Trevor.
Major Sawyer.
Charles Smith, *Eſq; of the* Tower.
The Right Honourable the Lady Sundon.

KOME had fixed the Dominions of Rome, extend towards Pontus and Media. lapidat A-
Year of wonder Caninius would not be Consulled. Then he entered Asiatic, and went to Pompey on, or that
§ 37. Phraates and Tiridates, the sons of Chosroes Jealous, were then quibbling rapid,
for those Provinces: and Pompey entered Damascus, each both into Mandestigors
to him. The Roman ordered both Kingdoms to stoop to Parthia before him: and ap-
on pretence that Phraates, instead to invest Hyrcania. This Nobleman proceeded, and
went from Damascus without taking his leave of Pompey: which to enraged him, that enter Ju-
he marched after Mithridates, took all his Forts in the Country, forced him to retire daea.
to Jerusalem: and § 39. after he had for some Time pursued the Fugitive, and take
entered the Jewish Capital, with all the State of a Conqueror: and chastised his Mo- Jerusalem.
narch was the Citadel of that City, he took it by Storm. § 40. Then he
Pompey's giving. Hir Kingdom
Pompey's Generosity in Disposing of Kingdoms. Mithridates
Pompey's Justice. Occasion.

A MAP
OF
PALESTINE

THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA

ARABIA DESERTA

EGYPT

ASIA

BRITISH MUSEUM

A MAP OF PALESTINE

Roman Miles 75 to a Degree

5 10 20 30 40 50 60

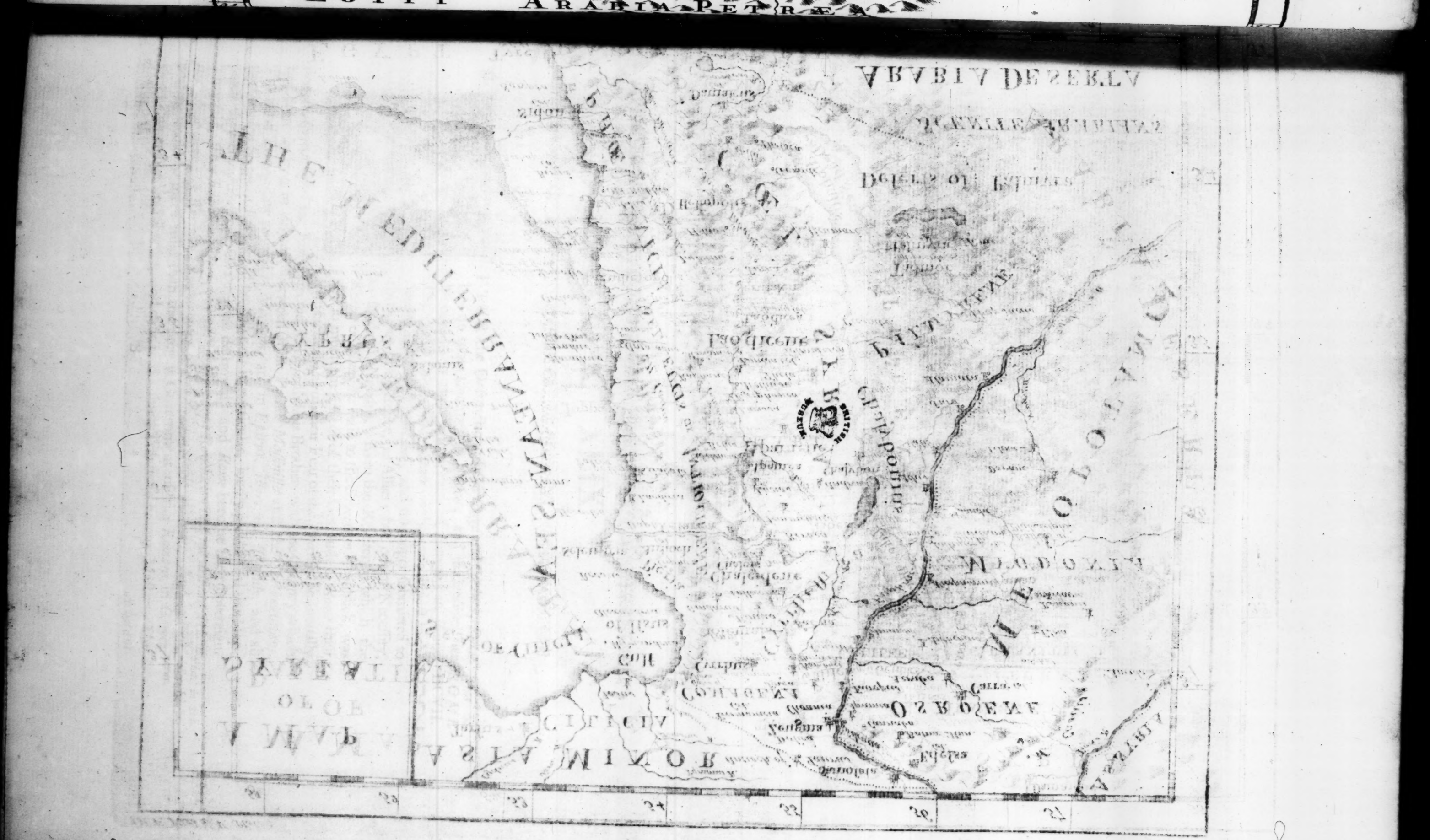
THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA

ARABIA DESERTA

51 52 53 54 55

33 32

Tyre
Ptolemais
Cesarea
Joppa
Apollonia
Ascalon
Gaza
Eleutheropolis
Jerusalem
Askelon
Raphia
Rhinocolura
Bethaphua
Mt. Carmel
Mt. Casius
L. Serbon
Ostracine
EGYPT
Damascus
Anti Libanus
Trachonitis
Galilee of ye Gentiles
GALILEE
ITURÆA
AURANITIS
GAULANITIS
SAMARIA
JUDÆA
PEREA
IDUMÆA
ARABIA PETRÆA
Lake Asphaltis or Dead Sea
Jordan
Sea of Tiberias
Mt. Hermon
Mt. Nebo
Mt. Pisgah
Jaser
Gadara
Abila
Capitolias
Rabba or Philadelphia
Gerasa
Pella
Dium
Gamala
Bethsaida or Julias
Tiberias
Scythopolis
Samaria or Sebaste
Sichem
Lydda or Diospolis
Jamnia
Azotus
Ashdod
Ekron
Gath
Hebron
Jericho
Bethlehem
Emaus or Nicopolis
Bethel
Ephraim
Hai
Gilgal
Jericho
Engeddi
Thecua
Hesbon
Medaba
Bethabara
Mennith
Ramath
Succoth
Aroer
Dibon
Ar or Areopolis
Livias Callirroe
Kirjath
Zoar
Oboth
Jabok
Jaser
Phialæ Springs of Jordan
Paneas or Cesarea Philippi
Sogane
Hippos
Gaulon or Gaulan
Hippos
Tabor
Nazianus Port of Gaza
Anthedon
Thabata
Ziceleg
Gerar
Arad
Masada
Carmel
Maon
Kinnah
Mt. Carmel
River of the Desert
Lebanus
Mt. Lebanus
Lake Phiala
Lake Semechonitis
Lake Gennesaret
Lake Samochonitis
Lake Merom
Jordan
Jabbok
Arnon
Zered
Kirjath
Zoar
Aroer
Livias Callirroe
Ar or Areopolis
Dibon
Mt. Nebo
Mt. Pisgah
Hesbon
Jaser
Medaba
Bethabara
Mennith
Ramath
Succoth
Gadara
Abila
Capitolias
Jaser
Rabba or Philadelphia
Gerasa
Pella
Dium
Gamala
Bethsaida or Julias
Tiberias
Scythopolis
Samaria or Sebaste
Sichem
Lydda or Diospolis
Jamnia
Azotus
Ashdod
Ekron
Gath
Hebron
Jericho
Bethlehem
Emaus or Nicopolis
Bethel
Ephraim
Hai
Gilgal
Jericho
Engeddi
Thecua
Hesbon
Medaba
Bethabara
Mennith
Ramath
Succoth
Gadara
Abila
Capitolias
Jaser
Rabba or Philadelphia
Gerasa
Pella
Dium
Gamala
Bethsaida or Julias
Tiberias
Scythopolis
Samaria or Sebaste
Sichem
Lydda or Diospolis
Jamnia
Azotus
Ashdod
Ekron
Gath
Hebron
Jericho
Bethlehem
Emaus or Nicopolis
Bethel
Ephraim
Hai
Gilgal
Jericho
Engeddi
Thecua


ARABIA DESERTA
ARABIA PETRÆA
Damascus
Jerusalem
Nazareth
Samaria
Jericho
Gaza
Ascalon
Ptolemais
Tyre
Sidon
Berytus
Tripolis
Laodicea
Apamea
Hamath
Palmyra
Emesa
Damascus
Heliopolis
Abilene
Trachonitis
Auranitis
Batanea
Gaulonitis
Galilæa
Samaritis
Judæa
Idumæa
Peræa
Phœnicia
Cœle Syria
Mesopotamia
Arabia Deserta
Arabia Petræa
Cyprus
Mediterranean Sea
Dead Sea
Jordan R.
Euphrates R.
Orontes R.
Lake Gennesareth
Lake Asphaltites
Lake Phiala
Lake Semechonitis
Mount Libanus
Mount Antilibanus
Mount Hermon
Mount Carmel
Mount Tabor
Mount Gilboa
Mount Gerizim
Mount Ebal
Mount Hor
Mount Nebo
Mount Seir
Mount Sinai
Red Sea
Gulf of Arabia
Gulf of Suez
Gulf of Aqaba
Egypt
Africa
Asia
Europe
Ocean
Scale of Miles
Longitude East from London
Latitude North
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37

A MAP OF SYRIA

Roman Miles of 5000 feet each
5 10 25 30 45 60 75

ASIA MINOR
CILICIA
Tarsus
COMAGENA
OSROENE
ASSYRIA
MESOPOTAMIA
MYGDONIA
SEA OF CILICIA
Gulf of Issus
Alexandria
Issus
Cyrrhus
Zeugma
Batnæ Hun.
Carræ ct.
Amida
Edessa
Samosata
Antioch of Taurus
Pyramus R.
Pinarus R.
Mt. Amanus
Germanicia Col.
Chesnia
Singa
Europus
Acraba
Anthemus
Eleia
Rosafa or Resaine
Callinicopolis or Callinicum
Magnida
Davane
Ichnæ
Sarut
Alamata
Euphrates R.
Tigris R.
Mt. Casius
Gindarus
Immæ
Minyza
Batnæ
Callicomes
Chalcidene
Chalcis of Belus
Rossus
Seleucia
Antioch
Daphne
Orontes R.
Heraclea
Laodicea
Dinaretum Prom.
Carpasia
Uranium
Aphrodisium
Clides Isles
Crommius Prom.
Cerynia
Macaria
Lapethus
Cicari
Elæum Prom.
Solœ
Tamiseus
Salamis
Trimethus
CYPRUS
Chroni or Cerynæ
Idalia
Amathus
Citium
Curium
Old Paphos
Curias Prom.
Paphos
THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Marathus
Aradus Isle & City
Antaradus
Smyra
Orthosia
Tripolis
Botrys
Face of God Promone.
Byblus
Old Byblus
Berytus Col.
Leontes R.
Sidon Col.
Sarepta
Tyre Col.
PHŒNICIA
Belus R.
Eleutheros R.
Mt. Casius
SELEUCIS OR ANTIOCHENE
Apamea
Apamene
Chalybon
Chalybonitis
Lysias
Androm.
Selucia of Belus
Serjane
Larissa
Epiphanea
Arethusa
Raphanea
Thela
Emesa Col.
Mariamne
Lotmidissa
Laodicene
Laodicea of Libanus Ol.
Occaraba
Libanus Mt.
Sinna
Lybum
Heldo
Heliopolis
Ano
Gerode
Abila
Thelsea
Damascus Col.
Chrysorrhoas R.
Cœlosyria
PALMYRENE
Putea
Thapsacus
Tadmor afterwards Palmyra Col.
Yaumari
Harae
Cholle
Araba
Risapa
Sura
Deserts of Palmyra
SCENITE ARABIANS
ARABIA DESERTA

THE

Roman Hiſtory.

BOOK XLIX.

§. 1. AFTER the Deſtruction of *Carthage* and *Corinth*, *Rome* had no more Enemies in *Africa*; and maintained her Dominion in the Eaſtern Parts of *Europe*, in Peace. The whole *Carthaginian State* was become ſubject to the *Senate and People of Rome*; and no longer ſubmitted to them out of deference, as Allies; but out of Neceſſity, as ſubdued Nations. Even the Reverence which the Kings of *Numidia* paid to the *Sovereign* Republick, was not ſo much the Effect of their Gratitude to *Rome* their Benefactreſs, as of their Fear of the *Prætor* ſhe annually ſent to *Africa*: tho' ſhe had preſented *Micipſa* and his Brothers with the Country which had been ſo long in diſpute, between their Father *Maſſiniſſa* and the *Carthaginians*. The ſame Tranquillity reigned in *Macedon*, and in *Epirus*, *Illyricum*, *Theſſaly*, and all the *Grecian* States in *Europe*. The *Achæans* in particular, loudly proclaimed the Happineſs they enjoy'd, ſince *Corinth* was deſtroyed, and *Rome* become their Sovereign. They ſaid, *They had been utterly ruined, if this happy Revolution had not delivered them from their domeſtick Tyrants, which were become inſupportable to them.* And indeed, nothing could be more mild than the preſent Government of the *Romans* in *Greece*. Every City enjoyed its Liberties, and only paid a ſmall Tribute to its new Maſters. The

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Plut. in Themiſtoc. & Zonaras.

 Achæans

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Achæans, and in general all the *Greeks*, were governed by a *Prætor*, ſent annually to *Achaia* from *Rome*; and enjoyed great Tranquillity under the ſhelter of ſo powerful a Protection. So that *Thebes*, *Lacedæmon*, *Athens*, *Argos*, *Sicyon*, and many other ancient Cities, continued their Commerce, and maintained their Alliances with the different Nations of the *Levant*. Being ſubject, but not enſlaved, to *Rome*, they wore the Yoke without feeling it; and happy had it been for them, if they had ſtill retained a due Senſe of their preſent Happineſs.

The Sovereigns of *Aſia* were the only Princes in the Eaſt, whom *Rome* had not yet ſo far ſubdued, as to reduce their Kingdoms to *Roman Provinces*. The Republick had long contented her ſelf, with exerciſing a new kind of Authority over them, which had much the reſemblance of ſovereign Power. She had made herſelf the Arbitreſs of their Differences; ſo that no Affairs of Importance were then determined, without Appeal to the Tribunal of the *Roman Senate*. But the *Aſiaticks* had now, for ſome Years paſt, diſpenſed with going ſo far, for the deciſion of their Quarrels. The *Carthaginian* Wars, and the Inſurrections in *Macedon* and *Achaia* againſt the Republick, had either engaged her too much to permit her to attend to the Affairs of *Aſia*; or had ſuſpended the Attachment of the *Aſiaticks* to her, till ſuch time as ſhe ſhould recover her former Grandeur. So that many conſiderable Things had of late been done in *Aſia*, in which *Rome* had had no part. Contrary to her Intention, and in ſpight of her Policy, the Spirit of Diſcord had brought about many Revolutions there.

1 *Macc.b.* 10. *Joſephus.*

§. II. In *Syria*, the Throne of [1] *Demetrius Soter* had been invaded, by that *Alexander Bala*, who called himſelf the natural Son of *Antiochus Epiphanes*. *Demetrius* had been defeated [2] and put to death by his Rival; and had left two Princes under Age. The

1 This is the ſame *Demetrius Soter* the firſt of that Name, whom we have ſeen in the fourth Volume of this Hiſtory, mount the Throne of his Father, and afterwards defeated and killed by *Alexander Bala*. *Polybius*, *Joſephus*, and *Juſtin* agree with the 10th Chapter of *Maccabees*, concerning the unfortunate Death of this Prince. Nay, *Appian* himſelf atteſts it, when he expreſly ſays, that *Demetrius Soter loſt his Crown* and *his Life*. Δημήτριος μὲν ἔτυχε τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ ἀπέθανεν. Tho' his *Latin* Tranſlator makes this Author ſay, that the dethroned King ended his Days in Baniſhment. Whereas if he had at all reflected on the natural Signification of the *Greek* Expreſſions, he could not give them a Senſe which they will by no means bear.

2 *Demetrius Soter* when ready to come to a deciſive Battle with *Alexander Bala*, had provided for the Safety of his two Sons. He had entruſted them, ſays *Juſtin*, with one of his old Hoſts, a Native of *Cnidus*, a City of *Caria*, in the Neighbourhood of *Rhodes* and *Halicarnaſſus*. This Confident, is the ſame Man to whom the Author of the Hiſtory of the *Maccabees* and *Joſephus* give the Name of *Laſthenes*. Being then an Inhabitant in the Iſland of *Crete*, he did the Office of a Tutor to the two young Princes, and took upon him the Care of them in their Infancy. And therefore *Demetrius Nicanor* had ſuch an Affection for him, that he always look'd upon him as his own Father. He honours him with this Title in the Letter which we have preſerved in the Hiſtory of the *Maccabees*. And indeed *Laſthenes* could not well expect leſs Gratitude from a Pupil who owed his Crown to him. This zealous Tutor had made it his whole Buſineſs to raiſe the Hopes of *Demetrius Nicanor*. He had not concealed from him any of thoſe great Sums of Money which *Demetrius Soter*, uncertain of the Event, had ſaved from Shipwreck before his defeat. They were all employ'd, by the Direction of this faithful Governour, to make powerful Preparations for a War, with the Uſurper of the Crown of *Syria*. The young Prince embarked at the head of this new Army, and came to *Cilicia*, reſolving to recover the Inheritance of his Fathers. *Alexander Bala* was then in *Phœnicia*, and trembled at the News of his Rival's March and Exploits. And in order to prevent the Revolt of his Subjects, on the approach of ſo formidable an Enemy, he made all haſte to *Antioch*. There he found means to diſconcert, at leaſt for ſome time, the Meaſures of the Conſpirators; and his Preſence ſuſpended the Storm which was gathering againſt him. *Jonathan*, for his part, did not forget the many Favours *Alexander* had beſtow'd on the *Jews*. The Misfortunes of this Prince did not abate his Zeal, but he valued himſelf upon continuing conſtantly attached to him, to the laſt. It may be affirmed, that *Jonathan* was the only Perſon who dared oppoſe the rapidity of the torrent which encreaſed every day. Young *Demetrius* had already been proclaimed King by the People of *Cele-Syria*; and it was to be feared, that this Conqueſt would draw *Phœnicia* after it. *Apollonius*, ſurnamed *Davus*, who commanded in this Province, had betrayed the Intereſt of his Sovereign, to follow the Fortune of the new Conqueror. This was the ſame *Apollonius* who marched againſt the *Jews* by order of young *Nicanor*, who was exaſperated at their inviolable attachment to *Alexander*. Whilſt *Demetrius* was preparing to march to *Antioch*, the perfidious General marched into *Judea*. He advanced as far as *Jamnia*, a City on the Sea-Coaſts, between *Azotus* and *Joppa*. From thence he ſent a Defiance to *Jonathan*, the *High-Prieſt* and Governour of the *Jewiſh* Nation. This great Man, exaſperated by the bravadoes of *Apollonius*, came in ſight of *Joppa*; and was there joined by his Brother *Simon*, who commanded a ſeparate Body. The two Commanders united ſummoned the City to ſurrender. The affrighted Inhabitants durſt not expoſe themſelves to the hazards of a Siege, but ſubmitted, and opened their Gates. Then *Jonathan* and *Simon* together, gave battle to the Army commanded by *Apollonius*, and the *Syrian* Troops could not ſuſtain the Valour of the two Heroes. They were cut in pieces, and forced to flee. The greateſt part of thoſe who were diſperſed about the Country, and purſued by the Conquerors, fled precipitately for Refuge to *Azotus*; and were ſo terrified, that not thinking themſelves ſafe under the Walls of the City, they had recourſe to a Temple, dedicated to *Dagon*, a *Syrian* God. But *Jonathan* did not think any regard due to this Idolatrous *Aſylum*. He entered the City of *Azotus* by force, and burnt it. The Temple was reduced to Aſhes, and they who had ſhut themſelves up in it, periſhed

The Eldeſt, ſtill very young, after he had been long concealed by the 3 *Cretans*, and ſupported by a *Syrian* Faction, had appeared at laſt 4 in *Syria*, in order to take Poſſeſſion of his Father's Throne; but the ambitious 5 *Ptolomy Philometor* had prevented

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riſhed in the Flames. And the Neighbouring Places had the ſame Fate. They were all burnt, except ſome rich Spoils which the *Jews* ſaved from the Fire. In theſe ſeveral Expeditions *Apollonius* loſt about 8000 Men; and *Jonathan* had now no more Enemies to fear. They were diſperſed by the Fame of his Exploits. Being then Maſter of the Field, he turned his Arms towards *Aſcalon*. The terror of his Name intimidated the Inhabitants, and they prevented the Conqueror; they brought him with Pomp into their City, where he was received with the acclamations of the People. Thus, crowned with Honours, in all the Places through which he paſſed, he led back his triumphant Army to *Jeruſalem*, loaded with the Riches he had taken from the Enemy: And *Alexander*, informed of theſe great Succeſſes, ſignally teſtify'd his Gratitude, by the new Marks of Diſtinction with which he honoured *Jonathan*. He ſent him a Claſp of Gold, ſuch as the Princes and Lords related to the Royal Family uſed to wear; and gave him the abſolute Sovereignty of the City of *Accaron*, and its Territory.

3 *Demetrius Soter's* ſecond Son was called *Antiochus Sidetes*. But *Joſephus* gives him the ſame Surname as his Father, *Soter*. It is conjectured, that that of *Sidetes* was taken from a City of *Pamphylia*, which the ancient Geographers call *Side*. *Strabo*, *Pliny* and *Ptolomy* place it at the Mouth of the River *Eurymedon*. Perhaps, this Prince had this Surname, becauſe this City either gave him Birth or Education. At leaſt, we are told by *Juſtin*, B. 35, That *Antiochus Sidetes* was brought up in *Aſia*.

4 *Demetrius Nicanor* was but about fifteen Years of Age, when he appeared in *Syria* to maintain his Pretenſions. Which is proved thus. His Father *Demetrius Soter* eſcaped from *Rome* at the Age of 23, in order to get into *Syria*. The time of his eſcape coincides with the 591ſt Year ſince *Romulus*: After which he married, and reconquer'd the Kingdom of his Anceſtors from *Antiochus Eupator*. And from this time, to the Year of *Rome* 606, when *Demetrius Nicanor* began his Expeditions againſt *Alexander Bala*, are but 15 Years. And conſequently, this young Prince was but about that Age. *Juſtin* gives him near the ſame number of Years. He ſays, B. 35, That *Demetrius* had already attained the Age of *Puberty*, when he left his retreat with deſign to make War in *Syria*.

5 *Demetrius Nicanor* was not *Alexander Bala's* moſt formidable Enemy. He had another more formidable, in *Ptolomy*, his Father-in-Law. The Troubles in *Syria* raiſed in this ambitious Prince, the Deſign of uniting in himſelf the two Crowns of *Ægypt* and *Aſia*. The Circumſtances were favourable, and Fortune ſeemed to pave the way for his entrance into *Alexander's* Dominions. This Prince had married *Cleopatra* the Daughter of *Ptolomy*, and was in danger of being dethroned by *Demetrius Nicanor*. This was enough to free the King of *Ægypt's* Conduct from all ſuſpicions; for it was generally believed that he was only haſtening to the Defence of his Son-in-Law. *Ptolomy* therefore got together a Fleet of Galleys; and the Troops he led by Land were ſo numerous, that the Author of the Hiſtory of the *Maccabees* compares them to the Sand on the Sea-ſhore. Thus he entered *Syria*, under the ſpecious Pretence of aſſiſting his Friend and Relation, againſt the Enterprizes of an unjuſt Aggreſſor; and all the Cities through which he paſſed, received him with eagerneſs. Nay, the People even prevented him in his approach, and ran in crowds to meet him. *Alexander* had given them Orders to pay the King of *Ægypt* the Honours that were due to him as the Father-in-Law of their Sovereign. But the faithleſs *Ptolomy Philometor* with all thoſe ſpecious Appearances, only took advantage of the credulity of the unfortunate *Alexander*. He made it his firſt Buſineſs to put *Ægyptian* Garriſons into the Cities which had opened their Gates unto him; and thereby got them into his own Power, and ſecured to himſelf the Poſſeſſion of them. As he paſſed by, he was ſhewn the Ruins of *Azotus* and the Temple of *Dagon*. Some parts of dead Bodies, which lay in the Road, brought to Remembrance the Slaughter of *Apollonius's* Troops; and the Enemies of the *Jews* told the King, that theſe were the melancholy Effects of *Jonathan's* Fury. The King of *Egypt*, without making any anſwer to theſe Complaints, kept a profound ſilence; but probably reſolved, to ſignalize his Reſentment at a proper time, againſt the *Hebrew* General, whom he knew to be *Alexander's* moſt open Friend. Nevertheleſs *Jonathan* came to *Joppa*, attended with a numerous Train, dreſſed in the richeſt manner; and there he ſaluted *Ptolomy*, who gave him as favourable a Reception as he could deſire. They both ſpent the Night in the ſame City, and the next Day left it. *Jonathan* accompanied the King as far as the *Eleutherus*, a River of *Phœnicia*; and then returned to *Jeruſalem*. *Ptolomy*, on the other hand, advanced into *Syria*, and made himſelf Maſter of all the Places he found in his way, as far as *Seleucia* a maritime City, on the Mouth of the *Orontes*. And now, it was in vain for him to diſſemble any longer. The leaſt ſagacious began to ſee into the bad Deſigns which he had hitherto concealed under very ſpecious Appearances: And indeed *Ptolomy* was tired with diſſembling. He ſent a Deputation to *Demetrius*, to invite the young Prince to join with him againſt their common Enemy; and to convince him of his Sincerity, the King of *Ægypt* offered him, as to the lawful Heir of the Crown, his Daughter *Cleopatra*, *Alexander Bala's* Wife, in marriage. He ſaid, he was determined to take this Princeſs out of the Hands of a perfidious Creature, who in return for his Benefactions, had hired Aſſaſſins to murder him: A Crime which he had probably forged, the better to palliate his Injuſtice. However, *Demetrius Nicanor* durſt not withſtand the preſſing Sollicitations of the Ambaſſadors, but came to *Ptolomy*, who had nothing in view but his own Intereſt in this Alliance. For fear of having two Enemies at once, he made uſe of *Demetrius* to haſten the Deſtruction of *Alexander*. When delivered from this formidable Competitor, he took it for granted the other would fall an eaſy Sacrifice. But be that as it will, *Cleopatra* actually broke her Vow to her firſt Husband, and conſented to marry the young Prince; who very unfortunately accepted of this falſe Princeſs, who was not aſhamed to break through her former Engagements. He did not then know, that her Ambition would one day ſow the Seeds of Diſcord in his Dominions, and even on the Throne itſelf.

After *Ptolomy* had preſided at the Ceremonies of the Marriage, he ſet out for *Antioch* the Capital of *Syria*, and there threw off the Mask. He treacherouſly cauſed himſelf to be crowned King of *Syria*; and then *Demetrius* perceived that he had laid too much ſtreſs on the Promiſes of an artful Prince, who, without regard to the moſt ſacred Rights, ſet no bounds to his Ambition.

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vented it. He had marched with a great Army, from *Egypt* to *Antioch*, made himself Master of it, and there caused himself to be proclaimed King of *Syria*. But, as a rare Instance of his great Justice, or rather of his Fear of displeasing the *Romans*, he restored the

All these Things were transacted in the Heart of the Kingdom, in the absence of *Alexander Bala*. Deceived by the false Assurances his Father-in-Law continually gave him, he employed himself in *Cilicia*, in reducing the Nations in that Country to his Obedience. But the News of the Unfaithfulness of his Wife, and the Treachery of his Father-in-Law, soon convinced him of his Mistake. Nevertheless he did not suffer himself to sink under this shocking News; but assembled his Troops without loss of Time, and made great Marches, to stop the Progress of the Usurper. *Ptolomy* prevented him, and offer'd him battle, according to *Strabo*, near the River *Oenoparas*, in the Plains of *Antioch*. *Alexander* had no resource but in his Valour, and therefore accepted the Challenge. But Fortune did not prosper his Courage. His Troops were entirely defeated; and being himself forced to take refuge in *Arabia*, he there perished miserably, by the Hands of the Traytor *Zabdiel*, one of the Lords of the Country; the same Man to whom *Uranius*, quoted by *Stephen of Byzantium*, gives the Name of *Rhabilus*. This Barbarian cut off his Head, and sent it to *Ptolomy*; who did not long enjoy the Fruit of his Crimes. Three days after, Death put an end to his ambitious Projects and his Life together. *Nicanor*, delivered from a Master and a Rival, took Possession of the Throne. The People no longer hesitated about acknowledging him for their Sovereign. And thus, supported by the *Asiatick* and *Syrian* Troops, he destroyed all the *Ægyptian* Garrisons which kept Possession of the most considerable Places in the Kingdom, and forced the rest of the Foreign Troops to return into their own Country.

This is the account, which the Author of the History of the *Maccabees* gives of the Troubles in *Syria*. He represents *Ptolomy Philometor* as a perfidious Prince, who trampled under his Feet the Laws of Nature and Justice, in order to raise himself on the Ruins of his own Son-in-Law. We have therefore reason to be surprized, that *Josephus* should neglect these valuable Memoirs, which his own Nation afforded him. We don't know either *Ptolomy* or *Alexander*, by the Pictures he draws of them; neither does the Order of Events, as he settles them, agree with the *Sacred Text*. His Account of the famous Revolution, which ended both the Reign and the Life of *Alexander Bala*, is as follows.

Book of Maccabees.

Demetrius Nicanor was entered into *Cilicia* at the Head of a numerous Army; when *Ptolomy Philometor*, informed of the Danger which threatned his Son-in-Law, hastened to his Defence, with all his Forces both by Sea and Land. But how great was his Surprize, when upon his arrival at *Ptolomais*, he understood that *Alexander* had a design upon his Life! *Ammonius*, the Confident and greatest Favourite of the King of *Syria*, had undertaken to execute this detestable piece of Treachery. He had laid Snares for *Ptolomy*, with an intent to kill him. The King of *Egypt*, being happily informed of it in time, escaped the Danger; and wrote to *Alexander* complaining of the Attempt, and demanding the Death of the Criminal. But this Minister had only executed his Master's Orders; and therefore this Prince had no regard to his Father-in-Law's Complaints. *Philometor* was highly exasperated at this, and immediately resolved to signalize his Resentment against the Author of such horrible Perfidiousness. *Alexander* had long committed the whole Care of the Government to this *Ammonius*; and this insolent Minister only used his Authority to make the Yoke the heavier on the People. Those of *Antioch* enraged at his Violences and Rapines, were weary of groaning under his Oppressions, and there was a general Insurrection throughout this great City, which cost the imperious Favourite his Life. Being surrounded on all sides, he had disguised himself like a Woman, the better to make his escape from the Rage of a mutinous Populace. But they knew him in this Habit, and he fell a Sacrifice to their Fury. Nor did the Death of *Ammonius* put an end to the Sedition. The Rebels were uneasy, to see a Prince upon the Throne, whom his Ministers, and his own Indolence together had made odious. *Ptolomy*, who only waited an Opportunity to signalize his Revenge, took advantage of the present Disposition of the *Syrians*, and thought of nothing but turning his Army against the unfortunate *Alexander*. In the first place, he took from him his Daughter *Cleopatra*, who, too easily complying with her Father's Will, broke through all Shame, to marry a second Husband. *Ptolomy* had by his Ambassadors, offered her in Marriage to *Demetrius Nicanor*, with a Promise to settle him on the Throne; and the young Prince embracing those advantageous Offers, the Marriage was publickly solemnized. After this, the King of *Ægypt* used all his Power to engage the People of *Antioch* in favour of *Nicanor*. But the Inhabitants of this great City still remembered the Evils they had suffered under the Reign of *Demetrius Soter*, his Father; and were afraid the Son would prove a Tyrant and an Avenger. However, their hatred to *Alexander* so far got the better of their old Prejudices, that they entered into a Confederacy against him, and forced him to leave *Antioch*. The dethroned King retired into *Cilicia*, and *Ptolomy* entered the Capital, where he was saluted King both by the People and his own Troops; who jointly forced him to put two Crowns on his Head, one as King of *Ægypt*, the other as King of *Asia*. And though a more ambitious Prince would doubtless have been elated with the Glory of a Crown, which made him Master of the richest Countries in the East; yet, if we may believe *Josephus*, *Ptolomy* knew how to set bounds to his Ambition, when not founded on the Rules of the strictest Equity. Besides, he was to take care of offending the *Romans*, whose Policy chiefly consisted in gradually lessening the Power of Sovereign Princes. *Philometor* therefore assembled the Inhabitants of *Antioch* together; and with a Generosity scarce to be parallelled, declared to them that he could not without injustice, place himself on the Throne of *Syria*, by excluding the lawful Heir. He represented to them, that *Demetrius* had such amiable Qualities, as foretold a mild and peaceable Reign. And in short, he calmed their Fears, that *Nicanor* might think it his Duty to punish their old Revolt against *Demetrius Soter*, his Father; and for their greater Security, offered to be their Guaranty for the young Prince's Conduct. He undertook to assist him with his Advice, and to teach him the Art of Reigning. The disinterestedness and the Representations of *Philometor*, had their desired Effect; and *Demetrius* was proclaimed and acknowledged King of *Syria*, by the Inhabitants of *Antioch*.

In the mean time, *Alexander* who was driven from his Capital, was preparing to return into his Dominions by Force. After he had assembled a numerous Army, he destroyed *Cilicia* and *Syria* with Fire and Sword. *Philometor* and his new Son-in-Law marched to oppose their common Enemy; and came to a pitch'd Battle, in which they were victorious The unfor-

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the Crown to young *Demetrius*, and married him to Queen *Cleopatra* his Daughter, whom he had before given in Marriage to *Alexander Bala*. The latter therefore, having no reſource but in his Valour, marched againſt the united Armies of *Philometor* and *Demetrius*, and engaged them. But the *Egyptian* Army prevailed. *Alexander* fled, and ſought for refuge in *Arabia*. In the purſuit, *Philometor* fell from his Horſe, and was mortally wounded in the Head. He lay ſenſeleſs four Days, and only came to himſelf long enough to enjoy a barbarous Sight; which was the Head of *Alexander*, which the *Arabian* Prince to whom he fled for Refuge, had cauſed to be ſtruck off. The Joy he felt on this occaſion, cauſed ſo ſudden a change in him, that he died whilſt he was tre-

unfortunate *Alexander* inſtead of gathering together the ſcatter'd Remains of his Army, ſought to ſave himſelf by flight, and took Refuge in *Arabia*. He thought himſelf ſafe with *Zabez*, a conſiderable Man in the Country; and there reſolved to wait for a turn of Fortune. But the Place proved fatal to him. The treacherous *Zabez* ſtabbed him with his own Hand, and made this baſe Act matter of Merit with *Demetrius* and *Ptolomy*. But the latter was ſcarce able to taſte the Fruits of his Victory. In the Heat of the laſt Battle, his Horſe, affrighted with the cry of an Elephant, ſtarted, and threw him. A great Company of *Alexander*'s Soldiers ſurrounded him, and he would have been killed on the Spot, if his Guards had not ſaved him from the Fury of the Enemy: And this only prolonged his Life for ſome Days. The mortal Wounds he had received in his Head the moment he fell, ſoon brought him to his Grave. For four days he was Senſeleſs and Speechleſs. The fifth, he ſeemed to recover his Senſes; and in this interval, the Head of *Alexander* was brought him as a Preſent from the perfidious *Zabez*. But the Joy and Pleaſure he felt at ſeeing himſelf deliver'd from an Enemy who had conſpired his Deſtruction, immediately put an end to his Life. As for *Demetrius Nicanor*, continues *Joſephus*, he forgot his Obligations to his Benefactor *Ptolomy*. He was ſcarce ſettled in peaceable Poſſeſſion of the Throne, before he forced, by his ill Uſage, the *Egyptian* Soldiers to leave *Syria*. Theſe Foreign Forces, enraged with the Ingratitude of a King, who ſo ill rewarded their Services, retired to *Alexandria*; and that, with ſuch precipitation, that they left their Elephants at the diſpoſal of *Demetrius*.

It is eaſy to perceive the difference between the ſacred Text, and this relation of *Joſephus:* And in this oppoſition between the two Hiſtorians, we cannot but give the Preference to the *Hiſtory of the Maccabees*, whoſe Certainty God himſelf aſſures us of, by his Church.

Nevertheleſs, it may be ſaid, in order to reconcile *Joſephus* with the Holy Scripture, that *Alexander* formed the Deſign of getting *Philometor* aſſaſſinated by *Ammonius*, after the unjuſt Proceedings of this Prince had manifeſted his boundleſs Ambition and want of Faith. It is, doubtleſs, of this *Ammonius* that *Florus* ſpeaks in the Epitome of the 50th Book of *Livy*. At this time, ſays that *Latin* Author, the Kingdom of *Syria* was governed by a ſlothful and voluptuous King, who was very like *Pruſias*, in his exceſſive Debaucheries. *Ammonius* diſcharged the Offices of a Sovereign in his room. This Man of Violence had eſtabliſhed his Power by the Maſſacre of the greateſt Lords of the Court. Even Queen *Laodicea*, and *Antigonus*, the Son of *Demetrius Soter*, were not ſecure from his Violences. This King ſacrificed both to the Suſpicions of his Miniſter. This relation of *Florus*, gives us reaſon to conclude, that *Demetrius Soter* had three Sons, *viz. Demetrius*, ſurnamed *Nicanor*, *Antigonus Sidetes*, and *Antigonus* who periſhed by the Artifices of *Ammonius*.

Nevertheleſs it is certain, that *Joſephus* is not the only Author who contradicts the Holy Scripture. According to *Diodorus of Sicily*, B. 32. *Eclog. Alexander Bala*, after he had loſt the Battle with *Demetrius*, fled to *Aba* a City in *Arabia*, to *Diocles* one of the chief Lords of the Country, whom this Prince had a little before entruſted with the Care of his Son *Antiochus*, who was yet a Child. And this Hiſtorian aſcribes the Death of *Alexander Bala* to the Officers who attended him in his flight. He ſays, theſe Traytors ſent Meſſengers to the Conqueror, and offered to rid him of an Enemy who was formidable to him, even in his retreat. *Demetrius*, who had no other point in view, but to ſecure himſelf in the peaceable Poſſeſſion of the Throne of *Syria*, accepted the Offers made him in the Name of the Conſpirators; and they ſeized *Alexander*, and to pleaſe the new King, became the Murderers of him, whom they had hitherto acknowledged to be their Sovereign.

Nor is *Juſtin* more favourable to the Memory of *Alexander Bala*, than *Joſephus*; as appears by the Deſcription he gives of him, in the 35th Book of his Hiſtory. According to him, this Prince, wholly devoted to his Pleaſures, ſhut himſelf up in the inner Parts of his Palace with his Women, on whom only he beſtowed all his Time and Cares. *Demetrius Nicanor* took advantage of the inaction of *Alexander*, and entered *Syria*. Upon the report of his march, the *Syrian* Troops came over to him; and the Inhabitants of *Antioch* followed their Example. Tired with living under a King, who, by his Pride and Effeminacy, was become hated by all his People, they flattered themſelves, that ſo open a Declaration in favour of the Son, would wipe off the Shame of their Rebellion againſt his Father. Nevertheleſs, *Juſtin* does not agree with *Joſephus*, in the Character of *Ptolomy Philometor*. He repreſents him as a ſtupid Prince, whoſe Effeminacy and Debaucheries had ſtupified him more than the fat with which he was overloaded. But, beſides that this Character does not agree with that given of him in the *Hiſtory of the Maccabees*, it is certain, that neither his Expedition againſt *Alexander*, nor his Death in the Field where he was Victorious, ſhew him to have been cowardly and timorous. *Ptolomy* died in the 34th Year of his Reign, and not the 35th, as *Euſebius* pretends without Reaſon; unleſs he adds to the 34, the Year which ended his Life, and begun the Reign of *Demetrius*, who merited the ſurname of *Nicanor*, or the *Victorious*, by his laſt Victory. As for *Alexander Bala*, the Holy Scripture makes him reign about ſix Years, reckoning from the 160th Year of the Empire of the *Greeks*, or *Æra of the Seleucidæ*, to the 167th; which was the firſt of the Reign of *Demetrius Nicanor*, and the laſt of the King of *Egypt*. We cannot therefore ſay with *Euſebius*, that *Alexander Bala* ſurvived *Philometor* 4 Years; and that the latter reigned 10 Years and 7 Months. The prophane Hiſtorians themſelves agree, that the King of *Syria* died before *Ptolomy*. The Chronologiſt we have juſt quoted, adds, that *Alexander* had married the Daughter of *Ptolomy Euergetes* the Brother of *Philometor*. But this appears to be a miſtake, both by Sacred Hiſtorians and Prophane.

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panning. So that *Egypt* was now no longer divided between him and his Brother; *Phyſcon* was ſole Maſter of this great Kingdom. As for *Demetrius*, he recovered the Poſſeſſion of his Father's Dominions, took the Name of *Nicanor* or *Nicator*, and reigned long [6] over them.

§. III. *Judæa* was ſtill ſubject to the excellent Government of *Jonathan*. Being High-Prieſt, and at the ſame time the Head, of the holy Nation, he had taken the Cities of [7] *Joppa*, [8] *Azotus*, and [9] *Aſcalon* from his Enemies, and had ſignalized himſelf by gaining

6 The Intereſts of the Kings of *Syria*, from *Antiochus the Great*, downwards, are ſo blended with the Hiſtory of ancient *Rome*, that we think it inexcuſable not to give the Reader all the Knowledge of them, which can be learnt from all the Monuments the Ancients have tranſmitted to us. We find theſe Princes on the *Syrian* Medals, according to the order of their Succeſſion to the Crown. The firſt Medal in the adjoining Plate, gives us on one ſide, the Head of *Antiochus the Great*, with the Diadem or Royal Fillet, the uſual Mark of Royalty; and on the reverſe, the Figure of a Galley. By this Symbol the *Syrians* repreſented the City of *Tyre*. From whence it is conjectured, that they intended thereby to allude to the Means whereby *Antiochus* became Maſter of this great City. It was delivered up to him at the ſame time as *Ptolomais*, by the Treachery of *Theodotus*, Lieutenant General of *Ptolomy Philopator* King of *Egypt*. The Letters ΡΠΖ are arithmetical Characters, which among the *Greeks* are correſpondent to the *Arabian* Cyphers 117. By theſe Letters we learn, that the Medal was ſtruck in the 117th Year of the Empire of the *Seleucidæ* in *Aſia*, which correſponds with the 30th Year of the Reign of *Antiochus the Great* the third of that Name, and with the Year of *Rome* 558.

Pl. 3. No. 1.

§ *Pl.* 3. No. 8.

Seleucus Philopator the Son and Succeſſor of *Antiochus*, is repreſented on the ſecond Medal, with the ſame Symbol which is on the former. The Letters ΡΟΑ. ſignifying the 133d Year of the Empire of the *Greeks*, or *Seleucidæ*, and the 9th of the Reign of *Seleucus*.

Pl. 3. No. 2.

Pl. 3. No. 3. The third Medal has conveyed to us the Head of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, ſo famous in *the Hiſtory of the Maccabees*, for the horrible Cruelties he exerciſed againſt the People of the *Jews*. On the reverſe is the Image of *Jupiter*, armed with a Thunderbolt, and holding his Sceptre in his Hand, with this Inſcription, ‖ *Pl.* 3. No. 9. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΘΕΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ. The Surname of God, expreſſed by the *Greek* term ΘΕΟΥ is one of thoſe Titles with which the Monarchs of *Egypt* and *Aſia* loved to diſtinguiſh themſelves, to ſhew, either their high Birth, or their Pre-eminence above other Men.

Pl. 3. No. 4. On the fourth Medal, we ſee, on one ſide, the Head of *Antiochus Eupator*, the Son of *Antiochus Epiphanes*; and on the other, a *Jupiter* ſitting, and holding a winged Victory in his Hand. The youthful Look of this Prince proves that he was very young when he mounted the Throne, as we have proved, from the ancient Hiſtorians, in the preceding Volume.

Pl. 3. No. 5. The fifth Medal carries the Head of *Demetrius Soter*, the Son of *Seleucus Philopator*. Beſides, the Surname of *Soter*, or *Preſerver*, this Medal gives him thoſe of *God* and *Philopator*. The winged Victory on the reverſe, probably alludes to the Advantages gained by *Demetrius* over *Eupator*, and *Lyſias* the Guardian of this young Prince, as we have obſerved, in the preceding Volume.

Pl. 3. No. 6. On the reverſe of a ſixth Medal, which has the Name of *Soter*, we read the *Greek* Letters ΡΞΒ which ſignify the 162d Year of the Empire of the *Greeks*, and the 12th or laſt of the Reign of *Demetrius*.

Pl. 3. No. 7. The 7th Medal has tranſmitted to us the Head of *Alexander Bala*, the natural Son of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, and that of *Cleopatra*, the Daughter of *Ptolomy Philometor*. It is well known, that *Alexander* married her after he had taken away the Crown from his Rival *Demetrius*. On the Head of this Queen we ſee a Buſhel, after the manner of *Iſis* and *Serapis*, two *Egyptian* Deities. This Buſhel joined with the *Cornu-Copia* on the Medal, are Symbols of the Happineſs the People promiſed themſelves from the Marriage of the King of *Syria* with the Daughter of the King of *Egypt*. The reverſe is the ſame with that of the Medal of *Antiochus Eupator*; only we here find the Titles of ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡ and ΓΕΡΓΕΤΗΣ which diſtinguiſh *Alexander*. The firſt ſhews that he gloried in having had for his Father *Antiochus Epiphanes*, ſurnamed ΘΕΟΣ. By the ſecond he repreſents himſelf as a BENEFICENT Prince; or if you will, the *Greek* Word ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΣ which anſwers to the *Latin* term BENEFICUS, is taken in the ſame Senſe as *Beneficiarius*, that is to ſay, *A Lord who has Vaſſals*. Thus ſome Commentators have interpreted that Paſſage of St. *Luke* ch. 25. as it ſtands in the *Vulgate*. *Reges Gentium dominantur eorum, & qui poteſtatem habent ſuper eos* BENEFICI *vocantur*.

In the Year of the Empire of the *Greeks* 166, the *Tyrians* ſtruck a Medal, § in honour to *Alexander*, which has this Inſcription, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ. The Name of ΤΥΡ is here in a Monogram, on the upper end of *Hercules*'s Club, who was worſhipped in this City. The Maſter of the Mint, has taken care to point out to us, by the *Greek* Characters ΡΞΣ placed behind the Head of the Eagle, the Year of the *Seleucidæ* 166, which was the laſt of *Alexander*. Which is a Proof of the Agreement of the Medals with the Holy Scripture, which fixes the firſt Year of the Reign of *Demetrius Nicanor*, to the 167th Year of the Empire of the *Greeks*, or *Seleucidæ*.

To theſe eight Medals we add that of *Ptolomy Philometor*, ‖ the ſixth of the Name. The reverſe is charged with an Eagle holding a Thunderbolt in his Talons, and a Palm Tree. This King is here honoured with the Title of God. From the Letters ΟΠΠ ſome conjecture that it was ſtruck by the Inhabitants of *Oppon*, an ancient and great Trading City which *Ptolomy the Geographer* places in that Part of *Ethiopia* which was ſubject to *Egypt*. By the Letters ΙΔ and the Letter L inverted in this Medal, as in ſeveral others, the Maſter of the Mint doubtleſs intended to ſignify the 14th Year of the Reign of *Philometor*, ΙΔ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ.

7 The City of *Joppa* in *Paleſtine*, now known by the Name of *Jaffa*, was in the North part of *the Tribe of Dan*, on the Coaſt of the *Mediterranean* Sea. It might paſs for one of the moſt ancient Cities in the World, if what ſome Authors ſay of it were true, that it was built before the Flood. It was ſtrengthened with a Port, at which the Ships which brought the Materials for building the Temple landed them, in order to their being carried to *Jeruſalem*. But it ſcarce deſerves the Name of a City, ſince it is come under the Dominion of the *Turks*.

8 *Azotus* is now only a ſorry Village which the Natives of the Country call *Alzete*. It ſtands three Miles from the Coaſts of the Sea of *Syria*. It was formerly one of the five Chief Cities of the *Philiſtines*.

1
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ
ΡΙΖ
ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ
2
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ
ΡΛΓ
ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ
3
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ
4
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΕΥΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ
5
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ
6
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ
Ρ Ξ Β
7
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ
8
ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ
Ρ Ξ Ε
9
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΘΕΟΜΗΤΟΡΟΣ
Ο Π
ΙΑΙ
10
11
ΤΟΝ ΚΤΙΣΑΝΤΑ ΤΗΝ ΝΙΚΑΙΕΙΣ ΠΡΩΤΟΙ Ι Β ΚΑΙ ΒΙΘ
ΚΑΙ ΠΡΩΤΗ ΠΟΝΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΒΕΙΘΥΝΙΑΣ
Η ΜΗ
ΤΡΟΠΟ
ΛΙΣ
ΝΚΟ
12
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΣΙΒΙΟΥ ΝΙΚΟΜΗΔΟΥΣ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ
ΡΠΓ
13
COLONIA
PATRICIA
14
ITALIC
MVNIC
PE R
AV G

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gaining many Battles. His Name was equally formidable to the Kings of *Syria* and *Egypt*, and being always a Friend to the *Romans*, he enabled his People to enjoy the Fruits of his Wiſdom and Valour. He had faithfully maintained an Alliance with *Alexander Bala* as long as he had lived: When *Ptolomy* enter'd *Syria* to conquer it, *Jonathan* had paid him the Honours due to his Rank, without declaring for him: And he afterwards procured the Friendſhip of *Demetrius Nicanor*, as ſoon as he ſaw him eſtabliſhed in the Throne. So that by a wiſe Conduct, and by paying proper regards to two powerful neighbouring Monarchs, he both preſerved Peace in his State, and enlarged its Borders.

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1 Mac. Ch. 10, & 11.

§. IV. In *Bithynia*, the moſt tragical Scenes had lately been preſented. *Pruſias* [10], who reigned there, was both a bad King and an unnatural Father. He made a contemptible Figure on the Throne, and was become inſupportable to his Subjects for his Tyranny. He was a Monſter of a Man, who had no one [11] Virtue to make amends for the enormity of thoſe Vices which made him hated by his People. And as he was of a mean and baſe Spirit, he ſervilely revered the *Roman* Republick, of which he called himſelf a *Freed-Man*. In order to preſerve her Favour, he had committed to the *Romans* the Care of the Education of *Nicomedes* [12] his eldeſt Son, an amiable Prince, whom the *Bithynians* longed to have ſet over them. But the Father ſeemed to prefer his Children by a ſecond Bed, before him. And as *Pruſias* was no leſs intolerable to his Neighbours than to his Subjects, he had ſeveral times entered the Kingdom of *Pergamus* Sword in hand and ravaged it. *Attalus* had complained of this to the *Roman Senate*, and *Pruſias* had been condemned by them, to give the *Pergamian* 20 Ships with Decks, and to pay him [13] 500 *Talents*, by way of Satisfaction. This Debt he had already in part diſcharged, but hoped by his Son's Intereſt, who reſided at *Rome*, to prevail on the *Conſcript Fathers* to oblige *Attalus* to forgive the Remainder. With this view, he ſent on an Embaſſy to the Senate a Lord of his Court, named *Menas*, who was equally capable of a Negotiation, and of any deſperate Attempt. Accordingly, his Inſtructions were to make uſe of *Nicomedes*'s Intereſt at *Rome* to gain his Point; and in caſe he could not ſucceed, to diſpatch this Son, who was now of an Age to entertain ambitious Deſires. For the more eaſy execution of this, he embarked with the Ambaſſador 2000 Men, which was an extraordinary Guard; but they were neceſſary in order to an attempt on the Life of the Heir of a great Kingdom, and to facilitate the eſcape of *Menas* after the Aſſaſſination.

Polyb. apud Valeſium. App. de Bello Mithridat. Epit. Liviana: and others.

When *Menas* came to *Rome*, he employed *Nicomedes* to uſe his beſt Offices with the Senate; but *Andronicus*, the Ambaſſador of the King of *Pergamus*, pleaded his Maſter's Cauſe ſo forcibly with them, that their former Decree was confirmed. What remained therefore was, to put the barbarous Orders of *Pruſias* in execution, and kill *Nicomedes*. But this Prince was really beloved by the *Romans*, and it ſeemed dangerous to attempt his Life in this great City, and in the ſight of its formidable Senate. In ſhort, *Menas* at laſt reſolved to communicate to the Son, his Father's Deſigns, and to turn that Violence which he was order'd to offer to the young Prince, againſt the Tyrant himſelf. The Affair was concerted with great Secrecy and Artifice. The important Secret was communicated

9 *Aſcalon*, now *Scalona*, was one of the five chief Cities in the Country of the *Philiſtines*. At preſent it is almoſt buried under its Ruins, which are yet to be ſeen on the Coaſts of the *Syrian* Sea.

10 We have already given the Reader a knowledge of *Pruſias* King of *Bithynia*, by our Accounts of the Affairs he had with the *Romans*. The Ancient Hiſtorians give him the Surname of *The Hunter*. But he had not the Surname of ΜΟΝΟΔΟΥΣ, that is, *The ſingle-toothed*, as *Tzetzes* pretends. *Valerius Maximus* and *Pliny* ſay, that this Surname belonged only to one of his Sons, who was called *Pruſias* as well as himſelf. This Son was called ΜΟΝΟΔΟΥΣ, becauſe inſtead of diſtinct Teeth, he had only one continued ſemicircular Tooth in each Jaw. In this he was like *Pyrrhus* King of *Epirus*, as we have obſerved in the ſecond Volume.

11 *Polybius* ſays of *Pruſias*, in his Treatiſe *Of Virtues and Vices*, That he knew how to chooſe the Part he was to act, like an able Politician. This only excepted, he had, ſays that Hiſtorian, in an ill miſhapen and diſfigured Body, a Soul ſtill more deformed. He was timorous and cowardly, and had no one Royal or Military Virtue. *Polybius* ſays, he was ſo ſwallow'd up in Effeminacy and Debauchery, that he ſeemed another *Sardanapalus*. His moſt important Buſineſs was to dreſs himſelf, to conceal the uglineſs of his Face. He was not aſhamed to put on Woman's Cloaths, and ſhew his Subjects a Figure as hideous as it was ridiculous, in a Habit ſo little ſuitable to it. No wonder therefore, that a King of this Character, ſhould deſpiſe the liberal Arts and all kinds of Knowledge, which tend to form the Mind, and improve the Taſte.

12 *Nicomedes the Second* was the Son of the Siſter of *Perſeus*, whom *Pruſias* had married for his ſecond Wife. After the Death of his firſt Wife, this Prince according to *Appian*, married the Daughter of *Digylles*, one of the petty Kings of *Thrace*, and had ſeveral Children by her.

13 500 *Talents*, make 1500000 *Livres*, at the rate of 1000 *Crowns* for each *Talent*. See our former Remarks on the *Greek* and *Roman* Money. 96875 *l. Sterl.*

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municated to the *Pergamian* Ambaſſador, who obtained leave of the King his Maſter, to tranſport *Nicomedes* into *Aſia* on board his Ship; and *Attalus* took him into his Protection. *Menas* embarked his 2000 Men at the Port of *Oſtia*; and *Andronicus* followed cloſe after him, and brought *Nicomedes* ſafe to the Place appointed. The two Ambaſſadors had agreed to come to the Port of a ſmall City in *Epirus*, called *Bernice* [14], at near the ſame time. There they both landed their Men, as it were to refreſh them after the Voyage; and *Nicomedes* went aſhore regally apparelled, in a purple Habit, with the Royal Fillet round his Temples, and a Scepter in his Hand. Then *Andronicus*, with his 500 Men, ſaluted and proclaimed him King of *Bithynia*. *Menas* immediately pretended to be ſurpriſed at a Step which tended to dethrone *Pruſias*, tho' concerted; and in great haſte aſſembled his 2000 *Bithynians*, and artfully addreſſed himſelf to them in this manner. *We are now reduced to the Neceſſity of judging between the Father and the Son, between* Pruſias *and* Nicomedes. *One has the* Romans *and the King of* Pergamus *in his Intereſt, and the Wiſhes of all the People of* Bithynia. *The other ſupports himſelf by his great Age and long Poſſeſſion of the Throne. We might live a great while under young* Nicomedes, *but Death muſt ſoon remove old* Pruſias *from us. The Son has indeed aſſumed the Title and Regalia of a Monarch, before his time: But it muſt be confeſſed, that the* Bithynians *would long ſince have ſtripped the Father of them, if their Power had been equal to their Hatred. Chooſe therefore which you will eſpouſe; whether the Intereſts of the King in Poſſeſſion, or of him whom this Opportunity offers to you. Only remember, that* Attalus *has taken* Nicomedes *under his Protection, and that the Pupil of the* Romans *cannot fail of their Protection.* This ſaid, he ſaw in the Countenances of his Men, an unanimous determination to adhere to the young Prince; and he went on to confirm and eſtabliſh their Affections to him, in the following Words. *How narrowly*, cried he, *did the Hope of* Bithynia *eſcape being cut off in the prime of his Age! The inhuman* Pruſias *gave me Orders to aſſaſſinate his Son. But I ſaved him from Deſtruction. And ſhall I, after this, be baſe enough to deſert him?*

Then the 2000 *Bithynians* immediately joined the Troops of *Andronicus*; and acknowledged *Nicomedes* to be their King. After great Shouts and repeated Acclamations, the two Bodies of Men reimbarked, ſet ſail, and landed in a Port of the Kingdom of *Pergamus*. *Attalus* [15] received young *Nicomedes* with great Joy; and immediately diſpatched Meſſengers to *Pruſias*, to require him to aſſign over ſome Provinces to his Son, and fix certain Revenues on him for his Subſiſtence. To which the old King proudly anſwered, *That* Nicomedes *ſhould ſoon have the Kingdom of* Pergamus *for his Lot; which he would put him into Poſſeſſion of, as ſoon as he had conquered it.* So that all Preparations were immediately made for an open War; but *Pruſias* was too weak to maintain one. He therefore had recourſe to *Rome*, and intreated the Senate, to nominate three Commiſſioners for *Aſia*, with Powers to ſettle *Bithynia* and *Pergamus* in Peace. But it is uncertain, whether the Affair of the two Monarchs was at all ſeriouſly [16] conſidered at *Rome*. At leaſt, there was ſomething ſtrangely ridiculous in the Choice the *Romans* made of theſe Commiſſioners. One of the three whom the *Roman Prætor* ſent to *Aſia*, was mad, the ſecond was lame, and the third extremely ſtupid. Whence that ſaying of *Cato*, who was then alive, *That the* Bithynian *Embaſſy had neither Feet, Head, nor Underſtanding.* It may eaſily be imagined, that Men of this Figure and Character had no great Weight, in the two Courts; ſo that they returned [17] without terminating the Differences between them. The next recourſe therefore was to Arms; but the *Bithynians* refuſed to fight againſt *Nicomedes*. So that the old King finding his Affairs deſperate, applied himſelf to one of the petty [18] Sovereigns of *Thrace*, whoſe Daughter he had married, for his ſecond Wife; and all the Succours he could get, were only 500 Men. In the mean time, *Ni-*

Plut. in Cato.

14 *Bernice* was anciently a City of *Epirus*. *Euſebius*, *Eccleſ. Hiſt. B.* 7 *Ch.* 21, ſpeaks of one *Ammon*, a Biſhop of *Bernice*, and not *Berenice*, as ſome by miſtake read it. *Plutarch* mentions this Place, in his *Life of Pyrrhus*.

15 *Attalus*, to ſtir up the Ambition of *Nicomedes*, interpreted certain Verſes in his Favour, which were aſcribed to one of the *Sibylls*; and it is ſaid, that theſe Verſes promiſed the young Prince the Kingdom of *Bithynia*.

16 At leaſt *Appian* ſays, that *The Prætor of Rome* deferred for ſome days the Audience, which *Pruſias*'s Ambaſſadors deſired to obtain without delay.

17 The *Roman* Deputies, ſays *Appian*, in vain endeavoured to force the two Parties to lay down their Arms, by dint of Authority. *Attalus* and *Nicomedes* ſeemed to ſubmit; but the *Bithynians* proteſted they could no longer bear the Tyranny of *Pruſias*. Theſe Diſputes diſconcerted them; and they thought proper to retire without concluding any thing, and inform the Senate of the Complaints the People of *Bithynia* made againſt their King.

18 This petty Sovereign of *Thrace*, is the ſame that we have juſt now called *Diegylles*. He was then at War with *Attalus*, who, according to *Strabo*, had ravaged his Dominions.

comedes

comedes advanced into *Bithynia*, at the Head of the *Pergamian* Troops; and his Father's Subjects in general, particularly the Lords of *Bithynia*, ſtrove who ſhould firſt join him. In this univerſal Revolt therefore, *Pruſias* quitted the City of *Nice* [19], where he was not ſafe; and fled for Refuge to *Nicomedia* [20], a City whoſe Affections he thought ſuch, that he might ſafely entruſt himſelf there, and which he thought ſtrong enough to endure a Siege. Whilſt he was there waiting for the Enemy, and increaſing the Fortifications, *Nicomedes* appeared. At the ſight of a great Army, the *Nicomedians* were ſeized with dread, opened their Gates to the young Conqueror, and left the old King at his Mercy. The only *Aſylum* for *Pruſias* was the Altars; and he retired into a Temple of *Jupiter*. But the Holineſs of the Place could not ſcreen him from the Violence of his Son. This Diſciple of the *Romans* was already tainted with that depravity of Manners, which began to get ground among them. He was impious enough to order the Aſſaſſination of his Father; and to ſend Murderers [21] into the Temple, who took from the unfortunate King both his Crown and his Life. And therefore the Ancients make it a doubt, whether was the more wicked, the barbarous *Pruſias* who would have murdered his Son, or the inhuman *Nicomedes* who embrued his Hands in the Blood of his [22] Father. It being according to them equally inhuman, either to deprive thoſe of Life to whom we have given it; or thoſe, to whom we owe our own [23].

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19 The ancient Geographers place the City of *Nicæa*, or *Nice*, in *Bithynia*, near the Lake *Aſcanius*, now *the Lake of Iſnich*. It's acknowledged Founder was *Antigonus*, the Son of *Philip of Macedon*; and from thence it was firſt called *Antigonia*, according to *Strabo*, and *Pliny the Naturaliſt*. Afterwards it was repaired and embelliſhed by *Lyſimachus*, who gave it the Name of his Wife *Nicæa*, the Daughter of *Antipater*. But *Stephen of Byzantium* aſſures us, that *Nice* was originally a Colony of the *Bottiæi* a People of *Thrace*, and was then called *Anchare*. The Orientals now call it *Iſnich*, or *Nichor*, according to *Leunclavius*. But *Sophian* pretends, that it ſtill preſerves its ancient Name in that of *Nichea*. *Pliny* is the only Author who mentions two Cities of *Nice* in *Bithynia*; one 25 Miles Eaſt from *Pruſſa* or *Burſa*, and 44 North of *Nicomedia*; and the other near a Gulph which he calls *Aſcanius*, as well as the Lake of that Name. The latter he ſays is called *Olbia*. But *Pliny*'s ſingle Authority ought not to be preferred to thoſe of *Strabo*, *Stephen of Byzantium*, *Ptolomy*, and *Antoninus*, who allow of only one City of *Nice* in *Bithynia*. Indeed *Ptolomy* mentions a Place called *Olbia*, near *Nicomedia*. But it is certain, that no ancient Geographer calls *Nice* by that Name. Beſides, we don't know where this *Lake of Aſcanius* is, which *Pliny* only mentions. It is therefore natural to ſuppoſe, that he means by it *The Gulph of Aſtaces*, or *Olbia*, now known by the Name of *The Gulph of Nicomedia*. Add to this, that the City of *Nice* was one of the moſt conſiderable Cities in *Bithynia*. This we may infer from the reverſe of a Medal § of the Emperor *Domitian*. It is charged with the Figure of a *Bacchus*, with this Inſcription, ΤΟΝ ΚΤΙΣΤΗΝ ΝΙΚΑΙΕΙΣ ΠΡΩΤΟΙ. Π. ΚΑΙ ΒΙΘ, by which Words the *Nicæans* glory in acknowledging *Bacchus* to be THE FOUNDER of *Nice*, and declare it to be of THE FIRST RANK among the Cities of PONTUS and BITHYNIA. This Pre-eminence is expreſſed by the *Greek* Word ΠΡΩΤΟΙ, as the Names of the Provinces of PONTUS and BITHYNIA are pointed out by the Letter Π, and the *Greek* Syllable ΒΙΘ. *Strabo*, and after him *The Acts of the Council of Chalcedon*, diſtinguiſh this City with the Title of a Metropolis; but this Diſtinction was diſputed by the People of *Nicomedia* under the *Roman* Emperors. And indeed, *Nicomedia* always paſſed for the Capital, not of *Bithynia* only, but of *Pontus* alſo, from the Time that *Auguſtus* united theſe two Provinces into one. But this did not hinder its being acknowledged to be the chief City of *The ſecond Bithynia*, after the Province was divided into two Parts. It was, according to *Strabo*, of a ſquare Form, containing 16 *Stadia*, or 2000 Geometrical Paces in Circumference. *Appian* tells us, that from the Time of *Pruſias the Hunter* it was ſtrengthened with a Citadel. And in proceſs of Time, the General Council held here againſt the Hereſy of *Arius*, gave a new Luſtre to this City.

20 The ancient Authors agree, that *Nicomedia* was formerly the Capital of all *Bithynia*; and the Medals confirm it. On the reverſe of a Medal of the Emperor *Trajan*, this City is called *The Metropolis and the chief City of* PONTUS *and* BITHYNIA. Η. ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΣ ΝΙΚΟ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΩΤΗ ΠΟΝΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΒΕΙΘΥΝΙΑΣ. *See Pl.* 3. No. 11. Inſomuch that *Athenæus* joins it with *Alexandria* and *Antioch*. And *Libanius*, who lived in the Time of *Julian the Apoſtate*, pretends, that in bigneſs it was only inferior to the four firſt Cities in the World, *Rome*, *Conſtantinople*, *Alexandria*, and *Antioch*, and that it might be compared with them for Beauty. The Founder of this City was *Nicomedes the firſt*, Son of *Zipœtus*, and the Great-Grandfather to *Pruſias the Hunter*. *Pauſanius*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and *Trebellius Pollio* ſay, that *Nicomedia* was originally called *Aſtacus*, and communicated that Name to the Neighbouring Gulph. But *Pliny* and *Ptolomy*, make *Nicomedia* and *Aſtacus* two different Cities; and *Strabo* adds, that *Nicomedes* razed *Aſtacus*, and tranſplanted its Inhabitants into his new City of *Nicomedia*. According to *Pliny the Younger*, *B.* 10. *Let.* 50, it had in its Neighbourhood a very great Lake, which was very convenient for conveying Merchandizes as far as to the great Road; and from thence they were conveyed by Land-Carriage to *the Sea of Pro-Pontis*, now *the Sea of Marmora*. *Niger* thinks this the ſame Lake with that which is now called *The Lake of Puſgu-ſa*. Nothing now remains but the Ruins of this ſo famous City. It underwent the ſame Fate as its Rival, *Nice*. Earthquakes, and the Fury of Barbarians, have ſcarce left us any traces of its ancient Splendor. § *See Pl.* 3. No. 10.

21. Some ancient Authors don't agree, with *Diodorus Siculus* and *Appian*, that *Nicomedes* dipp'd his Hands in the Blood of his own Father. Some, as *Strabo*, throw this Crime on *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*, ſworn Enemy to *Pruſias*. *Dio Caſſius* and *Zonaras* ſay he was aſſaſſinated by his own Subjects. *Livy*, *Epitom. B.* 50, divides the horrible Guilt of this enormous Act, between *Nicomedes* and *Attalus*.

22 *Appian* tells us, that *Nicomedes* was not leſs cruel to his own Brothers. He was ſcarce mounted on the Throne, e'er he inhumanly ſacrificed them all, not one excepted, to his Ambition and Jealouſies. *Pruſias*, ſurnamed ΜΟΝΟΔΟΥΣ had the ſame Fate as his Father.

23 *Nicomedes* the Son and Succeſſor of *Pruſias*, was

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This ſhort Account of the various Occurrences in *Aſia*, whilſt *Rome* was employed in her Wars with *Carthage*, *Achaia*, and *Macedon*, ought not to be deemed an uſeleſs digreſſion, becauſe neceſſary to repreſent the ſituation of the *Aſiatick* Monarchs; eſpecially ſince the Republick was now come ſo near to them. After the Reduction of all *Greece*, the *Roman Provinces* joined to *Aſia*: And hereafter, we ſhall find the Intereſts of the *Aſiaticks* and *Romans* ſo blended together; that it will not be eaſy to purſue the Hiſtory of the latter, without having, at leaſt, a ſlight Knowledge of the State of the former. However, for the preſent, *Rome* did not turn her Ambition towards the Eaſt. The troubleſome War ſhe had to maintain in *Spain*, and which had been continued during all the Siege of *Carthage*, was of it ſelf ſufficient to find her Employment in the Weſt of *Europe*; and thither the Thread of our Hiſtory, which we have ſo far advanced, now leads us.

Year of *ROME* DCVIII.

§. V. For the Year of *Rome* 608, the Republick choſe two *Conſuls* of very different Characters. One was, the Brother of *The ſecond Africanus*, and the Son of *Paulus Æmilius*, who had tranſlated him into the Family of the *Fabii* by adoption. So that his new Name was *Q. Fabius* [24]; and his Surname *Æmilianus*, to ſhew his Deſcent. The other was that *L. Hoſtilius Mancinus*, who had Commanded the *Roman* Fleet before

Q. FABIUS ÆMILIANUS, & L. HOSTILIUS MANCINUS, Conſuls.

See Pl. 3. No. 12.

honoured with the Title of *Epiphanes*, or *The Illuſtrious*. This appears by a Medal, which can ſuit no body but this Prince, if we conſider the *Greek* Arithmetical Characters, ΡΠΓ marked on the reverſe. Theſe Letters anſwer to the *Arabian* Cyphers 183. By this Date, the Director of the Coin, deſigned to ſhew the Epocha of the Kings of *Bithynia*, beginning with the Year which gave birth to the Monarchy. In order to fix this Epocha, we have no Authority but *Georgius Syncellus*. This Writer, who lived during the Empire of *Conſtantine* and *Irene*, reckons up in this Region of *Aſia Minor*, a Succeſſion of eight Kings, who ſucceeded one another without Interruption, in the Space of 213 Years, down to the laſt *Nicomedes*. Now the Death of this King happened in the Year of *Rome* 679. If then we deduct 213 out of 679, this will bring us to the 466th Year of *Rome*, and conſequently, this was the firſt Year of the Reign of *Zipœtus*, the firſt King of *Bithynia*. He was ſucceeded in the Throne, by his Son *Nicomedes the firſt* of that Name; who built the City of *Nicomedia*, about the 129th *Olympiad*, the 492d Year of *Rome*, the 26th after the Eſtabliſhment of the *Bithynian* Monarchy, and 157 Years before the Year 183, which is the Date of the Medal. *Pruſias the firſt* ſurnamed *The Lame*, ſucceeded his Father *Nicomedes*. *Pruſias the ſecond* the Son of *Zela* and Grandſon of *Nicomedes*, *Pruſias the Hunter* the Son of the former, *Nicomedes the ſecond* ſurnamed *Epiphanes*, *Nicomedes Philopator*, and laſtly, *Nicomedes the fourth of* the Name and the laſt of the Kings of *Bithynia*, reigned ſucceſſively from Father to Son. It is pity, the Ancients have not exactly told us, how many Years each of theſe reigned. Nevertheleſs, it is certain, that *Nicomedes the ſecond* reigned a long time, ſince he was in Poſſeſſion of the Throne, in the Year of *Rome* 660. This we have reaſon to infer from *Strabo*, *Juſtin*, and *Memnon*. The laſt, who lived in the Time of *Auguſtus*, wrote 16 Books, containing the Hiſtory of the City of *Heraclea* in the Kingdom of *Pontus*; the greateſt part of which, *Photius* has abridged, and tranſmitted to us in his *Bibliotheca*. From the Accounts given us by theſe Hiſtorians it follows, that *Nicomedes the ſecond*, mounted the Throne about the Year of *Rome* 607, and that he was ſtill King in the Year 649; and conſequently, that the Medal laſt mentioned muſt neceſſarily belong ro him, excluſive of the other *Nicomedes's* who reigned before and after him. Indeed, the Chronologiſts and Authors, both Ancient and Modern agree, that *Nicomedes the third*, ſurnamed *Philopater*, died about the Year of *Rome*, 664, after a very ſhort Reign. It is therefore evident, that the beginning of his Reign was poſterior to the Year of *Rome* 649, which anſwers to the Date of ΡΠΓ, or 183, on the reverſe of the Medal; where we ſee the Figure of a *Jupiter* holding a Crown in his Hand, with an Eagle and Thunderbolt before him, the uſual Symbols of this God. The *Monogram* over the Arithmetical Characters, ſtands for the City of *Heraclea* in *Pontus*. *Memnon* aſſures us it was dependent on the Kings of *Bithynia*.

And here we ſhall obſerve, by the by, the Miſtake of *Appian*, who ſettles a Succeſſion of 49 Kings in *Bithynia*. Moſt ancient Authors confine their Number to 8, ſome to 9, and others raiſe it to 11 or 12. The laſt ſuppoſe with *Memnon*, that before *Zipœtus*, *Didalſus*, and then *Botira*, gave Law there. They add, that *Bas*, or *Bias*, the Son of *Botira* firſt aſſumed the Title of King, after he had driven out *Calantus*, who governed this Province under the Direction of *Alexander the Great*. And laſtly, they put in the Liſt of the Kings of this Country, *Zela*, the Son of *Nicomedes the firſt*, and the Father of *Pruſias the ſecond*. And if it were true, that *Nicomedes the fourth* had been the 49th King, this Monarchy muſt have been erected long before the *Trojan* War. Whereas *Homer*, who is ſo exact in enumerating the Nations bordering near *Troas*, ſays not one Word of the *Bithynians*. This Country was then a Deſert, and not inhabited till after the taking of *Troy*. The *Thracians*, ſays *Appian*, who had followed *Rheſes* to the Siege of this City, retired into that Province of *Aſia*, which borders upon the *Helleſpont*. Some ſettled themſelves there, others paſſed *the Streights*, and landed near *Byzantium*, and the River *Bithyas*. This Canton was then ſeized by a Colony of *Thracians* called *Thynians* and *Bithynians*. The New-Comers, preſſed by want, repaſſed *the Streights*, and ſettled in *Bebrycia*, which they called *Bithynia*, from the River *Bithyas*, and the Neighbouring Countries, which they had juſt abandoned. This Account ſeems to be not ſo Fabulous, as that of ſome Authors, who ſuppoſe, that one *Bithys*, the Son of *Jupiter* and *Thrace*, reigned in *Bithynia*, and gave his Name to the Country. *Herodotus* and *Thucydides* had ſaid, before *Appian*, the *Bithynians* were originally *Thracians*; and *Claudius* declares for the ſame Opinion, in the following Line.

Thynni Thraces erant, quæ nunc Bithynia fertur.
In Eutrop.

24 We have already obſerved, that *Quintus Fabius Maximus Æmilianus*, was the Son of *Paulus Æmilius* and *Papiria*. When adopted by *Quintus Fabius Maximus Labeo*, he, according to cuſtom, took the Name of the Father who adopted him. *Suetonius*, in his *Life of Terence*, ſays, that *Æmilianus* was a Scholar, and gloried in patronizing Men of Letters.

Carthage,

Carthage, two Years before, in quality of *Prætor*; and had raſhly ſurprized *Megalia* with ſo little Precaution, that he brought his Men and himſelf into very imminent Danger, from which they were not without great Difficulty delivered. It ſeems proper, therefore, that a Man of ſo little Judgment, ſhould have been ever after excluded from great Employments. But in popular States, the Methods of attaining to the higheſt Stations are various. This *Mancinus*, whom the remembrance of *Carthage* ought to have filled with endleſs Confuſion, was not aſhamed to ſhew the People aſſembled in the *Forum Romanum*, a Map of the City, and of the Siege of it. Whilſt *Scipio* was making new Attacks upon it, this idle Man had entertained the *Romans*, with ſhewing them the Places of thoſe Attacks in his Map, by pointing them out with a Rod he held in his Hand. And this low Addreſs was ſo agreeable to the People, that they raiſed him to the *Conſulate*, and made him Collegue to *Fabius Æmilianus*. Whether he drew Lots with him for the Province of *Spain*, is not known; but it is certain, that the Commiſſion for continuing the War with *Viriatus* fell to *Fabius*. The *Prætor* choſen for *Hither Spain* was *C. Lælius*, ſurnamed *The Wiſe*, who was ſo ſtrictly united in Friendſhip with *The ſecond Africanus*, and had acquired ſo much Glory at the Siege of *Carthage*. And it is not to be doubted, that other *Prætors* were elected, for all the different *Roman Provinces*, which were now grown more numerous, both in the Eaſt and South; tho' Hiſtory has not tranſmitted their Names to us.

Year of *ROME*. DCVIII. Q. Fabius Æmilianus, & L. Hoſtilius Mancinus, Conſuls. *Plin. B.* 39. *c.* 4.

At *Rome*, the Citizens were exhauſted with Fatigue. The *Carthaginian* and *Macedonian* Wars had ſwept away many *Legionaries*, and they who ſurvived, wanted reſt. The *Conſul* appointed for *Spain*, had therefore more regard to the Wants of his Countrymen, than to his own Glory. He might have commanded the Veterans, who were inured to War, to have attended him, and his Orders would have been obey'd. But Compaſſion ſway'd more with him than his own Intereſts. *Fabius* contented himſelf with raiſing new Levies in the City among the Youth which had never yet borne Arms. Of theſe he formed two *Legions*, and this obliged him to defer his departure for ſome time. In the mean while, *Caius Lælius* imbarked without delay; after he had firſt ſignalized his Zeal, for the Prieſthood of his Country. *App. in Iberic.*

A *Tribune of the People*, named *Caius Licinius Craſſus*, undertook to transfer the Election of the Prieſts to the Commons. The Cuſtom had always been, when a Vacancy happened in the [25] *Sacerdotal* Colleges, for that Body of which the deceaſed had been *Cic. de Amicitia.*

25. The eight principal Sacerdotal Colleges at this time, were thoſe of the *Pontifices*, *Augurs*, *Decemviri* appointed to guard the *Sybilline* Books, *Septemviri Epulones*, *Salii*, *Fæciales*, *Luperci*, and *Fratres Arvales*. As oft as any Vacancy happened in either of theſe, by the Death of any Prieſt, it ought, according to *Numa*'s Inſtitution, to have been given only to a Man of Merit and Piety. But afterwards, Intrigues and Birth were ſufficient to procure them. The great Men of *Rome*, little regardful of the Obligations annexed to the Prieſthood, conſidered only the Advantages and Privileges of it. However, we ſhall not repeat what we have already obſerved in the preceding Volumes, concerning the ſeven firſt of theſe Colleges. All that remains, is to give ſome account here of the *Fratres Arvales*.

They were a Society of twelve Men, of good Families, united in the form of a College. *Aulus Gellius* carries up their Origin as high as to the Foundation of *Rome*. He ſays, that *Acca Laurentia*, *Romulus*'s Nurſe, had twelve Sons, one of which died. *Romulus* ſupplied the place of the deceaſed, and out of Affection to her who had been a Mother to him, made himſelf, as it were, her twelfth Son: So that the King of *Rome* look'd on the eleven Sons of *Acca Laurentia* as his own Brothers. He bound himſelf to them by the ſacred Ties of Religion, and formed them into a new Society, with the Name of *Fratres Arvales*, which they tranſmitted to their Succeſſors. From that time, a Crown made of Ears of Corn, adorned with little white Fillets, was the Mark of their Prieſthood. *Pliny* obſerves, that this ſort of Crown was the firſt that the *Romans* uſed in their Ceremonies. But *Fabius Fulgentius*, in his Work, entitled, *De Vocibus Antiquis*, relates this Fact a little differently from the account we have given of it from *Pliny* and *Aulus Gellius*. And he ſays, he had his relation from one *Rutilius Geminus*, an ancient Author, who had collected into one Hiſtory, every thing that related to the ancient Rights of the *Pontifices*. *Acca Laurentia* then, according to him, uſed to offer up a Sacrifice every Year, in order to intreat the Gods to make her Land fruitful. Her twelve Sons aſſiſted at this Ceremony, and performed the Office of Prieſts. One of them died, and *Romulus*, to endear himſelf to *Acca Laurentia*, ſhared the Brotherhood, and the Offices of the Sacrifice, with the eleven Survivors. This ſort of *Fraternity*, if I may ſo ſpeak, was perpetuated among the *Romans*, and the Sacrifice the twelve *Brothers* offered up together, gave riſe to the Feſtival of *The Ambarvalia*.

The *Romans* gave this Name to a ſort of Proceſſion that was made twice a Year round the Territory of *Rome*, under the Direction of the *Fratres Arvales*. Theſe Prieſts preſided at the Solemnity. They marched crowned with Oak-Leaves, at the head of a crowd of People. This Crown put them in mind of the Acorns, which, according to the Fictions of the Poets, were the Food of the firſt Men. The Air reſounded with the Harmony of the Flutes, and of the Hymns which different Choirs ſung, in honour to *Ceres*, *Bacchus*, and the great Deities. This Muſick was accompanied with dancing, as we learn from *Virgil*, *Georg.* 1. where he deſcribes in a natural and lively manner, the rejoicing of the Country-People, on the Feſtival of *The Ambarvalia*. At the head of the Proceſſion were three Victims, a Sow, a Sheep, and a Bull, which were therefore called *Ambarvales Hoſtiæ*.

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been a Member, to fill it up by a Majority of Votes. But *Licinius*, to make his court to the People, had prepared a Law contrary to this ancient Usage. He would have had it enacted, That the Priests should be chosen in the *Comitia*, like the other Magistrates of the Republick. A Bill was ready drawn for this purpose, and nothing remained, but to get it passed by the People. And because this Project could not but be disagreeable to the Nobility and Senate of *Rome*; since it was not only an Innovation, but in consequence of it, all the *Sacerdotal* Offices would have been fill'd with *Plebeians* for the future: *Licinius*, therefore, found out an Expedient, to prevent the *Conscript Fathers* hearing him propose his new Law. The *Comitium* [25], or Place where the People assembled to hear their *Tribunes*, and *The Tribune of Harangues* or *Rostra*, from

Hostia. After these Animals had been led round some sown Lands, they were sacrificed to *Ceres*, under the Name of *Suovetaurilia*, a Term which we have explained in the first Volume. On this occasion no Fumigations, or Perfumes, or Libations of Milk or Honey or Wine, were spared; but poured in full Bowls upon the sacrificed Victims. The Design of this Ceremony, was to engage the Gods, and especially the Goddess *Ceres*, to preserve the Fruits of the Earth. Every one promised himself a very plentiful Crop from their Blessing. Before the *Romans*, the People of *Africa* observed almost the same Rites, in a Festival which they celebrated every Year, to obtain of *Jupiter* a good Harvest. It was with this Intention that they invoked the King of the Gods. The Ancients have transmitted to us the following Form of Prayer which the *Athenians* used in times of Drought. *Give*, O Jupiter, *Give our parched Lands a gracious Rain.* After their Example, the *Romans* pray'd to *Ceres* to preserve their Flocks and their Fields from Diseases, intemperate Seasons, Pestilence, and other fatal Accidents. *Avertas morbum, mortem, labem, nebulam, impetiginem, pestilatem.* This Prayer was picked up by *Festus*.

According to an ancient Inscription, the *Romans* did not sacrifice to the Goddess of Corn only, during the Festival of the *Ambarvalia*; the Custom was, to sacrifice likewise two Sheep to *Vesta*; and *Jupiter* also, and *Mars* and *Janus*, had their share in the Supplications of the Citizens. The People, led by the *Fratres Arvales*, who began the March, walked all round the Territory of *Rome*; which according to *Ovid* and *Strabo*, was about two Leagues in circumference. The College of *Arvales* usually met, either at the *Capitol*, or the Temple of *Concord*, or that of *Dia* which was 5 Miles from the City, in the Road called *Via Campana*, which led to *Campania*. The Name of *Dia* was given to the *Mother of the Gods*, to shew that she was, by way of Eminence, *the Goddess*.

Whilst the College of the twelve Brethren *Arvales* were celebrating the Festival of the *Ambarvalia*, in the Name of the *Roman* People; every Master of a Family, crowned with Oak-Leaves, and assisted by his Family, performed the same Ceremonies in his own Estate. The Country-people were also very exact in performing the same religious Duties in their Villages, by the ministry of certain Priests, who had the care of the Sacrifices. This Festival was repeated twice in a Year; once in *May*, according to the old *Roman* Calendar, and once in *July*, before the Harvest began. *Cato, in* 134, *and* 141 *Ch. Of the Rural Life*, has described a part of the Ceremonial which was enjoined the *Romans* on these solemn Days. It above all requires the sacrificing a Sow, which it calls *Porca Præcidanea*, because it was usual, according to *Aulus Gellius* and *Festus*, to sacrifice this Victim either before the gathering of the Harvest, or the Celebration in this Festival. Nevertheless, it is certain, that *Porca Præcidanea* does not always signify a living Beast. The richest People often made an Offering to *Ceres*, of the Figure of the Animal made in Gold and Silver. This *Festus* observes on the Authority of *Atteius Capito*, an ancient *Civilian*, who was honoured with the *Consulship*, in the Reign of *Augustus*.

But the Office of the *Arvales* was not confined to the Lustrations for the Fields. An Inscription which *Grotius* has preserved in his Collection, gives us room to believe, that it was their Province to expiate Trees that were struck with Lightning, and to put others in their room, in the very place where they had been so struck. *Cujas*, B. II. Of his *Observations*, declares himself of Opinion, that the *Arvales* were appointed by the State, to inspect and settle the Boundaries of Lands. This *Civilian* founds his Opinion on the Authority of some ancient *Glosses*. We there find, that the *Arvales* were the proper Judges of the differences that arose between private Persons, concerning their Boundaries. οἱ περὶ ὅρων διαγινώσκοντες δικασταί. This will seem probable, if we consider, that the *Romans* thought nothing more sacred or more inviolable, than the Boundaries of Fields. It was a religious Affair. Whence it may be inferred, that the Cognizance of them was devolved on Priests. Nevertheless, *Turnebius*, *B.* 21. *c.* 1. *of his Remarks*, pretends, that the Judges appointed for these purposes were very different Persons from the Priests we are speaking of; and that they were called *Arvales*, only on account of their Commission. However, this at least is certain, that the Priesthood of *The Brethren* called *Arvales*, was inalienable, and ended only with their Lives. Even Imprisonment or Banishment did not degrade them. It is probable, this College was subject to a Head or Grand Master; whose Province probably it was to consecrate those who aspired at this Priesthood. Their Election had always belonged to the Members of the College, and was made by a Majority of Votes. *Varro*, *Tacitus*, and several ancient Authors, mention another Sacerdotal College, the Priests of which were called *Sodales Titii*. They took their Name from the *Tribe Titia*, or *Tatia*. Only *Sabines* were admitted into it, after they had been incorporated in *Rome*. Their King *Titus Tatius*, who then shared the supreme Power with *Romulus*, was himself, according to *Tacitus*, the Founder of this College of *Titian* Priests. He appointed them to be the Depositaries and Conservators of the *Sabine* Religion. His Design in this Establishment was, to preserve among his Subjects who were newly transplanted into *Rome*, their ancient Worship, without any Alteration. After the Death of *Tatius*, *Romulus* authorized and confirmed this Priesthood of the *Titians*. Nevertheless, *Tacitus* seems to contradict himself, when he affirms in another place, that when *Romulus* was become sole King of *Rome*, he instituted this Order of Priests, in honour to the Memory of his Collegue *Tatius*. They dwelt without the Walls of the City, and there observed the flight of certain Birds, which *Varro* calls *Titii*, and which seem to have been the same as our Wood-Pigeons. In Cases of Need, the *Pontifices* made use of these Sorts of *Augurs*.

26. The Place where the *Comitia* were held, was formerly all that Ground which was bounded by the *Mons Palatinus*, and lay between the *Rostra*, and *Hostilius's*

from which they harangu'd the People, was in that part of the *Forum Romanum* which was over-againſt, and neareſt to the Gate of the Temple in which the Senate uſually aſſembled: And as this Ampitheatre or *Roſtra* [27] directly fronted the Door of the Temple, *The Fathers* could always ſee the Orator from their Seats, and ſometimes hear him, if his Voice was ſtrong. But *Licinius*, ſeeing that among ſo great a Number of Senators he ſhould not fail to meet with ſome Opponents, changed the place of the Aſſembly. He placed his Auditory not in the Space between *The Roſtra* and the Temple of the Senate; but in a Space of ſeven [28] Acres, which lay between *The Roſtra*, and the other end of the [29] *Forum:* So that the Orator was forced to turn his Back on the Senators, in order to be heard by the People; and this Artifice, tho' the novelty of it was now ſurpriſing, was afterwards repeated by ſome ſeditious [30] *Tribunes*. But notwithſtanding all this Precaution, to get his Bills paſſed, *Licinius* met with a formidable Adverſary in *Lælius*. When an Edict was paſſing, every *Citizen* had a Right to ſpeak for, or againſt it; and to repreſent to the People the Advantages or Inconveniencies of it: And *Lælius*, on this Occaſion, mounted the *Roſtra*, and pleaded ſo forcibly in favour of the *Sacerdotal* Colleges, that they were maintained in their ancient Rights. An Action which redounded much to his Honour; and his Speech was long extant. *Cicero* ſaw it in his Time, and never ſpeaks of it but with Commendation. *Cic. in Bruto, & B. 2. de Nat. Deor.*

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§. VI. About the ſame time, the *Ædiles* were choſen. One *Publius Cornelius Scipio Naſica*, (the Grand-Son of that virtuous *Roman* who was thought moſt worthy to receive the Statue of *Cybele* in his Arms, and the Son of a *Prince of the Senate)* tho' very young, depended on obtaining the *Curule-Ædileſhip*, purely by the Weight and Influence of his Name. And as he was walking towards the *Comitium*, dreſſed in the white Robe which all Candidates wore, he drew near to a Citizen of one of *The Rural Tribes*, to ſalute him, as uſual. The Citizen, tho' a Freeman, had made his Skin hard with labour at his Husbandry; and *Naſica*, to pay his Compliments, took him by the Right Hand. But ſo *Val. Max. B. 7. c. 5.*

tilius's Palace, where the Senate uſed to aſſemble. So that it contained all that part of the preſent *Campo Vaccino* which is between the Churches of *St. Mary Liberatrix*, and *St. Lawrence in Miranda*. We have obſerved in the 3d Volume, that, in the Year of *Rome* 546, this Place was covered with a Roof, ſupported only by Stone-Pillars. For, according to *Pliny*, Marble was not uſed in the publick Buildings, before the Year 661. Time has ſpared three of theſe Pillars, which are yet to be ſeen at *Rome*. They are fluted, and of the *Corinthian* Order. Their Capitals faced towards the *Forum*; all was rough and unpoliſhed on the inſide which anſwered to the *Comitium*. This Place was not ſolely appropriated to the aſſembling of the People. The *Romans* uſed to play at ſeveral Games there, as particularly Tennis, according to *Seneca the Philoſopher*.

27 We have mentioned *The Roſtra* in the preceding Volumes. *Livy*, B. 8, gives the Name of *Temple*, to the Incloſure about this Tribunal. The *Romans* called all Places *Temples* which the *Augurs* had Conſecrated, as we have elſewhere obſerved. We muſt not therefore imagine, with *Blondus*, in his *Rome Triumphant*, that the Ancients always mean great Buildings, by the Word *Temples*. As to the Poſition of *The Roſtra*, or *Tribune of Harangues*, *Appian* ſays, in his firſt Book of *The Civil War*, That it ſtood in the middle of the *Forum Romanum*; and *Appian* herein agrees with *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis*. The latter, *Antiq. Rom.* B. 1. ſays, That over the Tomb of the Shepherd *Fauſtulus*, was erected a Stone Lion, near *The Roſtra*, in the moſt conſpicuous part of the *Forum Romanum*. And *Dio*, B. 43, gives the *Roſtra* the ſame Situation. Nevertheleſs, we muſt not from thence conclude, that they ſtood exactly in the center of the *Forum*. It was more towards one end of it, than the other, and ſo placed, that the Orator's Face was always towards the *Capitol* when he harangued the People. It was a ſort of Amphitheatre, ſupported by Columns, and its Incloſure was adorned with Statues. See what we have ſaid, and the Figure we have given of it, Vol. 2. Pag. 176. Note 85.

28 The Ancients uſe the Word *Jugerum*, to ſignify as much Ground as two Oxen could plough in a Day. Each *Jugerum* contained in length two *Actus*; and each *Actus* contained 120 ſquare Feet. So that according to *Pliny*, B. 18, and *Columella*, B. 5, the *Jugerum* was a ſquare Piece of Ground, of 240 Feet long, and ſixſcore broad. *Columella* ſpeaks alſo of another Piece of Ground called *Clima*, which contained 60 ſquare Feet. So that the *Clima* was half the *Actus*. But *Varro* ſpeaks of another Sort of *Actus*, which was only 4 Feet broad, and 120 long; *Iſidorus* makes it 160 Feet long.

29 The *Forum Romanum* was an oblong, according to *Vitruvius*'s Account of it. He ſays, the open Spaces of the *Greek Cities* were exact Squares; but thoſe of the *Romans*, long Squares. In breadth, the *Forum Romanum* contained the whole Space between the Mounts *Palatinus* and *Capitolinus*. In length, it reached from that part of *Rome* where *the Church of St. Theodorus* has ſince been built, to that where *the Church of St. Adrian* now ſtands. This ſpace, according to *Varro*, *De Re Ruſtica* B. 1, was in length 1680 Feet, in breadth 840; at the rate of 240 Feet by 120 to each *Jugerum*.

We have obſerved, in the firſt Volume, That *Tarquin the Elder* built Portico's round the *Forum*. But theſe were at diſtances from one another, to leave the entrances of the Streets, which led thither, open. Afterwards it was embelliſhed with Statues, and ſeveral other Ornaments. The Chief of which were twelve gilt Statues of the Gods and Goddeſſes of the firſt Claſs; according to *Varro*, *B. 1. De Re Ruſt.* Beſides that the Aſſemblies of the People were uſually held here; it was the Place for all ſorts of *Shews*, before the *Romans* multiplied their Theatres, Amphitheatres, and Circus's for the Celebration of the publick *Games*, and the Combats of the Gladiators.

30 *Cicero*, in his Book *De Amicitia*, and *Varro* in his *De Re Ruſtica* agree, That *Caius Licinius Craſſus* was the firſt who changed the old Method of aſſembling the People in the *Comitium*. *Plutarch* is therefore miſtaken, when he ſays, That *Rome* ſaw no Inſtance of any Innovation of this kind, before *Caius Gracchus*.

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delicate was the young *Roman*, that, being offended at the hardneſs of his Skin, he asked him, *Whether he walked upon his Hands?* And the Jeſt coſt him dear. The *Rural Tribes* reſented it. They deſpiſed a Man, whoſe Effeminacy made him ſo unlike the ancient *Romans*, who had the Inſtruments of Agriculture continually in their Hands; and by refuſing him the Suffrages on which he depended, they made him more reſerved for the future. Thus did the Loweſt and Meaneſt of the People teach the Greateſt to be cautious how they uſed them with too much Freedom.

§. VII. In the mean while, the Time drew nigh when it was neceſſary to march to the Relief of *Spain*. *Viriatus*, with his Army of *Luſitanians*, had made himſelf formidable there, both to the *Romans* and their Allies. He had gained great Victories over all the *Prætors Rome* had ſent into the *Spaniſh* Provinces, during the laſt *Punic* War: So that theſe Conquerors of the Eaſt and South, had been humbled by him, in the Weſt. After the Defeat and Death of *Vitellius*, the *Luſitanian* had increaſed his Forces, and had every Year gotten great Advantages over the ſeveral Generals which *Rome* had ſent to oppoſe him. In the Year of *Rome* 605, *Caius Plautius Hypſæus* had led againſt *Viriatus* a Reinforcement of 10000 Foot, and 1300 Horſe, but could not ſubdue the brave *Spaniard* with this great Army. It was twice defeated; and the *Roman Prætor* was obliged to leave the Field in the middle of the Summer, and keep out of the Enemy's ſight. In 606, *Claudius Unimanus* carried into *Spain* more numerous Forces than his Predeceſſor *Plautius* had done. Notwithſtanding the vaſt Number of Troops which *Rome* had then in pay, before *Carthage* and in *Macedon*, ſhe propoſed utterly to deſtroy *Viriatus*, and therefore furniſhed *Claudius* with an Army that was ſufficient to have conquered all *Spain*. But even this did not terrify the brave *Luſitanian*. As ſoon as the Soldiers which the new *Prætor* had brought from *Italy* appeared, *Viriatus* fought them, routed them, and few of them ſurviv'd the Defeat. Nay, the *Spaniſh* General ſeemed to have communicated his Valour to his common Soldiers. 300 *Luſitanians* met a thouſand Men of the *Prætorian* Army; and notwithſtanding the inequality of Numbers, a Battle being neceſſary, they engaged the *Romans* with Advantage. The latter loſt 320 *Legionaries*, the former, only 70 Men; and in the retreat, a *Luſitanian* Foot-Soldier gain'd himſelf great Honour by his Bravery. As he was marching alone, and ſlowly, at a little diſtance from his *Corps*, he was on a ſudden ſurrounded by *Roman* Horſe. But the bold *Spaniard* forced his way through the Brigade, ſtabbed the firſt Horſe that came up to him, with his Lance, and with his Sabre, clave the Head of the Rider. Then he continued his march, with the ſame gravity as before, and rejoined his Country-men, no other Perſon daring to attack him. And in the Year 607, *Viriatus* follow'd by theſe brave Soldiers, defeated likewiſe the *Prætor*, *Caius Nigidius*. So that, being Victorious for ſix Years together, he drew off whole Nations from the *Romans*, and ravaged the Countries of their Allies. The Nation that ſuffered moſt from his Incurſions, was the *Segobriges* [31]. He had juſt robbed them of their Cattle, drawn them into an Ambuſcade as they were purſuing him, and after having beaten them, had taken Poſſeſſion of their City.

App. in Iber. Oroſ. l. 5. c. 4.

Author. de viris Illuſtrib. in Viriatho.

Rome, therefore, after all theſe Loſſes and Diſgraces, thought it neceſſary to ſend a *Conſul* of Reputation, with a *Conſular* Army, into *Further Spain*, where the Revolt ſpread fartheſt; and *Fabius* was appointed to carry on the War there. But he ſtill continued at *Rome* making his Levies; ſo that *Lælius*, to whoſe Lot *Hither Spain* had fallen, anticipated him, and firſt begun to get the aſcendant over *Viriatus*. Indeed, the Hiſtorians have not tranſmitted to us the Particulars of his Exploits; but this we know, that he found Means to humble the Pride of the *Luſitanian* General, and to make him ſenſible, that *Rome* was not unprovided with great Commanders. If he did not utterly reduce this haughty Enemy, he convinced him that he was not invincible, and made it the more eaſy for *Fabius* to ſubdue him. It was ſome Months after *Lælius*'s arrival, that

Cic. in Bruto, & l. 2. de Offic.

31 The *Segobriges* inhabited the Territory of a City of *Spain*, called *Segobriga*. The Geographers are divided about the Situation of this ancient City, which *Pliny* ſays, was the Capital of *Celtiberia*. *Strabo* and *Ptolomy* place it at a little diſtance from the Place where the famous *Numantia* ſtood. *Morales* thinks he finds it in a little Town, now called *Cabeça del Griego*, formerly an Epiſcopal City. *Mariana* places *Segobriga* near *Inieſta*, a ſmall City in that Canton. Others, as *Vaſæus*, confound it with *Segorbia*, which belongs to the Kingdom of *Valencia*. Some ſay there was another *Segobriga* in the Kingdom of *Caſtille*, at the Foot of Mount *Oroſpeda*, on the Banks of the little River of *Duraton*. There now ſtands *Sepulveda*, a little City fortified by Nature; on an Eminence, in the midſt of ſteep Rocks which make it difficult of acceſs. And as theſe two Places were both called *Segobriga*, this has created a great deal of uncertainty in the Paſſage above. Some will have it, that the former is here ſpoken of, others contend for the latter; and we have not light enough from the Ancients to determine the Diſpute.

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the *Conſul* landed in *Bætica*; now known by the Name of *Andaluſia*; with Troops which were neither accuſtomed to the Climate, nor inured to military Exerciſes. He reviewed them at *Orſona* [32], and found them to amount to 15000 Foot, and about 2000 Horſe, excluſive of the Reinforcements he received from thoſe *Spaniſh* Nations, which were not ſeduced to revolt; but nevertheleſs he did not think them in a Condition to engage the Enemy. He had learnt from his Father, *Paulus Æmilius*, not to hazard Battles, till he had firſt taken the wiſeſt Precautions. *Viriatus* was not a more contemptible Enemy, than *Perſes* had been. Beſides, the Republick had very lately baniſhed the *Prætor*, *Caius Plautius* [33], for having too raſhly engaged the *Luſitanian*.

Fabius, therefore, was not in haſte to offer the Enemy battle. He firſt made it his chief Concern, to form his young *Legions*, keep them in ſtrict Diſcipline, ſtudy the Character of his Adverſary, inform himſelf of his Deſigns, and get a Knowlege of the Country. He would not ſuffer his Men to do more than ſkirmiſh with the Enemy, or engage in little Actions with them, in defence of his Convoys. In ſhort, he ſpent the whole Summer in gradually inuring his Troops to Labour, Fatigue, and ſtrict Diſcipline; without expoſing them in the Field, before a proper Time: And he took the Opportunity of this interval of Inaction, to perform his private Devotions. He made a Pilgrimage to *Gades* [34], to make his Vows and Offerings to *Hercules*, (from whom according to ancient Tradition the *Fabian* Family was deſcended [35],) in the Place where this Hero had finiſhed his Travels and his Conqueſts.

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§. VIII. Whilſt *Fabius* was ſpending the Winter in *Spain*, two new *Conſuls* were choſen in *The Field of Mars*. One was *Servius Sulpicius Galba* [36], who was exceſſively Rich, but inſatiably covetous of more; and the other *L. Aurelius Cotta* [37], a Man as Poor, as *Galba* was Rich. All Men therefore concluded, that Avarice would be their reigning Principle of Action; and that one of them would zealouſly purſue his Intereſt, through Covetouſneſs; the other, out of Neceſſity. And accordingly, as *Spain* was the moſt gainful Province, they contended for it with ſo much Heat, that the Diſpute was forced to be brought before the Senate; and *The Fathers* themſelves, were divided in Opinion. It was therefore left to the Determination of *Scipio Æmilianus*, who, ſince the taking of *Carthage*, was become the Oracle of the Republick; and he was not forgetful, That his Brother *Fabius* had ſpent the Year of his *Conſulſhip*, only in preparing the way for Victory, and That it would be to his diſhonour, to leave *Spain* without fighting *Viriatus*. He

Val. Max. B. 6. *c.* 4,

put

32 *Orſona*, now *Oſſona* ſtood in *Andaluſia*, four or five Miles, South of *Seville*. It is the ſame Place which *Pliny* calls *Urſo* and *Genua Urbanorum*. But *Antonius Auguſtinus* ſuſpects that an Error has here crept into the Text of *Pliny*, and that inſtead of *Genua*, we ought to read *Gemina*. He conjectures, that the Senate ſettled a Colony of *Roman* Soldiers there, which had been raiſed in *Rome* itſelf, and had been of the *Legion* called *Gemina*; which *Latin* Term ſhews that two *Roman Legions* had been united to make one compleat. Hence, ſays this Author, the Name of *Gemina Urbanorum*, which was given to the City of *Orſona*. But be that as it will, other Hiſtorians, or Geographers ſay, it was the preſent *Urſao*. At that time it had but one Fountain, to ſupply the Wants of all the Inhabitants. The ſame Fountain ſtill remains; but the Territory is dry and barren.

33 See Vol. 4. under the Year of *Rome*. 604.

34 See Vol. 2. p. 531. Note 20. & Vol. 3. p. 286, Note 21, & p. 452, Note 29.

35 Vol. 2. p. 63. N. 21.

36 *Servius Sulpicius Galba*'s Character has been ſufficiently made known in the preceding Volume, by his Fury againſt *Paulus Æmilius*, p. 504, his Cruelty and Avarice, p. 572. and the Accuſation brought againſt him for his Robberies, by *Cato the Cenſor*, p. 601, N. 10. *Cicero* in his *Brutus* ranks this *Conſul* among the Orators of his Time.

37 The *Aurelian* Family was *Plebeian*, and came originally from *Sabinia*, according to *Feſtus*. Their Name, according to him, was taken from Ἥλιος, *Elios*, the *Greek* Name for the *Sun*. He ſays, the *Roman* People granted this Family a publick Place, wherein to offer up their Sacrifices in honour to the Sun; and hence the Name of *Aurelius*, or *Auſelius*, according to the Dialect of the *Sabines*, who turned the *r*, into *s*. Thus they ſaid, *Auſum*, *Papiſius*, *Valeſius*, &c. inſtead of *Aurum*, *Papirius*, *Valerius*. There were ſaid to be three Branches of the *Aurelian* Family, *viz.* The *Cotta's*, the *Scaurus's*, and the *Oreſtes's*; and we ſtill find the two firſt on the Medals. As to *Lucius Aurelius Cotta* here ſpoken of, he was the ſame, who, when *Tribune of the People*, in the Year 599, would have made uſe of his Authority, to ſcreen himſelf from the Proſecutions of his Creditors. But his Collegues thought his Pretenſions unjuſt and groundleſs. He was the Son of one *Lucius Cotta*, who, according to *Livy*, *B.* 40, was *a Legionary Tribune* in *Liguria*, under the Command of *Paulus Æmilius*, in the Year of *Rome* 572. *Cicero*, in his *Brutus*, ſays, That this Magiſtrate gained himſelf ſome Reputation at *Rome* by his Eloquence; but at the ſame time repreſents him as a dangerous and miſchievous Man. The enormous Crimes with which he was charged, ſays *Val. Max. B.* 8. *ch.* 1; raiſed him up a formidable Accuſer in the Perſon of *Publius Scipio Æmilianus*. He was ſummoned to give an Account of his Conduct before the *Prætor*. Nevertheleſs his Judges acquitted him, after he had appeared no leſs than ſeven times. Not that they thought him Innocent, adds the ſame Author; but they were afraid his Condemnation would be thought by the People, to be the Effect of a cowardly Deference to the Credit and Authority of ſo great a Man as *Scipio*. So refined were they in their Policy, that they thought it better, to let a Criminal eſcape contrary to Juſtice, than to hazard their own Characters by giving room to injurious Suſpicions.

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put an end to the Conteſt by a very juſt Obſervation, which gained the Command of the *Spaniſh* Army to *Fabius*. *Neither an indigent, nor an avaritious General,* ſaid he, *is fit for* Spain. This was a wiſe Maxim, and univerſally applauded: And, the *Conſuls* were obliged to content themſelves with Commanding, the one in *Italy*, and the other in *Ciſalpine Gaul*, without either Profit or Glory.

About the ſame time, the Republick made conſiderable Innovations with reſpect to the *Prætorian* Offices. She had anciently had but one *Prætor*; afterwards two, then four, and at length ſix, ſince *Spain* had been reduced to a *Province*. And even this Number was not now thought ſufficient. It was judged neceſſary to create three new Ones; One for *Africa*, another for [38] *Macedon*, and the third for *Achaia*. Beſides, in proportion, as the Republick enlarged her Dominions, it became neceſſary to increaſe the Number of her Judges, eſpecially for Capital Caſes, which were determined only at *Rome*. Crimes were become more frequent, ſince the Inundation of the *Orientals* and *Africans*, whoſe neceſſary Affairs brought them more frequently than ever, to the Capital of the World. Hitherto one *Prætor*, ſtiled *Prætor Urbanus*, had been ſufficient to hear the Civil Cauſes, and ſuch Criminal ones, as aroſe within the Verge of the City. And, another, called *Prætor Peregrinus*, had alone determined all Diſputes which aroſe, either between Citizens and Foreigners, or between Foreigners and Foreigners. But both were now ſo overloaded with Buſineſs, that it was become neceſſary to eaſe them. It was therefore reſolved, That for the future, the *Prætors* [39], inſtead of going into the *Provinces* which fell to them by Lot, ſhould continue at *Rome* the Year of their *Prætorſhip*, and each have his particular Court for the Adminiſtration of Juſtice; and that afterwards, each ſhould go to his reſpective *Province*, and govern it in quality of *Pro-Prætor*. This new Regulation continued long in Practice, and tho' it is not exactly known in what Year it was made, there is Reaſon to believe it was either in the 608th, or the 609th Year [40] of the City.

The

38 *Sextus Rufus* and *Jornandes* ſay, that *Macedon* was firſt ſubdued, and reduced to the State of a *Roman Province*, about the Year of *Rome* 607, after the Defeat of *Andriſcus* or the falſe *Philip*. But *Oroſius* pretends, That the *Macedonians* were ſubjected to the Dominion of *Rome* from the Year 602; and That *Scipio Æmilianus* firſt governed *Macedon*, in quality of *Prætor*, in the Name of the Republick.

39 By this new Regulation, which was ever after continued, the ſix new-elected *Prætors* drew Lots, for their reſpective Shares in the Adminiſtration of Juſtice at *Rome*, during the Year of their *Prætorſhip*, and for the Government of the *Prætorian* Provinces, during the Year following. So that the Republick hereby provided, both for the Wants of the Capital, and the Government of the Nations ſubject to her Laws. From this Time, there began to be ſix *Prætors* in *Rome*, who had all their diſtinct Provinces. The two firſt of the Old Creation, continued to have the ſole Cognizance of the Differences between Citizens and Foreigners. The four others were appointed, to examine into Capital Crimes, and puniſh ſuch Criminals as were brought to their Tribunals, during the whole courſe of their *Prætorſhip*. They were called *Quæſitores rerum Capitalium*, that is, Commiſſioners appointed to judge of Capital Affairs. Not that this Appellation was then unknown in *Rome*. We have ſeen in the firſt Volume, that from the Time of *Numa Pompilius* and *Tullus Hoſtilius*, the Trial of certain *Capital* Crimes was reſerved, in the firſt Inſtance, to two Magiſtrates called *Duumviri*. But theſe were only Delegates, appointed to be Judges in extraordinary Caſes; and the Commiſſion they received, whether from the Kings, or the Senate, or the People, expired, as ſoon as Judgment was given either for or againſt the Accuſed. Whereas the Juriſdiction of the four *Prætors* we are ſpeaking of, was fixed, and inſeparable from their Offices. So that, we now ſee in *Rome*, for the firſt time, four different Tribunals conſtantly ſubſiſting, at which Capital Caſes were tried. Hence the Expreſſion of *Quæſtiones Perpetuæ*, ſo frequent in *Cicero*. By which he means to point out, not a tranſient Authority as before, but the fixed and ſettled Right given to the four Judges, to examine into and judge of Crimes, at all Times. The four Tribunals, in each of which a *Prætor* ſate as Judge, were confined to Enquiries into four ſorts of Offences. The Depravity, Ambition and Avarice of the *Romans*, had multiplied in *Rome* Oppreſſions, Imbezzlements of the Publick Money, illegal Intrigues and Canvaſſings for the Dignities of the Republick, and the Crime of Treaſon againſt the State: And the Offices of the four *Prætors* were confined to their putting a ſtop to theſe Diſorders, and puniſhing the Authors of them. Each of theſe Magiſtrates choſe his particular Province by Lot. Nevertheleſs, we are not to believe that their Judgments were without Appeal; eſpecially when they condemned a *Roman Citizen* to Baniſhment. The People aſſembled *by Centuries* had been in Poſſeſſion of the Right to determine theſe Matters in the laſt Inſtance, ever ſince the Birth of the Republick.

40 We have drawn our Conjectures for fixing the Date of the Eſtabliſhment of the four new Judges, from *Cicero*. In his *Brutus*, he ſays, that *Caius Carbo*, was not paſt his Youth, and yet ſhined already at the Bar, when the Tryal of Criminal Affairs began to be ſettled in a regular Channel. Now we know, that *Caius Carbo* was *Conſul* for the firſt Time, in the Year of *Rome* 633; and conſequently he was then 42 compleat; this being the Age fixed by the Laws as a neceſſary Qualification for the *Conſulſhip*. Which being ſuppoſed, *Carbo* muſt have been about two or three and twenty, when he applied himſelf to Eloquence. It was till much about this Time of Life, that the young *Romans* waited, before they attempted to ſhew their Skill in the Art of ſpeaking in Publick; which was the ready Road to the firſt Dignities in the State. At leaſt, it's certain, that *Julius Cæſar* was but 21, when he accuſed *Dolabella*. See, on this Subject, The *Dialogue on the Cauſes of the Corruption of Eloquence*, which ſome aſcribe to *Tacitus*, others to *Quinctilian*.

Beſides, ever ſince the Year of *Rome*, 604, *Lucius Calpurnius Piſo*, the *Tribune of the People*, had ſettled a form

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The Fear of ſo great a Number of Judges, put a ſtop to the Diſorders both in the City and Provinces for ſome time; and the *Roman* State had enjoyed a general Tranquillity if *Viriatus* had not troubled *Spain*. So that the Attention of the People of *Rome* was fixed on the Succeſs *Fabius* ſhould have, againſt the only open Enemy of the Republick. Their long Experience of the Valour of the *Spaniſh* General, kept them in ſuſpence; and it was therefore an agreeable Surprize to them to hear, that the *Pro-Conſul* made a happy Campaign. By the ſtrictneſs of his Diſcipline, he had qualified the young *Legionaries* for long Marches, and a general Action; and as ſoon as the Seaſon would permit, he took the Field. Indeed, before he returned from *Gades*, *Viriatus* had gained ſome ſlight Advantages over the *Legions*. He had beaten and put to flight, ſome *Manipuli* upon a Forrage; and the Lieutenant Generals of the *Roman* Army had been routed by him on another Occaſion. But the *Conſul*, upon his arrival, was ſoon comforted for theſe ſlight Loſſes, by the ſolid Advantages he promiſed himſelf from them. *My Legions*, ſaid he, *have ſeen the Enemy, and inured themſelves to War, a little at their own Expence. They are now juſt in the Condition I would have them.* And his Hopes did not fail him. He marched againſt *Viriatus*, with a Confidence worthy of *Paulus Æmilius* his Father, and of *The ſecond Africanus*, his Brother; had the Glory to ſee the *Luſitanian* General flee before him in his firſt Battle; and in a ſecond, gained a more entire Victory. He drove *Viriatus* fighting, to a Place called [41] *Bæcor*, a Country full of Rebels; and to compleat the Victory, took two Cities from the Revolters, one of which he plundered, and the other burned. After theſe glorious Exploits, the *Pro-Conſul* led his Army into Winter-Quarters at [42] *Corduba*, and there waited for his Succeſſor. It will, no doubt, ſeem ſtrange, that, upon his Return to *Italy*, he was not honoured with *a Triumph*. But his Victories had not been bloody enough, in the Opinion of the *Romans*. The Cuſtom then was, to ſuffer only thoſe Generals to enjoy that Honour, who had killed at leaſt 5000 of the Enemy, in one ſingle Battle. As if the Importance of a military Action were to be judged of only by the Number of the Slain [43].

§. IX. *Rome*

a Form of Proceeding againſt Oppreſſors, by the famous Law *De Repetundis*, which he got paſſed, under the *Conſulſhip* of *Lucius Marcius Cenſorinus*, and *Manius Manilius Nepos*, as we have obſerved in the preceding Volume, p. 601, N. 10. This is the ſame *Piſo* who had compoſed ſome *Orations*, and *Annals*, which *Cicero* mentions in his Book *Of famous Orators*, in theſe Words. *Ipſe etiam Piſo & cauſas egit, & multorum Legum author aut diſſuaſor fuit; iſque & Orationes reliquit quæ jam evanuerunt, & Annales exiliter ſcriptos.*

41 We cannot gueſs exactly where the Situation of *Bæcor* is. All that we know of it is, that it belonged to *Andaluſia*.

42 We have already ſpoken of the City of *Corduba*, now *Cordoua*, Vol. 4. p. 565. N. 63. To which we ſhall here add, that *Pliny B.* 3, gives this City the Title of COLONIA PATRICIA, or *the Patrician Colony. Corduba Colonia Patricia cognomine.* And it is ſo repreſented on Medals. The reverſe of a Medal of *Auguſtus* § gives it this Title. The ancient Inſcriptions likewiſe agree with Hiſtory in this Particular. Moreover, they tell us, That the Inhabitants of *Cordoua* were called PATRICIENSES. We may judge of it, by this of *Gruter*, P. 460, N. 10; PYRAMUS II. VIR PATRICIENEIS. Whereby we learn, that this *Pyramus* was a Citizen of *Cordoua*, who exerciſed the Office of *Duumvir*; which was the Title of the *two* Magiſtrates of the *Colonies*, and *Municipia*, as we have obſerved, Vol. 2. p. 182. Note. All that remains then is, to enquire into the Origin of this glorious Denomination; and this we find in *Strabo*, *B.* 3. He tells us, That this City was originally inhabited, by the moſt conſiderable People of the Nation, and by a Colony of *Roman Nobles*: And it had its Poets, and its Men of Letters, from *Cicero*'s Time. It is well known, that it gave Birth to *Seneca* and *Lucan*.

43 *Appian* has here much confounded the Order of the Hiſtorical Facts. Firſt, he makes *Fabius* go into *Andaluſia*, where he has the Command of the *Roman* Armies, againſt *Viriatus*, till he is relieved b *Quintus Metellus Macedonicus*, *Conſul* for the Year 610, and by the *Prætor*, *Quintus Pompeius*: But after he has followed the two Generals in their Expeditions, the Hiſtorian loſes ſight of *Fabius Æmilianus*, and immediately falls upon one *Quinctius*, who, he ſays, commanded a Body of *Roman* Troops in another Province of *Spain*. *Viriatus*, according to him, hitherto employed in defending himſelf againſt the Attacks of *Fabius*, is all of a ſudden tranſported into that Part of *Spain* where *Quinctius* commanded. The latter had had the Advantage over the *Spaniſh* General, and had forced him to retire towards the Promontory of *Aphrodiſium*, otherwiſe called *The Mountain of Venus*, now *The Cape de Cruz*. *Viriatus* immediately comes out of his Retreat to try the Fate of Arms a ſecond Time; and Fortune is favourable to him. *Quinctius* loſes 1000 Men, and ſome Standards, in one Battle; and to ſave the reſt of his affrighted Troops, ſhuts himſelf up in his Camp. The Conqueror does not continue idle after his Victory, but makes himſelf Maſter of *Baſtica*, § and drives out the *Roman* Garriſon, and then waſtes the Country of the *Baſtitani* with Fire and Sword. In the mean Time *Quinctius* continues inactive. The timorous and unexperienced General waits no longer than to the end of *Autumn*, before he puts his Troops into Winter Quarters, which he does at *Cordoua*. Whilſt *Caius Marcius*, a Native of *Spain*, but a *Roman* by Deſcent, is the only Perſon who dares oppoſe the Incurſions of *Viriatus*.

See Pl. 3. No. 13.

Upon a little Reflection on this Account of *Appian*, it is eaſy to perceive the Confuſion and Inconſiſtency of it. On one Hand, he makes *Fabius Æmilianus* diſappear, and continue idle in *Andaluſia*. On the other, he brings one *Quinctius* on the Stage, to whom he gives the Government of *Hither Spain*. This General, whoſe Name is unknown to the *Roman* Hiſtorians, is warmly purſued by *Viriatus*, according to this Author; retires for Refuge to *Cordoua*, and entrenches himſelf there. When at the ſame time he confeſſes that

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§. IX. *Rome* had likewiſe for two Years paſt, done a much more notorious Injuſtice to Q. *Cæcilius* [44] *Metellus*. No Perſon had better deſerved the *Conſulſhip*, ſince his glorious Expedition in *Macedon* and *Achaia*. He had conquered the one, and ſo far reduced the other, that it ſunk under the firſt Attacks of his Succeſſor *Mummius*. Indeed, he had, after his Victory, aſſumed the Surname of *Macedonicus*, or *The Macedonian*; which had created ſome Jealouſies of him. But was this enough to have juſtly excluded him from the higheſt Dignity in the Republick for two Years together, when he earneſtly ſollicited for it? Hence it appears, how much *Rome* was now degenerated from her ancient Virtue. Gratitude, and the Probity of thoſe who ſtood for Offices, were no longer ſufficient Motives to gain them the Preference. *Metellus* was an auſtere Man, of great Innocence of Life, and a ſtrict obſerver of military Diſcipline: And this was, perhaps, the true Reaſon, which for ſome time excluded him from the firſt Station in the Republick. But at length the Neceſſity of Affairs made the People have recourſe to him. They wanted a great General to ſend againſt *Viriatus*, after *Fabius*; and *Metellus* [45] was therefore choſen *Conſul*, with *Appius Claudius Pulcher* [46], a capricious, headſtrong Man, who was full of thoſe Faults which were at all Times charged on the *Claudian* Family.

Year of ROME DCX. Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS, & APP. CLAUDIUS PULCHER, Conſuls.

Rome likewiſe choſe *Prætors* in the ſame *Comitia by Tribes*, which had choſen the *Conſuls*. Theſe new *Prætors* continued at *Rome*, whilſt thoſe of the laſt Year, went to govern their reſpective Provinces; and we ſhall firſt turn our Thoughts to the latter, who had each his Tribunal in the City. *M. Popillius*'s Province was to puniſh Parricides. This Crime had been in a manner unknown in *Rome* for 600 Years; *Lucius Oſtius* was the only one who had been ſuſpected of killing his Father, ſince the Time that *Hannibal* entered *Italy*. But now Men's Manners were much depraved. So many Fathers or Mothers had killed their Children, and ſo many Children had murdered their Parents, within the Juriſdiction of the Republick, that a Tribunal was erected on purpoſe to puniſh theſe particular Crimes: And *Popillius* is ſaid to have had a very remarkable Caſe brought before him. A Woman was accuſed of having beaten her Mother to death with a Stick, and ſhe did not deny it. But it was allowed at the ſame time, that the Deceaſed had poiſoned the Children of the Accuſed; which had provoked her to attempt the Life of her parricidious Mother. The *Prætor* therefore pronounced, that the Deceaſed had deſerved her Fate; and that the Murdereſs ought not to eſcape unpuniſhed; and it is probable the People confirmed the Sentence.

Plut. in Romulo.

Val. Max. B. 8. c. 1.

Frontin de Aquæductibus B. 1.

Another *Prætor*, named *Marcus Titius* [47], had, from the laſt Year, the Superintendency of the Waters, which were brought into the City by the Aqueducts. That which was brought from *The Anio* [48], and from *Appius*'s *Fountains*, was not ſufficient to ſerve the great Number of the Inhabitants for drink. Beſides, a great deal was conſumed in the

that this City was in *Æmilianus*'s Province. He ſays himſelf, that this *Pro-Conſul* had fixed his Winter-Quarters there. Is it poſſible then, that *Quinctius* ſhould leave his own Province to the Mercy of *Viriatus*, in order to go into that which belonged to the *Pro-Conſul*? Is it to be imagined, that the fugitive General could find no Retreat for his Troops, within his own Juriſdiction?

And theſe Particulars are followed by another, which is as little conſiſtent. He brings *Fabius Æmilianus* into *Spain*, to ſucceed *Quinctius*; forgetting that he had ſaid ſome Pages before, That *Fabius* commanded in *Spain* with *Quinctius*. So notorious a Miſtake in point of Time, has given room to believe, either that we have not the Text entire, or that it has been altered and maimed by ignorant Copyiſts. But be that as it will, we have, amidſt this ſtrange Confuſion, ſettled the Facts in their true Order, by bringing them to their proper Dates, according to the Years of *Rome*. Upon the Authority of the Hiſtorians and ancient Annaliſts, we have put *Quintus Pompeius* in the Room of *Appius's Quinctius*; and what he, by the moſt notorious Miſtake aſcribes to *Fabius Æmilianus*, that we, with the Torrent of ancient Writers, aſcribe to *Fabius Servilianus*, who was *Conſul*, in the Year of *Rome* 611.

44 This *Quintus Cæcilius Metellus*, already famous for his Conqueſts, was no leſs ſo for his Eloquence. *Cicero* ranks him among the famous Orators of his Age. He undertook the Defence of *Lucius Aurelius Cotta* a-

gainſt *Scipio Æmilianus*. Several of his Speeches were extolled, eſpecially that againſt *Tiberius Gracchus*; which, according to *Cicero*, had been preſerved in the Annals of *Fannius*, an ancient Annaliſt Cotemporary with *Metellus*. We ſhall hereafter have occaſion to ſpeak more largely of this great Man, whom we have already mentioned in Vol. 4. All we ſhall obſerve here, is only, that he was the Son of *Quintus Cæcilius Metellus*, who was promoted to the *Conſulſhip* with *Lucius Veturius Philo*, in the Year of *Rome*, 547. *Cicero* ſays of this laſt-mentioned *Metellus*, That he was famous for his Eloquence, and ſpoke a Funeral Oration on his Father *Lucius*, who had acquired much Glory in the *Firſt Carthaginian* War.

45 *Julius Obſequens* is miſtaken in giving *Metellus* the *Prænomen* of *Publius*. All Authors agree, he was diſtinguiſhed by that of *Quintus*.

46 *Cicero*, in his *Brutus*, has obſerved of this *Appius Claudius Pulcher*, That *he ſpoke with Volubility, but a little too much Fervency*. His Words are, *Appii Claudii volubilis, ſed paulo fervidior erat Oratio*.

47 The *Titian* Family had furniſhed *Rome* with ſeveral *Tribunes of the People*; and it was therefore, doubtleſs, *Plebeian*. The Memory of one *Marcus Titius*, *Pro-Conſul* in *Greece*, is preſerved in an ancient Inſcription.

48 See what we have ſaid of the Aqueducts of *Appius*, and that of *The Anio*, Vol. 2. p. 272. N. 67, & p. 495. N. 61.

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publick and private Baths, and in waſhing, and other domeſtick Uſes. And laſtly, many Maſters of Families had either juſtly obtained, or at leaſt engroſſed to themſelves, much more than ought to have been aſſigned them. A Regulation in this Matter was therefore neceſſary, and the Care of it was committed to *Titius*; who was likewiſe charged with building ſome new Aqueducts for the Uſe of the Publick.

§. X. In the mean time, the Generals went to their reſpective Provinces. The Command of the Armies againſt *Viriatus*, was fallen to the *Conſul Metellus*, and to the *Prætor*, Q. *Pompeïus* [49], who came into *Spain* before *Metellus*, whilſt the *Conſul*, *Claudius*, had the Command of the Troops in *Ciſalpine Gaul*; and we will now attend them all in their Expeditions. *App. in Iberic.*

As for *Pompeïus*, he had the Confidence to attack *Viriatus*, in the Abſence of the *Conſul*. The *Luſitanian* General had advanced as far as *Hither Spain*, and raiſed great Diſturbances there. Not content with having procured Inſurrections in *Luſitania*, and in moſt Parts of *Further* [50] *Spain*, this violent Enemy of the *Romans*, had ſpread the Sedition beyond *The Ebro*, and had cauſed Revolts in many Parts of *Tarragona*. Since the Peace with the *Arevacæ* [51], he had diffuſed the Contagion among the *Belli* [52], *Titthi*, and many other Nations, which were formerly in Alliance with the Republick; and in a Word, had likewiſe, in the Incurſions he made during this Winter, ſown the Seeds of

49 Some corrected Copies of *Valerius Maximus* tell us, That this *Quintus Pompeïus* was the Son of one *Aulus Pompeïus*; and *Appian*, as corrected by *Henry Stephens*, gives him the ſame Deſcent. Κόϊντος Πομπήιος Αὔλου. According to *Cicero*, in his *Seventh Oration againſt Verres*, this *Prætor* was meanly deſcended, and as *Cato the Cenſor* had done, paved himſelf the Way to the firſt Dignity in *Rome*, by the Enmities he created to himſelf for adhering to the Intereſts of the Republick. *Humili loco Natus, poſt Marcum Catonem, ampliſſimas honores per inimicitias adeptus eſt.* And the ſame Author adds, in his Book *De Orat.* That he owed his Riſe wholly to himſelf. *Quintus Pompeïus enim non contemptus Orator temporibus illis fuit, qui ſummos honores, homo per ſe cognitus, ſine ulla commendatione Majorum eſt adeptus.* Probably his Talent for the Bar contributed to his Advancement. At leaſt, *Cicero* ſpeaks of him, as an Orator of ſome Reputation in *Rome*; and he ſays of his Writings, That they ſavoured of the Taſte and Language of the Ancients, without their Dryneſs, and were full of good Senſe. *Sed Pompeii ſunt ſcripta, nec nimis extenuata, (quanquam veterum eſt ſimilis) & plena prudentiæ.* Moreover, it is certain, that the *Pompeïan* Family was but *Plebeian*. Its Name gives room for a Suſpicion, that it came originally from *Pompeïum*, a City of old *Campania*. There were at leaſt four Branches of this Family. The firſt, the *Nepos's*; the ſecond, the *Rufus's*; the third that of *Pompey the Great*; and the fourth was, the *Foſtlus's*. The Surname of the laſt was taken from the Shepherd *Fauſtulus*, as we have obſerved in our firſt Volume. Several *Roman* Hiſtorians have tranſmitted to us the Names of one *Pompeïus Lenæus*, a *Freed-Man* of *Pompey the Great*; and of one *Pompeïus Flaccus*, a *Roman Knight*. *Pliny* ſpeaks likewiſe of another *Roman Knight*, named *Pompeïus Paulinus*, the Son of a Citizen of *Arles*. The Family of the latter may have been tranſplanted from *Rome*, into *Tranſalpine Gaul*.

50 After the Conqueſt of *Spain*, the *Romans* divided it into two Parts; and called one *Further Spain*, the other *Hither Spain*. The former contained *Bætica* and *Luſitania*. *Bætica* took its Name from the River *Bætis*, now *The Guadalquivir*. This Province reached from *The Promontory of Charidemus*, otherwiſe called *The Cape of Gates*, in the Kingdom of *Granada*, to the Mouth of *The Guadiana*; and comprehended *Andaluſia*, a conſiderable part of *Old Caſtile*, and the Territory of *Granada*. So that it was bounded by *The Guadiana*, the Ocean, and the *Mediterranean*. The Countries that lay between the River *Duero*, and the Mouth of *The Guadiana*, make the Province which was formerly called *Luſitania*; which had likewiſe ſeveral Cities dependent upon it, which now belong to *Old Caſtille*.

Hither Spain, according to *Pliny*, *B.* 3, contained, in length, 607000 geometrical Paces, from the City of *Caſtulo*, now the Town of *Caſlona*, to the *Pyrenees*. But a little before, *Pliny* had reckoned the length of *Spain*, from *Urgi* which the *Spaniards* now call *Almacaren*, to that great Chain of Mountains which ſeparate it from *Gaul*. Its greateſt breadth, according to this Author, was 307000 Paces, or 100 common Leagues, reckoning from *Tarragona* to *Olarſo*, which *Ptolomy* calls *Oeaſo* as well as the Neighbouring Cape. The Natives give it the Name of *Oïarço*. It is a Village, two Leagues from *Fontarabia*, on the Coaſts of the *Ocean*. But it muſt not be imagined, that theſe Limits were always the ſame. They ſometimes varied according to the Circumſtances of Things, and the Will of the *Roman* Emperors. They that pretended that *The Erbo* divided *Hither Spain* from *Further*, differ in Opinion from *Pliny*. Nevertheleſs, it muſt be granted, that, at certain Times, by *Further Spain* was meant that which was beyond this River; and by *Hither*, that which was on this ſide of it.

To which we ſhall add, That *Hither Spain* was afterwards known by the Name of *Tarraconia*, or *Tarraconian Spain*. *Tarraco*, or *Tarracona*, anciently a *Roman Colony*, was the Capital of all the Country. *Pliny* ſeems to acknowlege the two *Scipio's*, *Publius*, and *Carus*, to have been the Founders of this City. Whereas, if we believe *Livy*, it was in being when *Cneïus* arrived in *Spain*. The latter tells us, That this General fixed his firſt Winter-Quarters there, as we have obſerved, Vol. 3. p. 108. Perhaps *Pliny* means, That there was nothing conſiderable in *Tarragona*, till the *Scipio's* had ſettled a *Colony* there, after having enlarged it and repaired the Walls, to make a Garriſon. At leaſt, it's certain, that *Eratoſthenes* ſpeaks of it, as a City known long before the Arrival of the *Scipio's* in *Spain*; whether it was founded by the *Phœnicians*, or by one *Tarraco* King of *Æthiopia*, who conquered *Egypt* and Part of *Europe*, is of little Conſequence.

51 The *Arevacæ* anciently inhabited that Part of *Old Caſtille*, which now comprehends the Biſhopricks of *Merida*, *Oſma*, *Burgos*, and *Valadolid*. See Vol. 4. p. 557. N. 46.

52 We have obſerved, on the Authority of *Appian*, Vol. 4. p. 563. N. 60, 61; That the *Belli*, and the *Titthi* were as it were two Branches of the Nation of the *Arevacæ*. *Ortelius* thinks, That the Capital of the former was *Segeda* in *Celtiberia*; and adds, that theſe two Clans were the ſame People that *Pliny* calls *Bellitani*, *B.* 3.

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the *Numantian* War, which long harraſſed the *Romans*, and laſted many Years after his Death.

The *Prætor*, Q. *Pompeïus*, thought himſelf therefore obliged to ſtop the Progreſs of the *Luſitanian*, whoſe Army had penetrated into his Province; and in his firſt Attempt, he gained ſome Advantage over the Enemy. He put *Viriatus* to flight, and forced him to retire to the Foot of the *Pyrenees*, towards the Promontory of *Aphrodiſium* [53]. But this ſlight Misfortune did not diſcourage the *Spaniſh* General. After he had reinforced his Army, he returned upon the *Prætor*, and put him to flight in his turn. Many *Legionaries* fell in the Battle; *Viriatus* made himſelf Maſter of the Enemy's Camp; took ſome Standards, and a conſiderable Booty there; laid waſte all the Country of the *Baſtitani* [54]; and then attacked the City of *Ituca* [55]. The *Roman* Garriſon was driven out of the Place; and *Viriatus* was Maſter of the Field. *Pompey* dared not face him any more, all the reſt of the Year; but kept himſelf ſhut up in *Corduba*. If his Troops made any Incurſions, or ſmall Expeditions, he did not command in Perſon; but put them under the Conduct of one *Marcius*, a brave Officer, who was of *Roman* Parentage, but born in *Spain*. He was a Native of the City called *Italia*, or *Italica* [56]; where the great *Scipio* had ſettled a Colony of the Veterans of his Army.

However, *Pompey*'s ill Succeſs in *Spain*, ſerved only as a Shade, the better to ſet off the Glory which the *Conſul Metellus* afterwards acquired. The ancient Hiſtorians have not communicated to us the greateſt part of his Exploits; but this ſingle Inſtance is ſufficient to raiſe our Ideas of them. He conquered the whole Nation of the *Arevacæ*, who had lately revolted, and in vain ſought for Succours from the *Luſitanians*: And being ſuperiour both in Courage and Wiſdom to *Viriatus*, he reduced him ſo low, that he durſt not appear in his Sight. He eluded all the Stratagems of the *Luſitanian*; and was very ſtrict and ſevere in keeping his *Legions* to their Duty. At the ſame time, he kept his own Deſigns impenetrable; and was the Author of the following famous Saying, which has been ſince put into the Mouth of many a great Commander. Being asked by one of his Friends, What Scheme he had formed for the Campaign? He replied; *If I knew that my Tunic was privy to it, I would burn it.* On the other hand, *Viriatus*, little inferior in Prudence, made it his whole Buſineſs to avoid a Battle; and would never be

Author. de Vir. Illuſtr.

Plut. Apophtheg.

53 *The Promontory of Aphrodiſium*, ſo called by the *Greek* Authors, otherwiſe called the *Cape of Venus*, is as it were a Branch of *The Pyrenees*. It runs out with a little point of Land into the *Mediterranean*, upon *The Gulph of Lyons*. *Pliny* and *Strabo* tell us, That near it ſtood a Temple dedicated to *Venus Pyrenæa*. The *Spaniards*, when become *Chriſtians*, deſtroyed this *Pagan Aſylum*, and in the Place of it, erected a Croſs of our Saviour, who was victorious over Idolatry. Hence the Name of *The Cape de Cruz*, which it retains to this Day. This Promontory borders on *Gallia Narbonnenſis*. Some have confounded *The Cape of Venus* with *The Port of Venus Pyrenæa*, or *The Port of Vendres* in *Rouſſillon*. Add to this, that the Name of *Venus* was likewiſe common to another Mountain in *Luſitania*, which we have mentioned Vol. 4. p. 604; and to a Fort built by the *Tarteſii* near the Mouth of *The Guadalquivir*; which Fort or City is now *San-Lucar*. It was ſo called, in alluſion to the Term *Lucero*, by which the *Spaniards* uſed to ſignify the Star of *Venus*.

§ *See Pl.* 3. No. 14.

54 The *Baſtitani* inhabited the Territory of *Murcia*, and the Country near the Springs of the *Bætis*. See Vol. 3. p. 238. N. 56. Vol. 4. p. 223. N. 59.

55 The City of *Ituca* is the ſame which *Pliny* calls *Itucci*, and *Virtus Julia*. It ſtood in *Andaluſia*. There are now no Footſteps of it remaining. To which we ſhall add, that *Pliny* mentions a great Number of Cities in *Spain*, which changed their ancient Names to that of *Julia*. This was done in honour to *Julius Cæſar*, whom they gloried in having their Protector.

56 Almoſt all the modern Geographers agree, That the City of *Italica* ſtood on the Banks of *The Guadalquivir*, a League from *Seville*, in a Place now called *Seville la Vieja*. The Ruins of an ancient Theatre, and ſome Antiques that have been dug up there, confirm this Opinion; and we have a further Proof of it, in the neighbouring Country, which ſtill retains ſome Footſteps of the ancient Name of *Italica*, in that of *Los Campos del Talca*. According to *Appian*, *Scipio* built it for a Retreat for the Soldiers, whoſe Wounds diſabled them from further Service. The reverſe of a Medal § of *Auguſtus* proves, That it enjoy'd the Rights of a *Municipium*. Nevertheleſs, *Aulus Gellius*, and an Inſcription in *Gruter*, put it upon the Foot of a *Roman Colony*. It muſt therefore have been ſucceſſively honoured with both Titles, as we have before obſerved. It had the Honour of giving Birth to three Emperors, *Trajan*, *Adrian*, and *Theodoſius the Great*; and was alſo the Place of the Nativity of the Poet *Silius*, from thence called *Italicus*. It is proper to obſerve here, that ſeveral Geographers have been of Opinion, That it was the ſame Place as *Ilipa*, and that the Miſunderſtanding of *Pliny* gave riſe to this Miſtake. In his 2d Book, where he enumerates the Cities of *Bætica*, we find theſe Words, *Ilipa cognomine Ilia, Italica*, &c. Thus the Paſſage ſtands in the moſt authentick Manuſcripts; but ſome incorrect Editions, by joining the two Words *Ilia* and *Italica*, without any Comma between them, ſeem to make the two Cities one. Hence the Miſtake of thoſe who have followed the ſame Authorities. Nevertheleſs, *Strabo*, *B.* 3. plainly diſtinguiſhes them from one another, Ἰταλικὴ, καὶ Ἰλιπα. The latter, which was Surnamed *Ilia*, ſtood on the Banks of the *Bætis*, between *Cordova* and *Seville*. It is conjectured, That it ſtood in the Neighbourhood of *Penneſter*. *Morales* gives it the ſame Situation as *Zalamea de la Serena*, a little Place in *Andaluſia*, twelve Leagues to the South-Eaſt of *Seville*. Others confound it with *Elepla* or *Ilipla*, which, as *Rodericus Carus* pretends, *B.* 3. *Of the Antiquities of Seville*, ſtood in *Andaluſia*, on the Banks of *The Tinto*, where the City of *Niebla* now ſtands.

§ *See Pl.* 3. No. 14.

brought to engage with ſo great a Man, during the whole Time of his *Conſulſhip*. But we ſhall ſee him ſtill continued General in *Spain*, in quality of *Pro-Conſul*.

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§. XI. Whilſt *Metellus* was thus ſignalizing himſelf in *Spain*, his Collegue commanded an Army in *Italy*: And tho' the Province ſeemed to be naturally barren of Events, his Activity and love of Glory was ſuch, that he raiſed up a War in *Ciſalpine Gaul*. This Country, when he came to it, was in Tranquillity; but turbulent Spirits never want Pretences to raiſe Diſturbances, or Means to exaſperate. There was at the Foot of the *Alpes*, a Nation of *Gauls*, who inhabited a Province of *Tranſpadan Gaul*, near the Head of the *Po*. This Country, tho' ſufficiently rough and hilly, to ſhew its Neighbourhood to the Mountains, was yet fruitful in ſome Places, at leaſt in its Valleys, which were watered by the River *Duria* [57]. It was inhabited, by the *Salaſſi* [58]; a peaceable, but a brave People, who deſcended from the *Gauls* beyond the *Alpes*. Theſe *Salaſſi* had frequent Diſputes with their Neighbours the *Inſubres*, about the *Duria*, which ran through their Country before it reached the Borders of *Inſubria*. This River then brought down [59] Gold mixed with its Sand; and the *Salaſſi*, in order to engroſs theſe Riches to themſelves, either ſtopped the Courſe of the River, or cut ſeveral Canals into the Bed of it, to keep it the longer in their Country. Of this the *Inſubres* complain to the *Conſul Claudius*; and he was bent on ſignalizing himſelf, by every Expedition that ſhould fall in his way, whether juſt or unjuſt. Immediately therefore, without endeavouring at any amicable Accommodation, the *Conſul* led his *Legions* into the Country of the *Salaſſi*, and forced this unfortunate People into a Rebellion, contrary to their Inclinations. They were obliged to have recourſe to Arms in their own Defence. They aſſembled an Army; marched it againſt *Claudius*; forced *The Romans* to give battle immediately, in a rough and mountainous Country to which they had not been accuſtomed; and the Event was melancholy for the *Conſul*. He loſt 5000 [60] Men, and ſuffered the Diſgrace of a Defeat, in the extream Parts of *Italy*, amidſt untractable Nations, who were very impatient under the *Roman* Yoke.

Plin. B. 3. c. 17. Dio Caſſ. B. 53. Ptol. B. 3. c. 1. Strabo. B. 4. Epit. Liv. L. 53. c. 6. & Oroſius, B. 5. c. 4.

The News of this Defeat alarmed [61] the Senate; and as Superſtition and Licentiouſneſs had increaſed together at *Rome*, the *Sibylline* Books were conſulted; and the *Decemviri*, who had the Cuſtody of them, declared, That all the Forms of Religion had not been duly obſerved in this precipitate War with the *Salaſſi*; and That the Water lately brought to the City had been ill managed. They diſcovered two great Faults. The firſt was, That the *Conſul* had neglected to offer Sacrifice on the Borders of the Nation he attacked, which was neceſſary in caſe of a War with the *Gauls*: And the ſecond, That in the late Diſtribution of the Waters brought to *Rome*, as well for the ſacred Places as private Houſes, the *Marcian* [62] Water had been laid in for the Uſe of the *Capitol*, inſtead of

Liv. Epit. B. 53. c. 7. Ed. Clerici. Amſtel. 1710.

57 The River called *Duria* by the *Latins*, is that which the *French* call *La Doere*. There are two Rivers of this Name in *Piedmont*. The firſt and largeſt riſes in the *Alpes Græcæ* near *Valais*; and after it has watered *The Valley of Aoſt*, and the Territory of *Ivrea*, it runs into the *Po*, a little above *Ravarotto*. The ſecond, which is called *The little Doere*, riſes in the *Alpes Cottiæ*, near Mount *Genevre*; croſſes a Part of *Piedmont*, and falls into *The Po* half a Mile from *Turin*, and 15 Miles from the Place where *The Great Doere* falls into that River.

58 The Ancients gave the Name of *Salaſſi* to the People of *The Valley of Aoſt*. The Capital City of this Canton, and the City of *Eporedia*, now *Yvrea*, were within their Territory.

59 *Strabo* ſays, the Territory of the *Salaſſi* abounded with Gold-Mines. In order the better to gather the little Particles of this precious Metal, the People had the Art to make ſeveral Channels in the Places through which *The Doere* paſſed; ſo that the River, by paſſing through them, ſeparated the Particles of Earth from thoſe of the Gold. This is what *Strabo* means, when he ſays, That *The Duria* was of great Uſe to the *Salaſſi*, in cleanſing the Gold of their Country. *Maximum illis adjumentum ad rem Metallicam attulit flumen Duria ad eluendum Aurum...*

60 Some Editions of *Oroſius* make this Loſs amount to 10000 Men.

61 Their Fears were doubled, upon the News of certain Events which the *Romans* always took to be fore-runners of the Wrath of Heaven. At *Amiternum*, ſays *Julius Obſequens*, a Child had been born with three Feet, and only one Hand. Beſides, it was reported, That ſome had ſeen Streams of Blood running. Theſe Viſions, told with an air of Importance, cauſed a general Conſternation, eſpecially at a Time when *Appius Claudius* had been defeated.

62 According to *Frontinus*, the Aqueduct called formerly *Aqua Marcia*, took its Name from this *Marcus Titius*, who had been appointed by the Senate, the laſt Year, to bring new Aqueducts to *Rome*, and repair the old Ones. He adds, with *Feneſtella*, that 804000 *Seſterces*, which make about 105000 *Livres*, were allowed him out of the publick Treaſury to defray the Expences of it. But it is more natural to believe *Pliny the Naturaliſt*, who ſays, *B.* 31 and 36, That *Rome* was chiefly indebted, for the Aqueduct we are ſpeaking of, to the Care of *Quintus Marcius Rex*, who was *Prætor* in the Year of *Rome*, 630. From his time, according to this Author, this publick Work became famous, under the Name of *Aqua Marcia*. *Plutarch* confirms this, in his *Life of Coriolanus*, with this difference, That he gives the Honour of this famous Structure not only to *Quintus Marcius Rex*, the *Prætor*, but alſo to one *Publius*, who was deſcended from the *Marcian* Family. Nevertheleſs, we don't find

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of that of *The Anio*. So that one of theſe two Neglects was of a publick Nature, the other perſonal to *Claudius*; and both were eaſy to be repaired. Orders were given, That the Water of *The Anio* ſhould be conveyed to the *Capitol*; and two *Decemviri* were deputed to the *Conſul*, with an Injunction, that he ſhould offer up a Sacrifice on the Borders of the *Salaſſi*, before he fought any more Battles with them. And then, as if the Prejudices of Religion had given the *Romans* new Courage, or rather, becauſe the General had had time to recollect himſelf, and to inform himſelf better of his Ground, the Victory declared for them. *Claudius* had his Revenge in a ſecond Battle, wherein the *Salaſſi* loſt 5000 Men in their turn: So that, the Succeſs of the Campaign was now perfectly equal between *Rome* and the Enemy.

Oroſ. Loc. citat. & alii.

A Man leſs greedy of Glory than *Claudius* was, might have been content with having wiped off a former Diſgrace. But his ambitious Views were much more extenſive than his Merit, and he founded them on the Reputation of his Family. He had a Daughter among the *Veſtals*; and it is ſcarce to be imagined how great a Sway thoſe ſacred Virgins had over the People in their *Comitia*. *Claudius* therefore, as ſoon as the Campaign was ended, returned to *Rome*, and without entering the City, inſiſted that the Senate ſhould aſſemble in the Temple of *Bellona*, to decree him *a Triumph*. It was indeed not to be doubted, that he had killed 5000 of the Enemy in a pitch'd Battle, which was the preſent Rule; and ſo far his Claim was juſt. But it was as certain, that he had loſt 5000 *Legionaries* in a former Battle, and had put the Senate in pain for fear of the Loſs of his whole Army. Upon the whole, therefore, his Petition was rejected by a Majority of *The Fathers*; and it was warmly oppoſed before the People by a Zealous *Tribune*, whoſe Name is not tranſmitted to us. Nevertheleſs, the fiery *Conſul* ſtill warmly perſiſted in his Right; and determined, he would have a Triumph, in ſpight of both Senate and People. He demanded of the *Quæſtors* the Sums neceſſary, for the Preparations for it; and upon their Refuſal, reſolved to make them at his own Expence. We have indeed already ſeen ſome *Conſuls* aſſume to themſelves the Honours of a *Triumph*, on *The Hill of Alba*, without the Verge of *Rome*; but *Claudius* was the firſt who carried his Pride and Independence ſo far, as of his own Authority, to enter the City itſelf, through *The Triumphal Gate*, in a pompous Chariot. The *Veſtal* [63] his Daughter accompanied her Father, tho' ſhe could not obtain for him the Honour, which ſhe ſhared with him; and, as the Proceſſion was advancing towards the *Capitol*, the ſame *Tribune* who had oppoſed the *Conſul*'s Triumph, attempted to bring the Victor down from his Chariot. The *Veſtal* oppoſed it; and this brought on a Diſpute between two Perſons who were both held ſacred by the *Romans*. But after ſome Altercations, the *Tribune* gave way, and in the Perſon of *Claudia*, ſhewed his great Regard, both for her Sex, and her Profeſſion. The Daughter, who had now gained a more glorious Victory than her Father, mounted the

Cic. pro Cælio, Val. Max. B. 5. c. 4. §. 6.

find in Authors any *Marcius* which had the Name of *Publius*. Perhaps the Text of *Plutarch* has been altered by the Negligence of the Copyiſts; and that inſtead of *Publius*, we ought to read *Lucius*. We find by ſome Medals, that one *Lucius Marcius Philippus*, repaired this Aqueduct, in his *Cenſorſhip*, in the Year 667, as we ſhall obſerve in its Place. From what both *Frontinus* and *Pliny* ſay, it follows, That *Marcus Titius* began this great Work, which is here called *Aqua Marcia*, by way of anticipation, and that *Quintus Marcius* finiſhed it. But however that be, *Frontinus* reckons, that from the Head of this Aquedu& to *Rome*, was 60710 Paces and a half, that is above 20 *French Leagues*. And this diſtance agrees with *Pliny*'s Text. He ſays, That *The Marcian Water* roſe in the Mountains of the *Peligni*, a People who inhabited a Part of *Hither Abruzzo* round *Sermona*, between the Rivers *Peſcara* and *Sangro*. From thence, continues *Pliny*, it croſſes in ſubterranean Channels, through Mountains, Plains, *The Lake Fucinus*, now *The Lake Celano*, and runs into the Country of the *Marſi*, which is now a Part of *Further Abruzzo*. Then, after it has fallen down the Precipices of a Rock, it reſumes its Courſe near *Tibur*, from whence it paſſes to *Rome*, croſs *The Anio* now *The Teverone*, in a long Aqueduct of Stone, ſupported by Arches for 9000 Paces, that is three *French Leagues*, together. This Aqueduct ended at *Porta Major*, between *St. Euſebius* and *St. Bibian*, and emptied itſelf into a Reſervoir, which diſtributed the Water into the ſeveral Parts of the City. *Pliny* gives us to underſtand, That the *Romans* preferred *The Marcian Water* to all others, and uſed it moſt commonly at Meals, both for its freſhneſs and ſweetneſs. But *Holſtenius* and *Raphael Fabretti* in his Second *Diſſertation on the Aqueducts of ancient Rome*, cannot perſuade themſelves, that the *Romans* cut through Mountains, and made Channels of above 20 Leagues long. They both think that no more Credit is to be given to *Pliny* and *Frontinus* in this Inſtance, than to the fabulous Traditions of the Poets, concerning the Courſe of the River *Alpheus* to the Fountain *Arethuſa*. Nevertheleſs, *Pliny* ſpeaks of this famous Aqueduct, as of a Work which continued entire, in the Reign of *Veſpaſian*: And *Statius Papinius*, who lived in the Time of *Domitian*, confirms *Pliny*'s Account;

Marſaſque nives & frigora ducens, Marcia. L. 1. Sylv.

According to the laſt Hiſtorian, the Spring which furniſhed *The Marcian Water*, in the Country of the *Marſi*, was called *Pitonia*; and more anciently it had the Name of *Fons Auſeïa*.

63 *Cicero*, *Valerius Maximus*, and after them, all the Hiſtorians agree, That the *Veſtal Claudia* was the Daughter of the triumphant Victor; except *Suetonius*, who in his *Life of Tiberius*, ſays expreſly, That ſhe was his Siſter. We adhere to the greateſt Number of Authorities.

ſame Chariot with him, and conducted him triumphantly to the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*; whilſt the People highly applauded the Conduct of the *Veſtal*, and loaded the *Conſul* with Curſes [64].

Year of ROME. DCXI.

Q. FABIUS SERVILIANUS, & L. CÆCILIUS METELLUS, Conſuls.

§. XII. The Magiſtrates were changed with the Year; and the new *Conſuls*, *Q. Fabius Servilianus* [65], and *L. Cæcilius Metellus*, entered on their Office on *The Calends* of *January*. The *Prætors* of the laſt Year, ſet out each for his Province; and among the reſt, *A. Licinius Nerva* for *Macedon*; where the *Quæſtor* allotted him was *L. Tremellius Flaccus*, a brave Officer, who gained himſelf uncommon Glory, in his *Quæſtorſhip*. And with regard to the *Cenſors*, the *Centuries* never made a more judicious Choice. They committed the Care of the Reformation of Manners in the City, to two Men of ſingular Virtue, great Reputations, illuſtrious Families, and known Merit. One was *Scipio Æmilianus*, ſurnamed *The Second Africanus*; the other, the famous *Mummius*, who had deſtroyed *Corinth*, and had from thence been honoured with the Name of *Achaicus*, or *The Achaian*. The former was a Man of great Moderation, and at the ſame time great Steadineſs. The latter had ſo much Probity as to be above Corruption, but was neither ſo ſevere, ſo inflexible, or ſo bold, as his Collegue. Indeed, no Man in the Republick could have juſtly diſputed this high Dignity with them but *Metellus*, *The Macedonian*, who was then abſent, in *Spain*, where he was to continue General another Year. But nevertheleſs, there was a Man bold enough to enter the Liſts, and to put himſelf in Competition with *Scipio*. This was, the ſame *App. Claudius*, who, as has been obſerved, had taken occaſion from his ambiguous Conqueſt of the *Salaſſi*, to aſſume to himſelf the Honours of *a Triumph*, in ſpight of Senate and People. And now, in order to ſucceed in the preſent Attempt, he got himſelf attended to *The Field of Mars*, by a great Number of *Patricians* whom he had found Means to bring into his Intereſt; in hopes that this grand Appearance would ſo dazzle the Eyes of the People, as to influence the Majority to vote for him. Whereas *The Second Africanus* appeared attended only with a ſmall Number of *Plebeians*, and among theſe, ſome of the meaneſt Rank. As ſoon therefore as the ambitious *Claudius* ſaw his Competitor appear, he inſulted both him and his Friends about him. *O ye* Manes *of* Paulus Æmilius, cried he, *don't you bluſh to ſee your Son ſo ſhamefully attended? A publick* [66] *Cryer, and a Mob of the moſt beggarly Fellows, are the Patrons he has choſen to preſent him to the Aſſembly of the* Romans! The fooliſh *Claudius* was not aware, that this air of Popularity would influence the common People as much in favour of his Rival, as his own Pride and State would exaſperate them againſt himſelf. The *Comitia* had regard only to true Merit. They diſappointed *Claudius*, and nominated *Scipio Africanus Secundus*, and *L. Mummius Achaicus* to the *Cenſorſhip*. In popular Governments, haughty Airs are far from being agreeable to the Multitude; who look on every Attempt to gain any thing from them by Force, as an Encroachment on their Liberties.

Plut. in Paul. Æmil.

64 It was in this Year, 610, That *Titus Didius*, *The Tribune of the People*, revived the Law made 18 Years before, by the *Conſul Caius Fannius*, in the Year of *Rome*, 592. See Vol. 4. p. 534. This Law-giver had ſet ſome bounds to the Expenſiveneſs and Profuſeneſs which was grown common at Entertainments. But that Law reached only to *Roman Citizens*; and *The Tribune* now extended it. At his Motion it was made general, and bound all the People of *Italy*. According to *Fannius*'s Regulation, He only who was at the Expence, and did the Honours of the Feaſt, was guilty of a breach of the Law, when the Bounds preſcribed were exceeded. But *Didius* declared, That the Gueſts likewiſe, ſhould for the future be deemed Tranſgreſſors of this Law, and be ſubject to the Pains before inflicted on the Maſter of the Feaſt. The Magiſtrate's Deſign was to deſtroy thoſe Societies which the love of Luxury had formed, ſo contrary to the ancient Frugality, and to the Ruin of Families: And he extended his Law to all Strangers ſettled in *Italy*, to ſtop the Contagion of a bad Example. We have this Account from *Macrobius*, *Saturnal B. 2.*

65 This is the firſt *Conſulſhip* of *Metellus* and *Fabius Servilianus*. Nevertheleſs, contrary to the Teſtimony of all the Hiſtorians, the former is ſet down in *The Greek Tables*, as now *Conſul* a ſecond Time. Doubtleſs, the Author of theſe Annals, deceived by the Likeneſs of the Names, confounded *Lucius Cæcilius Metellus Calvus*, the *Conſul* of this Year 611, with his Brother *Quintus Cæcilius Metellus Macedonicus*, the *Conſul* for the laſt Year. The Surname of *Servilianus* ſhews us, That *Fabius* was deſcended from the *Servilian* Family, and adopted into the *Fabian*. *Val. Maximus* takes it for granted, That both theſe *Conſuls* were afterwards raiſed to the *Cenſorſhip*; but he does not ſay when. He only tells us, That *Servilianus* had a Son, who diſgraced himſelf by the moſt infamous Debaucheries; and that his Father, aſhamed of having begotten ſuch a Monſter who was a Scandal to his Family, ordered him to be killed in his own ſight, after which he voluntarily baniſhed himſelf from *Rome*, to confine himſelf to a Solitude, wherein he died of Grief.

66 *Plutarch* gives this publick Crier the Name of *Æmilius*; and among the Dregs of the People who eſcorted *Scipio*, he mentions one *Licinius*, an enterprizing factious Fellow. He likewiſe tells us, That they were both Slaves, the former in the *Emilian*, the latter in the *Livinian* Family; and being afterwards enfranchiſed by their Maſters, they, according to the ſettled Cuſtom in *Rome*, took the Names of thoſe to whom they were indebted for their Freedom.

Year of *ROME* DCXI.

Q. Fabius Servilianus, & L. Cæcilius Metellus, Conſuls.

Val. Max. B. 6. c. 4.

The Preference which the People had given to *Scipio*, did not at all leſſen that Severity which was become natural to him; and was founded partly in the Love of Order and Regularity, and partly in a deſire to revive the ancient Virtue of the firſt *Romans*. But his Collegue was more flexible; and tho' Virtuous to Admiration himſelf, had more Indulgence for the Weakneſſes of others. During their joint Adminiſtration, *Scipio* was heard to ſay, even from the *Roſtra*, That, *if he either had had no Collegue, or any other but* Mummius, *he would immediately have reformed all Orders of Men in the Republick.* The ſevere *Cenſor* began his Office with haranguing the People in the *Comitium*. His Speech was a pathetick Exhortation to revive that Frugality, Continence, and Subordination, which had formerly been ſo common, and were now ſo much neglected. *Our Victories over the Eaſtern Nations*, ſaid he, *have not done us ſo much Honour as Prejudice. The* Romans, *by extending their Government too far, have unlearned the Art of governing themſelves. They have given Chains to the* Greeks *and* Macedonians, *and have brought themſelves under a new kind of Slavery. We are become enſlaved to our Luſts; Ambition, Avarice, Lewdneſs, and Fraud have croſſed the Seas with the Conquerors of the Eaſtern Regions; and the Banks of the* Tyber *are now as much infected with them, as thoſe of the* Alpheus [67], *or the* Axius. *What Remedy then is there to be found for the Evils with which the Republick is threatend? The* Cenſorſhip *exerciſed with all the Power, and all the Vigour it formerly was, is what alone can put a ſtop to the Inundations of Vice. Be not ſurprized therefore,* Romans, *if we call to mind the Examples of our Predeceſſors, and make them our Patterns. In thoſe happy Times, when the Virtue of the* Romans *was untainted, the* Cenſors *puniſhed the ſlighteſt Faults without Diſtinction or Reſerve. A* Roman Citizen, *partly induced by a Friend, and partly for his own Amuſement, came to the Place where the* Cenſors *held their Seſſions. This poor Man had got an ill Habit of yawning often; and whether through Fatigue, or Diſtemper, yawned ſo loud in open Court, that he was heard by the Aſſembly. And this little Accident, being interpreted a want of Reſpect to the Magiſtrates, was ſeverely puniſhed. The unfortunate Man was immediately deprived of voting, or ſtanding Candidate, in the Aſſemblies of the People; and not reſtored to his Rights, till his Infirmity had been well atteſted. Not to mention a jocoſe Man among the loweſt of the People, whom our* Cenſors *puniſhed with great rigour, for a Jeſt which they thought indecent* [68] *and diſreſpectful. Such was the Strictneſs, and ſuch the Regularity of our Fore-Fathers. What grievous Puniſhments then ought not we to inflict, who are to give Judgment on monſtrous Villanies, brutal Debaucheries, and the moſt unjuſt Extortions? Leſſen then our Labours,* Romans, *by an open Profeſſion of Virtue; and ſecond our Zeal againſt the Guilty, by a publick Approbation of our Cenſures.*

Aul. Gell. B. 4. Laſt Chapter.

67 *The Alpheus* is one of the great Rivers of *Peloponneſus*. It riſes in Mount *Stymphalas*. From thence it runs through *Arcadia*, and a part of *Elis*. After it is enlarged by the influx of *The Celado*, *The Erymanthus*, *The Acheron*, and ſeveral other little Rivers, it falls into *The Gulph Chelonites*, or *The Gulph of Arcadia*, near the ancient City of *Piſa*. This River is now known to Sea-men, by the Name of *Carbo*, or *Darbo*; *Sophian* calls it *Rophea*; the Natives of the Country, according to *Le Noir*, *Orphea*; and ſome *Alabo*. No one is ignorant, of the Story of the Love of *Alpheus* for *Arethuſa*, a Nymph of *Diana's* Train; or of the Metamorphoſis of the Nymph into a Fountain, and of the Shepherd into a River, which from the Gulph into which it diſcharges it ſelf, runs croſs a great extent of Sea, in order to join its Waters in *Sicily*, with thoſe of *Arethuſa*, his beloved Miſtreſs. Theſe are fabulous Traditions, which have furniſhed prophane Poetry with Epiſodes and Ornaments. *Strabo* inveighs, on this occaſion, againſt the Poets who vend theſe Fictions for Realities, tho' they have not the leaſt Face of Probability. *Pauſanias*, ſpeaking of *Alpheus*, relates as a Fact, for which he brings no Authority, That this River is firſt loſt under Ground, then falls into *The Eurotas*, from which it ſeparates in order to bury itſelf a ſecond time, and after this appears again, and falls into *The Gulph of Arcadia*.

68 This Matter is related by *Aulus Gellius*. Agreeably to an ancient Law which condemned Celibacy among the *Romans*, it was cuſtomary for the *Cenſor*, who took the *Cenſus* of the People, to ask every Citizen, whether he was married? A Man of the meaneſt of the People, coming in his Turn, to give an account of his Condition, and Effects, the Magiſtrate, who was deſperately in love with this Man's Wife, asked him, in the uſual Form of Words, EX ANIMI TUI SENTENTIA UXOREM HABES? That is, *Are you really married, or not?* To which the Man replies, *Yes*; HABEO QUIDEM UXOREM; *I am indeed married*; and adds with a ſneer, *but not to your liking*, NON EX ANIMI TUI SENTENTIA. And the Repartee diſconcerted the Gravity of the *Cenſor*. This was unluckily reproaching him with his Weakneſs, and implying, that he could not, *without Concern*, ſee the Object of his Paſſion, under the Power of a vigilant Husband. The Jeſt, which cannot be literally tranſlated, turns upon the Ambiguity of the *Latin* Expreſſion, *ex Animi tui Sententia*, which ſignifies both *really* or *truly*, and *according to your liking*. However, ſo diſreſpectful an Anſwer coſt the Artificer dear. He was immediately ſtruck out of the Roll of his Tribe, and the *Cenſor* declared him deprived of all the Privileges of a *Roman Citizen*; which reduced him to the Rank of the *Ærarii*, who, without enjoying the Rights of *Citizenſhip*, bore all the burden of it. See what we have elſewhere ſaid, of the *Roman* Laws, which forbad Celibacy, Vol. 1.

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Nor did the Conduct of *The Second Africanus* fall ſhort of the manly Spirit of his Harangue. He put, or continued, at the Head of the Senate, a Man whoſe Virtue was not to be corrupted; namely, that *Publius Scipio Naſica*, whom the Oracle had declared the moſt virtuous of the *Romans*: And in the Liſt which the *Cenſors* made of *The Conſcript Fathers*, they omitted all thoſe, whoſe Manners or whoſe Probity were ſuſpected. When they reviewed the *Roman Knights*, *Scipio* took pleaſure in mortifying a famous Debauchee named *Claudius Aſellus*. He took from him the Horſe the Republick maintained for him, and alluding to his Surname, adviſed him to be content with [69] *an Aſs*. But tho' the Jeſt and the Puniſhment were equally applauded; the indulgent *Mummius* remounted the degraded Knight, and reſtored him to his Rank. And by many other Inſtances of the like kind, did this too eaſy *Cenſor* fruſtrate the good Intentions of his Collegue. As for *Aſellus*, we ſhall ſoon ſee him riſe by degrees to *The Tribunate of the People*, and return *The Second Africanus* the Affronts he had received from him. Another *Knight* was branded with Infamy by the ſevere *Cenſor*, for having been abſent from the Battle of *Pydna* in *Macedon*, tho' a *Centurion* in *Paulus Æmilius*'s Troops. The Offender exclaimed againſt the Injuſtice of the Sentence; and ſaid, *he had continued in the Camp to defend it. True*, replied *Scipio*, ſmiling, *I perceive you did; but it is my Misfortune not to love Men, who are ſo very officious.* In ſhort, *Rome* was full of *Scipio*'s Repartees, to thoſe who complained of his Cenſures. Another *Roman Knight*, a great Epicure, who had been accuſed and puniſhed by the ſevere *Cenſor*, for the Expenſiveneſs of his Entertainments; clamoured much againſt his Judge, and came and demanded of him the Reaſon of his Judgment. To which *Scipio*; *If you would know why I condemned you; it was for uſurping my Rights. You gave up* Carthage *to be plundered, without my Orders.* The Caſe was, that during the Siege of *Carthage*, the *Knight* had had ſerved up to his Table a Cake or Pie, in the Form of a Plan of the beſieged City, and had given it up, to be pillaged by his Gueſts: And to this uncommon piece of Luxury, the *Cenſor* pleaſantly alluded. At another Review, a Knight paſſed before the *Cenſor*, who was a *noted* Knave [70], but knew how to conceal both his Knaveries and his Falſhood. As ſoon as *Scipio* ſaw him, he ſaid, *You ſee here a Villain whom I know to have been more than once perjured; Will no body accuſe him?* And when all were ſilent, and no Accuſer appeared, *March on, Horſeman*, cried *Scipio, I won't be both thy Accuſer and thy Judge.* Thus, by the Vigilance of the ſevere *Cenſor*, ſome Remains of the ancient Probity of the *Romans* were ſtill preſerved at *Rome*.

Plut. in Apophtheg.

Val. Max. B. 4. c. 1.

At length, *Scipio* and *Mummius* ended their *Cenſorſhip* with a *Cenſus*, at which were enumerated 428342 *Roman Citizens* fit to bear Arms. The *Luſtrum* that followed the *Cenſus*, was by computation the 57th. *Mummius* preſided [71] at the Sacrifice of the Bull, Ram, and Boar, which according to ancient Cuſtom, were offered up on that Occaſion: And *Scipio*'s Province was, to examine the old Form of Prayers which were addreſſed to the Gods, at theſe Ceremonies; and before he would ſuffer them to be uſed, he reformed them. There were in them formerly theſe Words; *May it pleaſe the Gods who protect* Rome, *to increaſe her Proſperity, and enlarge her Dominions*; upon which the *Cenſor* made this ſenſible Reflection. *Are not then the Dominions of the Republick extenſive enough already? Why ask of Heaven new Conqueſts?* In the room therefore of the foregoing Clauſe, he ſubſtituted the following one, which continued in the Form ever after. *Great Gods! preſerve the Republick in that glorious State into which your Protection has brought it!* As to publick Buildings, it does not appear that theſe *Cenſors* embelliſhed the City with any conſiderable Number. We are only told that they turned the Arches of a Bridge over *The Tyber*, the Foundations of which were laid, and the Piers built, by *M. Fulvius* in his *Cenſorſhip*.

Cic. de Orat. B. 2. *A. Gell. B. 4. c. 1. 7.* *Val. Max. B. 4. c. 1.*

§. XIII. Such were the peaceful Works in which the *Romans* in the City were employed; whilſt *Viriatus* purſued the War in *Spain* with great Vigour, and was ſtill a

69 *Cicero* relates this matter differently in his Book *De Oratore*. *Aſellus* boaſted of having borne Arms, for the Service of the Republick, in all the Provinces ſubject to the *Romans*; and *Scipio* only replied to this Rodomontade, by a ſevere Alluſion to the Surname of *Aſellus*, *March on your Aſs then*; implying, That like that ſlow and ſlothful Animal, he would make but little Progreſs in the Road to Glory.

70 The Name of the Man who has this infamous Character, was *Caius Licinius Sacerdos*.

71 The Teſtimony of *Cicero* is preferable to that of *Val. Maximus*, who pretends, That *Scipio* preſided at the Ceremonies of the *Luſtrum*. The *Roman* Orator reports on this Occaſion, a ſmart Saying of *Scipio*. *Claudius Aſellus* reproached him, That the *Luſtrum*, which ended his *Cenſorſhip*, had been fatal to the Republick. *I am not at all ſurprized at it*, replies *Æmilianus* to the Knight; *Mummius, who reſtored you to your Honour after I had degraded you, was the Man who performed the Ceremony of the Sacrifice.*

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formidable Enemy. Of how great Importance the Republick thought the *Spaniſh* Affairs, appears by the following unuſual Diſpoſition. She thought it neceſſary to ſend one of the new *Conſuls* againſt *Viriatus*, with a new *Conſular* Army; and at the ſame time did not recall *Metellus Macedonicus*, who had made *The Luſitanian* ſenſible of his Valour, the laſt Campaign; but continued him in *Spain* at the Head of his Army, with the Title of *Pro-Conſul*. The Senate only ordered, That the Province of the latter ſhould be *Hither Spain*, where *Viriatus* had juſt committed terrible Ravages. After this, the *Conſuls* drew Lots at *Rome* for their Provinces. *Further Spain* fell to *Fabius Servilianus*; and *Italy* to *L. Cæcilius Metellus*, who was Brother to that *Metellus* who was the laſt Year *Conſul*, and was now appointed *Pro-Conſul* in *Hither Spain*; and who had been in continual purſuit of *Viriatus* ever ſince his Election. The perpetual Incurſions of the *Luſitanian* into both the *Spaniſh Provinces*, ſometimes on one ſide of the *Ebro*, and ſometimes on the other, had kept him in full Employment. It was difficult to come up with *Viriatus*, and more ſo, to force him to an Engagement; whilſt at the ſame time, none of his Incurſions were without Effect on the *Roman* Party. He always left ſome traces of a Revolt in every Nation he ran through. Among others, *Numantia* [72], a City of *Tarraconian Spain*, had taken up Arms againſt *Rome*; and this new Rebellion ſeemed already to threaten a long and difficult War, which was begun by *Metellus*: of whom it is not eaſy to determine, whether he was more active or more moderate, more brave in Action, or more rigorous in preſerving Diſcipline. Deſpairing of being able to bring *Viriatus* to a Battle, he now applied himſelf to the recovering of thoſe Places, which the *Spaniard* had corrupted from the *Roman* Intereſt, and beſieged *Contrebia* [73]. This City was probably then, one of the moſt important Poſts in *Spain*; and the Defence of the beſieged was as vigorous, as their new hatred to *Rome* was violent. Nevertheleſs, after ſome time, the *Ram* made a Breach in the Wall, and it was neceſſary to mount it in order to an Aſſault. To this Service, the *Conſul* appointed five *Manipuli* of his *Legionaries*, and they marched up in order, to the Breach. But, as no Nation in the World ever ſhewed more Obſtinacy or Bravery in defence of their Walls and their Liberty, than the *Contrebiates*, the *Romans* were driven back with Loſs, and purſued to a conſiderable diſtance by the Beſieged. Any other General therefore, would have ſent freſh Men to renew the Attack, or at leaſt have ſtrengthened the five *Manipuli* with a Reinforcement. But *Metellus*'s Conduct was very different. He thought that *Romans*, how few ſoever in Number, ought to ſhew themſelves ſuperiour to their Enemies, and take all Poſts from them: And therefore, without adding a ſingle Man to the firſt Body who were ſo vigorouſly repulſed, he commanded them to attack the Enemy a ſecond time. Theſe Orders not one of them refuſed to obey; but each Soldier before he went, made one of thoſe *Wills* [74] which the *Romans* called *in Procinctu*; which ſeems to have been tacitly reproaching their General with ſending them to certain Death. But what cannot Deſpair

Front. in Strat. B. 4. c. 1. Val. Max. B. 2. c. 7.

72 *Numantia* anciently ſtood northward, in the Country of the *Arevacæ*, or *Arvacei*, which is now a Part of *Old Caſtille*. Some Ruins of this famous City are yet to be ſeen, two Miles above *Soria*, near the Bridge of *Garay*, not far from the Place where the River *Duero* riſes. *Pliny* and *Florus* give it this Situation. It was more ſtrengthened by Nature and the Advantages of its Situation, than by its Fortifications. It ſtood on the Declivity of a Hill, which was not very ſteep. But the Mountains which ſurrounded it on three Sides, made the Acceſs to it very difficult. The fourth ſide was bounded by an agreeable and fruitful Plain, which reaches above 12 Miles along the River *Ter*, to the Place where it runs into *The Duero*. The Country about it abounded with all ſorts of Fruits. *Pliny* boaſts particularly of the Pears that grew in the Territory of *Numantia*. According to *Strabo*, the *Numantini* had followed the Maxim of the *Lacedæmonians*. Theſe *Spaniards*, like them, would not take the Precaution to build Walls and Towers round their City, to defend it from Inſults: They would have no Ramparts to guard them againſt the Enemy, but their own Valour. Beſides, it would have been difficult to have fortified *Numantia*, on account of the Meadows contained within the Verge of it, and which ſupplied Paſturage for the Cattle kept there for the Support of the Inhabitants. They only took care to erect a very ſtrong Citadel in the middle of the Place. Thither the Citizens uſed to carry all their moſt valuable Things, upon the firſt appearance of War, in order to ſecure them. The Inhabitants were not reckoned to be many. Some Hiſtorians pretend, That they could not raiſe above 4000 Soldiers; others ſay 8000. But theſe were all robuſt and valiant Men, and inured to the moſt painful Labours. *Paulus Oroſius* ſays, *B.* 5. That *Numantia* was but 3000 Paces in Circumference. Others, on the Credit of *Oroſius* himſelf and *Mariana*, ſay a much leſs Number; excluſive of the Meadows beforementioned. It is probable, this City was rebuilt after it was deſtroyed by the *Romans*, ſince *Ptolomy* and *Antoninus's Itinerary* mention it. The latter places it between *Uxama* and *Turiaſo*, two Cities which ſtood where *Oſma* and *Tarazone* now ſtand.

73 *Contrebia* ſtood in *New Caſtille*, on the Banks of the little River of *Henares*. It is now *Tortoſa*, a different Place from the *Tortoſa* in *Catalonia*, which ſtands at the Mouth of the *Ebro*.

74 The ancient *Romans* were ſo jealous of uſing the abſolute Power the Laws of *The XII Tables* gave them, in the Diſpoſal of their Eſtates, that they piqued themſelves upon not being ſurprized by Death before they had made their *Wills*. This was an Act of Sovereign-

ſpair and the Shame of former Cowardice effect in brave Minds? Theſe Men who had fled before, now fought like Lyons, for fear of being executed if they retreated; and their former Conquerors could not withſtand their Efforts. The Garriſon of *Contrebia* gave way and were diſpirited; the *Romans* became Maſters of a Place, which was till that Time

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ſy, or rather, a domeſtick Tyranny, which only the Fathers of Families had a Right to exerciſe with an abſolute Authority. A Law as ancient as *Rome* it ſelf, eſtabliſhed ſo much as the Extravagancies of a Teſtator, and forced the Son who was unjuſtly diſinherited, to regard even the Whimſies of a ſeduced and miſtaken Father, as a kind of irrevocable Decrees. But this deſpotick Authority was given by the Law of *The XII Tables* only to *Roman Citizens*. So that Foreigners had no Share of this Power; nor were *Romans* themſelves, if baniſhed their Country, or condemned to any Capital Puniſhment thought capable of making their *Wills*. They were then conſidered as Men dead to civil Society, and conſequently deprived of all the Privileges of *Citizenſhip*. And the ſame Thing which diſabled them from making their *Wills*, diſabled them likewiſe from appropriating to themſelves any Legacies which had been given them. *Cicero*, to ſhew that the Poet *Archias* was a *Roman Citizen*, brings this, among other Proofs, That he had made his *Will*, according to the Form preſcribed by the ancient Laws of *Rome*. And with regard to himſelf, he ſays in his Oration *Pro Domo ſua*, That if the Fury of *Clodius* forced him to leave *Rome*, to give way to the Storm which threatned the Republick, this Retreat was not deemed a Baniſhment, for this Reaſon; *Becauſe, ſuch of his Friends as had made their* Wills *during my Abſence, did not think themſelves obliged to leave him out of them.* Whence he concludes, That, during this interval in which his Enemies forced him to diſappear, the Publick ſtill acknowleged him to be a *Roman Citizen*. Moreover, the Law which gave Fathers of Families a Right to make their *Wills*, excluded thoſe from it, who were yet under the Power of a Guardian. It is eaſy to conceive, that the Pupils could not abſolutely diſpoſe of an Eſtate, of which they neither had the Management, nor the perfect Right. The Law of *The XII Tables*, put Prodigals and Madmen under the ſame Incapacity; that is, as we have obſerved, Vol. I. p. 449. N. 55, it ſubjected the Perſon and Eſtate of a known Spend-thrift, to the Government of his Relations. It is therefore clear, that in this State of Dependence, he could not chooſe his own Heir. An Act of this kind, ſuppoſed the Teſtator to have an abſolute Power, of which the Prodigal was deprived; Madmen were alſo put under the ſame Claſs. It was not right to leave a Power at the Diſcretion of one, who would infallibly abuſe it, either through Want of Knowledge, or of Judgment. And laſtly, thoſe who had not attained to the Age of *Puberty*, could not make their *Wills*, even with the Conſent of their Guardians; whether, becauſe a *Will* implies an abſolute Freedom in him who makes it, or becauſe it would have been dangerous to have entruſted a covetous Man with the Diſpoſal of a Patrimony which did not belong to him. It was to be feared, that a Selfiſh Guardian would take Advantage of the Weakneſs of his Pupil, and induce him to promote his Guardian's Intereſt, by excluding thoſe from the Succeſſion, who by Law and Blood ought moſt regularly to inherit.

The Deſign of the Law in thus eſtabliſhing the Power of Fathers of Families, was indeed, to keep their Children, or thoſe who by natural Right might lay Claim to the Inheritance, to Duty and Reſpect for their Parents. But whilſt it gave the Teſtator an abſolute Power to diſpoſe of his Eſtate; it required ſome Ceremonies and burdenſome Conditions, as ſo abſolutely neceſſary in the making the *Will*, that the omiſſion of one of them diſannulled it: This gave riſe to all the Solemnities preſcribed, in order to make a *Will* valid.

In the moſt diſtant Ages of *Rome*, it was cuſtomary and requiſite for every Father of a Family to appear before the aſſembled *Curiæ*, and there declare his *Will*, *viva voce*. This ſo publick an Act put, if I may ſo ſpeak, the laſt Seal to it, proved it to be genuine, and ſecured the future Execution of it. *Wills* were deemed the more authentick and irrefragable, for being confirmed in the ſame *Comitia*, to which the Laws owed all their force. And therefore the People of *Rome* aſſembled twice a Year for this very purpoſe; and a *Lictor* being charged with *calling* them *together*, theſe Aſſemblies were ſtiled *Comitia Calata*, from the Verb *Calare*, which ſignifies *to call together*.

But by this means, the power of making *Wills* was reſtrained to certain Days in ſuch a manner, that it was in vain to attempt the making them at any other time; and Death often took Men off, before the Term fixed by the Laws came, and fruſtrated their Deſigns with regard to their Heirs. Nevertheleſs, according to the Prejudices of thoſe Times, for a Man to die without the Comfort of having declared his *Will* in form, was a Reproach which even followed him to the Grave. In order therefore to leave the *Roman Citizens* at full Liberty in this particular, they were afterwards freed from the Obligation of appearing in the *Comitia*, conformably to ancient Cuſtom: And it was alſo ſettled, that Men ſhould not be limited to any time, in any Acts that related to their *Wills*. But it was thought proper to put them into a new Form, the origin of which the *Civilians* fix to the Year 302, which was the Year of the Publication of *The XII Tables*.

From this Time, the Eſſence of a *Will* conſiſted in a fictitious Sale which the Teſtator made of all his Eſtates to him whom he made his Heir, or general Legatee. The Forms then obſerved were much the ſame with thoſe preſcribed by the firſt Law of the ſixth Table, which we have interpreted, *Vol.* I. *p.* 450. According to this Inſtitution, the Teſtator entered into a Contract with him whom he propoſed to be his Heir, in the Preſence of five *Roman Citizens*, who were of the Age of *Pubery*, as Witneſſes. By virtue of this Contract, the Teſtator made a feigned Sale, or rather an actual Ceſſion of his Eſtate to the latter, and conſtituted him Heir to all he had, in caſe he ſurvived him: And the Heir gave the other an *As* of Braſs, which he firſt put in the Bottom of a Scale, and then into the Hands of the Teſtator. This the Teſtator accepted as the Purchaſe-Money for his Eſtate; and in this ſolemn Acceptance, conſiſted, if I may ſo ſpeak, the very Eſſence and Form of a *Roman Will*. And at the ſame time, the future Heir pronounced aloud this Form of Words. HUJUS EGO FAMILIAM, QUÆ MIHI EMPTA EST HOC ÆRE ÆNEAQUE LIBRA, JURE QUIRITIUM MEAM ESSE AIO. This was a kind of Proclamation, or publick Declaration of the lawful Right he had juſt acquired to the Succeſſion to the Teſtator's Eſtate; and by it the deſigned Succeſſor took Poſſeſſion of the Inheritance beforehand, in order fully to enjoy it after the Deceaſe of the Father of the Family. But he, on the other hand, engaged to pay all the Legacies, diſcharge all the Offices, and perform all the Conditions expreſſed in the *Will*.

Such was the *Will*, which the ancient Civilians called PER ÆS ET LIBRAM. Theſe ancient Law-Terms were taken from the *As*, and the *Scales*, which the

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Time thought impregnable; and this rigid Diſcipline of *Metellus* greatly increaſed the Number of his Conqueſts. The Fame of the Action of *Contrebia* ſpread throughout *Celtiberia*; and the whole Nation was ſo much alarmed at it, that ſeveral revolted Cities were thereby induced to return to their Duty. The *Romans* of the *Pro-Conſular* Army

the ancient *Romans* uſed in the Ceremony of theſe Contracts. The Ceremony aroſe in the firſt Ages of *Rome*, when Money was valued by its Weight only, as we have elſewhere obſerved.

Theſe two Sorts of *Wills* then conſiſted in a ſolemn and verbal Declaration of the abſolute *Will* of the Teſtator, in relation to his Heir. The *Romans* knew no other way of making *Wills* till the 4th Century of *Rome*, which was that of the Promulgation of *The XII Tables*. Perhaps this method was thought moſt agreeable to the Simplicity of the firſt Ages. Beſides, the Republick yet in her Infancy, if I may ſo ſpeak, was not brought into a certain regular Form, in all civil and political Matters. The ſettling Forms of Law, and the Art of carrying on Proceſſes, did but ill ſuit the Genius of a People, brought up in the Hurry and Confuſion of Arms. Add to this, that it is probable enough, that in theſe Ages of Ignorance, the greateſt Part of the *Citizens* did not know how to expreſs their Thoughts in writing. War and the Cares of a Country-Life then took up all the Attention of Fathers of Families. But afterwards, the abuſes of *Wills* which were purely *Nuncupative*, were fully ſeen. It appeared, by fatal Experience, that it was dangerous to leave the *Wills* of the deceaſed to depend on the Memory and Honeſty of five Witneſſes.

It was therefore enacted, that for the future *Wills* ſhould be reduced to writing. Every Father of a Family wrote his own in private, or got it done by a Perſon in whom he could confide. Then he read it in the preſence of five Witneſſes, to whom he gave it in writing ſigned with his own Hand, and pronounced at the ſame time the following form of Words, which is preſerved by *Ulpian* the Civilian. HÆC, UT HIS TABULIS, CERISVE SCRIPTA SUNT, ITA DO, ITA LEGO, ITA TESTOR. ITAQUE VOS, QUIRITES, TESTIMONIUM PRÆBITOTE. Romans, *bear witneſs, that I declare this Writing, which I have read and put into your Hands, is my Will.* Then the five Witneſſes took the Writing, and together with the Teſtator, put their Hands and Seals to it; and the whole Ceremony ended with a feigned Contract between the Father of the Family and the future Heir. The original *Will* ſealed, and paſſed through all the forms which made it authentick, was depoſited, either in the Hands of a truſty Friend, or of one of the publick Regiſters. Sometimes, for the greater Security, it was put into the Hands of the *Veſtals*, or the Perſons appointed to keep and beautify the Temples. Theſe kept it ſafely till the Deceaſe of the Teſtator. Then it was brought to the *Prætor*, who opened it, ratified it, and ordered the Execution of it, after he had verified the Seals, either by the Witneſſes, if yet alive, or in caſe of their Death, in any other manner, that the *Roman* Law in ſuch caſes preſcribed.

It often happened, that the Teſtator choſe a Stranger to be his Heir, excluſive of his own Children and his Relations. Hence the Troubles that theſe odious Choices cauſed in Families. The Heir himſelf, although allowed to be ſuch, had great reaſon to fear the worſt from the Rage of a jealous Competitor, or of a Son unjuſtly diſinherited, who urged his Rights of Nature and Blood againſt the Injuſtice of his Father. To prevent therefore theſe Diſorders, which might be occaſioned by the Publication of ſuch a *Will*, the Teſtator was permitted to keep it ſecret. It was only required, that the Father of the Family ſhould produce his *Will* ſealed, and ſigned with his own Hand, and the Witneſſes ſhould put their Names and Seals to the Cover. Nevertheleſs, in order to be able effectually to obſerve the Solemnity of the fictitious Sale, recourſe was had to an Expedient, which, without derogating from the ancient Uſage, did not expoſe the Heirs to the danger of being diſcovered by the Parties concerned. It was ordered, that it ſhould be ſufficient for the Teſtator, to make uſe of a faithful Friend, who ſhould ſupply the place of the univerſal Legatee in the Ceremony of the *As* and the *Ballance*. So that it was only a Sale in Truſt, which did not hurt the rights of the future Poſſeſſor. *Auguſtus*, according to *Suetonius*, took this method when he made his *Will*. *Domitius*, who had no ſhare in the Inheritance, repreſented a Purchaſer, or the Perſon whom the Emperor appointed for his Heir. *In teſtamento Auguſti, Domitius, familiæ ſe præſtitit emptorem, nihilque de hereditate cepit.* *Plutarch*, ſpeaking of this Cuſtom in his Treatiſe *Of the apparent ſlowneſs of the Gods in puniſhing Crimes*, ſays, The *Romans* made their *Wills* in ſuch a manner, that the Perſon who appeared as the future Poſſeſſor of the Inheritance in the Ceremony of the *As* and *Ballance*, PER ÆS ET LIBRAM, was not the lawful Heir.

Theſe Cuſtoms indeed were what made the *Will* of a *Roman* authentick, and gave it all its force. But if they had not been obſerved with the greateſt Exactneſs, and without Interruption in point of time; that is, if any the leaſt Circumſtance had been wanting either on the Part of the Witneſſes, or the Teſtator, or the Heir, or his Repreſentative, the *Will* was void, and of no effect. So that the Rigour, and at the ſame time the Oddneſs of this Law, gave Riſe to a great deal of Chicanery. They whoſe Intereſt it was to diſpute a *Will*, did not fail to appear before the *Prætor* to get it diſannulled: And it was enough to do this, if any of the Parties concerned in the Performance of theſe Ceremonies had gone away from the Company, before the whole Ceremony was ended, whether out of Neceſſity, or to anſwer ſome preſſing Call, or to attend a little to ſome indiſpenſible Buſineſs. This abſence, or removal out of the Place, tho' involuntary, gave the Opponents a ſpecious Plea for the nullity of it. Nevertheleſs this troubleſome Law continued in force till the time of the Emperor *Juſtinian*, who reformed the Abuſes of it by one of his Conſtitutions. Only before his time, *Conſtantine the Great* had aboliſhed the Cuſtom of the fictitious Sale, as ſuperfluous, and of no Uſe.

But as theſe Forms muſt have been very burdenſome to military Men, who were employed in Camps and Armies for the Defence of their Country; they were therefore exempted from the general Rule. The ancient *Romans*, ſays *Plutarch*, in his *Life of Coriolanus*, juſt before a Battle, the Fate of which they knew not, uſed to declare their laſt *Wills viva voce*, in the Preſence of three or four Witneſſes. This *verbal*, or *nuncupative*, *Will*, was made, as the *Roman* Hiſtorians expreſs it, IN PROCINCTU. By which they meant to ſignify, the manner in which the Soldiers girded up their Garments when they prepared for a Battle. It is well known, and we have obſerved, Vol. I. p. 394. Note 26. that in the firſt Ages of *Rome*, the Soldiers wore no other Habit but the *Toga*. This dreſs was common to all the Citizens, without diſtinction; but with this Difference, that the Soldiers, that they might act with the more Liberty, folded and faſtened together the Skirts of this Garment by tying it in a Knot under their Breaſts. Hence the Expreſſion IN PROCINCTU, which was originally ſpoken of a Man ready

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Army thereby acquired the Reputation of being invincible; and whenever they now attacked the Enemy, whether behind Walls, or in the Field, it was always with great Advantage.

And as the *Pro-Conſul* was thus ſevere in maintaining Diſcipline among his Troops, ſo was he no leſs humane and gentle in his Treatment of the conquered. This appeared at the Siege of [75] *Nertobriga*. Whilſt he was before this City, a Lord of the Country, named *Rhetogenes*, came out of it, and ſurrendered himſelf to the *Romans*. But he had left his Wife and Children in the City at the Mercy of a People enraged at his Deſertion; and when, in the Proſecution of the Siege, the *Romans* had beat down a Part of the Wall, the beſieged found out a very cruel Method of revenging themſelves on the Deſerter. They expoſed his Sons, who were yet too young to bear Arms, to the firſt Attack, by placing them on the Breach which the *Legionaries* were to mount. The Father's Heart bled at this Sight: But nevertheleſs the brave *Spaniard* ſoon recovered his Courage. He determined to go himſelf the firſt Man on the Aſſault, and to enter the Place, at the expence both of his own Blood and that of his Children. This Reſolution was brought to the *Pro-Conſul*, and the *Roman* was very greatly affected with the Danger of the two young Children, and no leſs charmed with the Father's Determination to ſacrifice them in Fidelity to *Rome*. He had ſo much more Regard to the Affliction of the faithful *Spaniard* than to his own Glory, that he abandoned a certain Conqueſt, and raiſed the Siege. But it was not long before he was made ample Amends for this voluntary Loſs. The juſt Renown of an Act of ſuch Humanity was ſoon ſpread thro' all *Tarragonian Spain*; and the Inhabitants of the revolted Cities contended who ſhould firſt have Recourſe to his Clemency. *Metellus* received them, and among the reſt the *Nertobrigians*, into Alliance again with the *Romans*; and at length re-conquered the whole Country, except *Termantia* [76] and *Numantia*, whoſe Situation ſwelled their Inhabitants with Pride and Obſtinacy, of which much will be ſaid hereafter. Nay, ſuch

to fight. In PROCINCTU *vero ſignificat*, ſays *Feſtus*, *cum ex caſtris in prælium exitum eſt, procinctos, quaſi præcinctos, atque expeditos. Nam apud antiquos togis incinctis pugnaſſe dicuntur.* The Lawgivers of *Rome* made this ſort of *Wills*, how defective ſoever in point of form, abſolutely deciſive. They thought it unjuſt to ſubject a Soldier to the Rigour of the Laws, and the trouble of underſtanding them, when the Duties of his Profeſſion obliged him to apply himſelf wholely to the ſafety and welfare of his Country. Nevertheleſs, we ſhall ſoon ſee theſe *Wills* IN PROCINCTU abſolutely forbidden. At leaſt, *Cicero* ſays, *B. 2. De Natura Deorum*, that no Foorſteps of them remained in his Time. It was then judged that the Profeſſion of Arms, left a Man Leiſure enough, during the Courſe of his Life, to take effectual care of the execution of his laſt *Will*. So that the Law concerning *written Wills* became general for all the *Citizens*.

But one exception was made in favour of the dying. When the extremity of the Diſtemper would not ſuffer a Man to comply with the common Rule, it was ſufficient for him to declare his laſt Will, *viva voce*. According to an ancient MS quoted by *Lambinus*, *Horace*, on his Death-Bed, did ſo. In the weak Condition to which the Violence of his Fever had reduced him, he had not Strength enough to ſeal his *Will*; and he therefore choſe to declare aloud, that he left all his Eſtate to *Auguſtus*.

Add to this, that the *Romans* had it ſo much at heart to perpetuate their Names and Memories by their *Wills*, that ſome ordered the Subſtance of them to be inſcribed on their Tombs. Witneſs, what *Horace* ſays, *B. 2. Sat. 3.* of one *Staberius*. Was ever, ſays he, a greater Fool than *Staberius*? By an Article in his *Will*, he requires his Heirs, to ſpecify in his Epitaph all that he had left them; with this Clauſe, That if they did not perform this, they ſhould give the People the Diverſion of 200 Gladiators, ſuch a Feaſt as *Arrius* ſhould order, (a Man ſcandalous at *Rome* for his fooliſh Profuſeneſs) and as much Corn as grows in the Province of *Africa*.

Hæredes Staberi ſummam incidere Sepulchro;
Ni ſic feciſſent, Gladiatorum dare centum
Damnati Populo paria, atque epulum arbitrio Arri,
Frumenti quantum metit Africa.

As to the Alterations which the *Prætorian Code* and *The Imperial Conſtitutions* introduced, in the Forms of making *Wills*, we ſhall have occaſion to explain them hereafter; and to relate, according to the Order of Time, the ſeveral Conditions, Springs, Events, and Circumſtances, on which the Validity of *Wills* was made to depend. To which we ſhall only add, at preſent, That with reſpect to the ſix firſt Centuries of the Republick, what we have ſaid, on this Subject, has been taken from ſuch of the ancient prophane Authors as are in moſt Credit and Eſteem; ſuch as *Plutarch*, *Cicero*, *Aulus Gellius*, *Feſtus*, *Ulpian*, *Theophilus*, *Juſtinian*, &c.

75 There were two Cities in *Spain* called *Nertobriga*. One ſtood in *Beturia*, or *Eſtramadura*, which was a Part of ancient *Bætica*; and its ſituation pretty well agrees with that of *Valera la Vieja*, which is at a little diſtance from *Frexenal*. The other, which is here ſpoken of, ſtood between *Tarazone* and *Catalayud* in *Celtiberia*. According to *Mariana*, the little City of *Ricla* in the Kingdom of *Arragon*, roſe out of the Ruins of *Nertobriga*. To prevent Miſtakes concerning the Name of this laſt City, it ought to be obſerved, that in moſt Editions of *Appian*, it is called *Nergobriga*; and that ſome ancient Authors call it *Verſobriga* and *Vertobriga*; which differences ought to be all aſcribed to the Incorrectneſs of the Copyiſts. We follow *Ptolomy* and *Antoninus's Itinerary*.

76 Some think the City of *Termantia*, was the Capital of the People called *Termiſtini*; and upon this Supposition, it muſt have been the ſame Place that *Pliny* and *Ptolomy* call *Termes*, and which *Appian* ſays had been a conſiderable City. Τερμισσος μεγαλη Πολις. Nevertheleſs, this laſt Hiſtorian mentions both *Termas* and

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ſuch was his Succeſs, that it is to be preſumed he would even have reduced *Numantia*, if the Winter Seaſon had not hindered him from approaching it; and in that caſe, what Rivers of Blood would he have ſaved his Republick!

§. XIV. Whilſt *Metellus* was thus acquiring great Fame, and performing great Exploits in *Hither Spain*; *Q. Fabius Servilianus*, the preſent *Conſul*, went to engage *Viriatus* in *The Further Province*. The *Luſitanian* had cantoned out his Troops there, partly for fear of a Battle with *Metellus*, and partly to ſecure his Country againſt the new General, who was expected from *Rome*. *Servilianus* had raiſed two *Legions* in the City, and made the uſual Levies among the Allies in *Italy*, immediately after his Promotion to the *Conſulſhip*. His Army therefore conſiſted of 18000 Foot, and 1600 Horſe. And before he embarked, the *Romans* thought it neceſſary to render Heaven propitious to them by Supplications, and to reform their exceſſive Luxury, eſpecially with reſpect to the Expenſiveneſs of their Tables. They ſuperſtitiouſly conſidered a Child which was born with the Marks of both Sexes, as a Monſter which forboded much ill to them; and after many Expiations, threw the Child into the Sea, in order to purge the Earth of it. But their Intemperance and Exceſs was an Evil which was much more to be feared; and *Rome* had therefore in ſome Meaſure provided againſt it the laſt Year. *Didius*, one of *The Tribunes of the People*, had extended the Puniſhments the Law inflicted againſt the Citizens who made too ſumptuous Feaſts, to thoſe who partook of them. And now that Law had its effect. It was executed with Rigour againſt all thoſe free Livers who in a Time of Famine, which was the preſent Caſe, raiſed the Price of Proviſions by their Profuſeneſs. Such was the State of Things when the *Conſul* ſet ſail for *Spain*; after he had deſired *Micipſa*, the King of *Numidia*, to ſend him, at his leiſure, ſome Elephants to ſtand the firſt Shock of the *Luſitanians*. Preparations, which might have terrified another General; but *Viriatus* waited for the landing of the *Conſular* Army, without concern. The *Conſul* therefore took his March towards *Ituca*, a City of *Bætica*, in order to refreſh his Troops there before they took the Field: But *Viriatus* was too active to give his new Enemies Time to breathe. He laid his *Luſitanians* in ambuſh for them, in the Road from the Sea to *Ituca*, and attacking the *Legions* unexpectedly, they were much alarmed at the firſt ſight of their new Enemy. They thought they looked like Furies come from Hell. Their long ſtreight Hair hung in great Diſorder; and being blown about with the Winds, the *Romans* could ſee no part of their Faces diſtinctly but their black ſparkling Eyes, which ſtruck them with Dread. Beſides, the Cries of this Multitude were horrible; nevertheleſs the *Legionaries* did not quit their Ranks. They ſuſtained the Attack with more Conſtancy than Ardour; and by their Appearance only made the Enemy deſiſt. *Viriatus* ſounded a Retreat; and the *Romans* reached *Ituca*, without a Battle.

Jul. Obſequens. Oroſius, B. 5. c. 4.

Macrob. Satur. B. 3. c. 17.

App. in Iberic. Epit. Liv. B. 43. c. 25. Strabo, B. 3.

When the *Conſul* arrived at the Camp he had pitched in the Center of his Province, he firſt waited for the Elephants he expected from *Numidia*. Theſe being arrived, in number ten, with 300 Horſe, and his Army having been reinforced with all the Militia of the *Spaniſh* Confederates, he then began his March, and went in queſt of the Enemy. No *Conſul* had ever commanded a greater Body of Men; and when he came to a Battle, it was their Numbers only that determined it in favour of the *Romans*. The Conduct of *Servilianus* had a very little Share in the Victory; but *Viriatus* made one of thoſe Retreats, in ſight of an Enemy ſuperior to him in Number, which do a great Commander more Honour than the gaining of a Battle. Nay, the Order he kept in it, and his Preſence of Mind, made him victorious in his turn. As ſoon as he ſaw the *Romans* purſue him in Diſorder, he faced about, and returned to the Charge; and then the *Conſul* was no longer Maſter of his *Legions*. They fled for Refuge to their Entrenchments. The *Luſitanians* followed cloſe after them; and with their Sabres, which were exceedingly well tempered, mowed down the Fugitives, and left 3000 of them dead on the Field of Battle. When arrived at the Gate of the Camp, the brave *Viriatus* made incredible Efforts to enter it, and all things gave way before him. The *Conſul* with great Difficulty eſcaped loſing his Camp, as well as all the Advantages of an Action which had been ſo happily begun. But then a young *Roman*, *Caius Fannius* [77], Son-in-Law

and *Termantia*, in his *Hiſtory of the Wars in Spain*; and it is not likely that he ſhould call the ſame City by two different Names. Some place *Termantia* on *The Duero*, in *Old Caſtille*, in the Neighbourhood of *Oſma*, near the Place where now ſtands the Chapel of *Noſtra Senora de Tiermes*, nine Leagues Weſt of *Segovia*, and 36 Miles from *Numantia*: Others take it for the City of *Lerma*, on the Banks of the River of *Arlanza*, anciently called *The Areva*.

77 The *Fannian* Family was originally *Plebeian*; as appears

in-Law to *Caius Lælius*, whoſe Valour we have ſo often celebrated, took upon him the Office of a General; encouraged the *Legionaries*; led them on to the Charge; and defended the Camp with ſo much Courage, that at length, towards the cloſe of the Day, he drove back the *Luſitanians* from it. Neither the Place of Battle, nor the Number of Men loſt by *Viriatus*, is recorded by the Hiſtorians; but this we know, that the formidable *Spaniard* ſtill continued to harraſs the *Conſul* during the reſt of the Campaign. Sometimes he came and attacked his Camp in the dead of the Night; and ſometimes he fell on the *Legionaries* at Noon-day, in the hotteſt part of the Summer. The *Spaniſh* Men and Horſes were proof againſt all theſe Fatigues: but the *Romans*, who were uſed to a different Climate, ſunk under them. *Servilianus* was obliged to march his *Legions* back to *Ituca*, and put them into Quarters of Refreſhment. *Viriatus*, on the other hand, whoſe Troops were diminiſhed, burnt his Camp in the Night, marched into *Luſitania*, and put an end to this glorious Campaign. Then the *Conſul*, after he had in vain endeavoured to overtake him, reduced five Cities which had joined *Viriatus*; and went to ſpend the Winter in the Country of the *Cunei* [78], in the moſt Weſtern Part of *Luſitania*. But the *Conſular* Army was ſo far from having humbled the Pride of the *Luſitanians*, that it had rather increaſed it. The Revolt was as much ſtrengthened in *The Further Province*, as weakned in *The Hither*.

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Q. FABIUS, SERVILIANUS, & L. CÆCILIUS METELLUS, Conſuls.

Epit. Liv. B. 53. c. 27.

§. XV. During this *Conſulſhip*, *Rome* had flattered herſelf with having no War to ſupport, except that in *Spain*; and ſhe had therefore ſent all her Forces that way. No other *Roman Province*, either in the Eaſt or South, was guarded with more than a *Prætorian* Army, that is, with one ſingle *Legion* under the Command of a *Prætor*. But when it was leaſt expected, a ſudden Tempeſt aroſe in *Macedon* which put it in a flame. A third Impoſtor appeared there, who gave himſelf out for the Son of *Perſes*, took the Name of *Philip*, and built his pretended Birth and Rights on a Fable. But nevertheleſs, ſince *Macedon* had been very reſtleſs ever ſince its Government was changed, and *Greece*, lately reduced to the State of a *Province*, had borne her new Yoke with great Reluctance, the new King found no difficulty, in making a Party, and raiſing Troops. He ſoon formed an Army of malecontent *Greeks* and *Macedonians*; and as the Succeſs of the Revolt, in a great meaſure depended on the firſt bold Attempt, a favourable Opportunity for one was not wanting. *Licinius Nerva*, the *Prætor* of the *Province*, was not in it. His little *Roman* Army was left without its General, under the Command of a *Quæſtor* named *Cn. Tremellius*; and from thence it may be inferred, that the *Quæſtorſhip* was the ſecond Poſt of Honour in the *Roman* Camp, and its Authority not confined to the Management of the Finances, but extended to the Command of the Troops in the General's abſence. However, *Tremellius* was a brave Officer, well able to ſupply the *Prætor*'s Place; and was far from being terrified at the ſight of an Army of 17000 Men, which the falſe King was leading to attack his Camp. His firſt Care was to aſſemble his Soldiers together round the *Prætorium*, and there he harangued them, not as an Orator, but a Soldier. *Citizens*, ſaid he, *the Opportunity you deſired, Heaven now offers to you. An imaginary King comes to rouze you from that Inactivity which has been ſo great a Burden to you; and you have no longer any Cauſe to envy the* Legions *in* Spain, *their Happineſs, in having a ready way to the acquiſition of Glory. We may now acquire much, at very little Expence. The Rebel-Army conſiſts of Generals without Experience, at the head of Troops haſtily aſſembled together, and whoſe very Appearance it ſelf diſcovers their Weakneſs.* Macedon *abounds with pretended Kings; we ſee freſh ones ſtart up daily. Is there then any difference between this new Impoſtor, and thoſe who have gone before him?*

Epit. Liv. B. 53. c. 29. Eutrop. B. 4.

appears by the 13th Epiſtle of *Cicero* to *Atticus*, *B.* 16. He there ſpeaks of one *Caius Fannius Strabo*, who, he thinks, had been *Tribune of the People*, near the ſame Year, that *Scipio Æmilianus* and *Mummius* were raiſed to the Dignity of *Cenſor*. He, of whom *Cicero* ſpeaks, was the Son of *Marcus*, and probably the Brother, or Couſin German of this *Caius Fannius*, who married the Daughter of *Lælius*. We muſt not therefore confound the latter with one *Caius Fannius*, who was *Conſul* in the Year of *Rome*, 631. The Name of the Father of *Lælius*'s Son-in-Law, was *Marcus*; that of the *Conſul*, *Caius*, according to the *Conſular Annals*. *Cicero* gives them both the ſame Age, and ranks them among the Orators of their Time.

78 The *Cunei* inhabited that little Canton of *Luſitania* to which the ancient Geographers, particularly *Pliny*, *Strabo*, and *Pomponius Mela*, give the Name of *Cuneus*: And indeed, the moſt Weſtern Part of the Land, between *The Anas* or *Guadiana*, and the *Ocean*, does grow narrower and narrower towards the Seaſhore, and does well enough reſemble the ſhape of a *Wedge*. It is thought that *Cuniſtorgis* was the Capital of this Territory. *Strabo* places it in the Country of the *Celtici*, as he and *Ptolomy* call the People of the Southern Provinces of *Spain*, becauſe they came originally from *Gallia Celtica*. *Mariana* confeſſes, the *Gauls* had ſpread themſelves into *Celtiberia*, and carried on their Conqueſts near as far as *Bætica*. In the Neighbourhood of the *Cuneans*, ſtood the Promontory *Cuneus*, now *The Cape of St. Mary*, between *The Guadiana* and *The Sacred Promontory*, now known by the Name of *Cape St. Vincent*.

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Q. Fabius Servilianus, & L. Cæcilius Metellus, Conſuls.

M. Varro de Re Ruſtica, B. 3.
Cic. ad Attic. B. 12.
Velleius Paterculus B. 2.

He has not even been able to cover his Pretenſions with a tolerable Diſguiſe: and his Army is a Company of Vagabonds and Slaves, newly eſcaped from the Chain. March on then, and meet them. I can as eaſily diſperſe them, as a Sow drives away her Pigs, when they too greedily preſs upon her for Milk. The Compariſon made the *Legionaries* laugh; and after they had jocoſely given their General the Surname of *Scropha*[79], which ſignifies *a Sow*, they marched to the Battle with great Chearfulneſs and Confidence; and put the ill-diſciplined *Macedonians* to the rout at the firſt Onſet. *Philip* indeed fought with a Valour worthy of the Name he had uſurped. He fought Death in Arms, and found it. *Tremellius* victoriouſly entered his Camp, and thought it for his Honour to adopt the Surname which his *Legion* had given him. He deſired to be called *Scropha*; and tranſmitted the Appellation to his Branch of the Family, as a Title of Honour. In this manner moſt of the Surnames of the *Romans* took their riſe from ſome fortuitous Event.

§. XVI. Thus was *Rome* victorious in *Macedon*, and in *Hither Spain*. The Advantages gained by *Metellus* in his Province during his *Pro-Conſulſhip*, were as indiſputable, as the Victories of *Servilianus* in his, were doubtful. This News came from the Eaſt and Weſt, when the *Conſular* Year was juſt expiring, and it was neceſſary to proceed to the Election of the great Officers in *The Field of Mars*. One of the Candidates for the *Conſulſhip*, was that *Caius Lælius* ſurnamed *The Wiſe*, who was the inſeparable Friend of *The Second Africanus*. His Name, his Services, his Manners, and his Reputation, rendered him very worthy of this ſupream Dignity, to which he had not yet been raiſed: All things ſeemed to conſpire to his Advancement; and his chief Dependance was on the Reputation of his faithful Friend *Scipio Æmilianus*, who was then revered as the Oracle. But he unfortunately met with a Competitor, who, tho' in much leſs Credit, was more artful, and a greater Maſter of Diſſimulation. This was *Q. Pompeïus*, a *new Man*, none of whoſe Anceſtors had yet aſpired at high Employments, and whoſe Mother was even reproached with his Birth. She had had her Gallantries; and it was ſuſpected that the Father of this Son was a Flute-Player, whom this Woman, not over nice, had made inſtrumental to her Pleaſures. But be that as it will, *Pompey* was now, by fawning and cringing Arts, arrived at ſuch a heighth, as to be able to canvaſs for the *Conſulſhip*; and as *Scipio* was conducting *Lælius* to the *Comitia*, to preſent him to the People, he met *Pompey* in his way, and asked him if he had any Pretenſions to the Offices which were going to be diſpoſed of? *I am ſo far*, replied the Cheat, *from having any Thoughts of them for the preſent Year, that I will readily ſerve the illuſtrious Candidate you are conducting, to the utmoſt of my Power. I will go among the Files of the People as they ſtand under Arms, and be your Agent. You ſhall ſoon ſee the Effect of my Sollicitations, and I will bring you hither the News of my Succeſs.* *Lælius* believed him, and took no further care to purſue his Intereſt; and ſoon heard that his Agent was begging Votes for himſelf, and would immediately be declared *Conſul*. Nevertheleſs, he ſtill waited ſome time for *Pompey*'s Anſwer; and when he ſaw no more of him, and was tired and uneaſy at being the dupe of an inſincere Man, who had broken his Promiſe, and employed all his Time to ſerve himſelf, he ſaid to *Scipio*, *Let us be gone: We are not here in a Temple, where People wait for the Flute-Players to begin the Ceremonies.* But this ſevere Piece of Raillery did not hinder *Pompey*'s Succeſs. He was nominated *Conſul*, and one *Cn. Servilius Cæpio*, a *Patrician*, was choſen with him. In the ſame Aſſembly, the *Tribes* appointed *Servilianus* to continue the War with *Viriatus* in *Further Spain*, in quality of *Pro-Conſul*. Whereas *Metellus* was only ſuffered to keep the Command of his Troops, till his Succeſſor ſhould arrive. The *Prætor* appointed for *Macedon*, was *D. Juventius*, an avaritious Man, who pillaged and ruined his Province by his Exactions.

Plut. in Apoph.

[79] *Macrobius* derives the Surname of *Scropha*, from an Accident which happened when *Tremellius* was in the Field. His Slaves found a ſtray *Sow*, ſeized it, and killed it. A Man in the Neighbourhood claimed it, and ſearched for it, even in *Tremellius*'s Houſe. The *Romans* being informed of the Robbery of his Domeſticks, hid the Sow under the Bed on which his Wife uſed to lie, and then ſuffered the Neighbour and his Companions to ſearch all private Places. They were brought into the Room, and at length into the Chamber where the ſtolen Goods were, and where the Miſtreſs of the Houſe, who probably was in the Secret, lay aſleep. And there *Tremellius* ſaid to the Perſon concerned, *I swear you'll find no other* Sow *in my Houſe but what lays in that Bed.* And he ſaid true. But it is not natural to ſuppoſe, that ſo much pains ſhould be taken to conceal ſuch an Animal. However, *Tremellius*'s Anſwer was thought a merry Jeſt, which bore hard on his Wife. But if we may judge of the *Roman* by it, we muſt conclude, that he was one of thoſe Soldiers who did not value themſelves for their Politeneſs. Nevertheleſs, the Witticiſm was matter of Mirth to all preſent; and gave riſe, ſays *Macrobius*, to the nick-name of *Scropha*, which from that time became a Surname in *Tremellius*'s Family.

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CN. SERVILIANUS CŒPIO, & Q. POMPEIUS NEPOS, Conſuls.

Rome had now made it a Rule for ſome time, to ſend one of the new *Conſuls* every Year into *Spain*; and at the ſame time to continue the old *Conſul* there, with the Title of *Pro-Conſul*. Two *Conſular* Armies not being too much, to ſubdue *Viriatus*, and ſuppreſs the Inſolence of the *Celtiberians*. But would it not have been more for the publick good, to have continued *Metellus* in his Province, that he might finiſh the War he had begun with Succeſs? To this end, the brave *Pro-Conſul* ſollicited by his Friends the ſame Favour which the *Tribes* had granted to the two *Scipio's*, in order to reduce *Carthage*; and to *Flamininus*, in order to ſettle *Greece* in Peace. They had been continued in their Offices as Generals, till they had entirely finiſhed the Wars they had undertaken. Beſides, the Surname of *Macedonicus* was a ſufficient Teſtimony of the Capacity of *Metellus*; and his firſt Succeſſes in *Spain* were juſt Grounds to hope for more. But he was not agreeable to the Commons: They removed him from his Poſt. The new *Conſuls* drew Lots, who ſhould ſucceed him; and unfortunately both for himſelf and for the Republick, the Lot fell on *Pompey*. Who then can expreſs the Reſentment of *Macedonicus*, to find he muſt be ſucceeded by a Man of neither Birth nor Merit, and who was his perſonal Enemy? His Indignation how great ſoever, was not equal to the Injuſtice that had been done him; and he firſt vented his Rage on the Enemies of *Rome*. To ſhew what he could do, and would have done, had he been continued in his Province, he reſolved to make the beſt uſe of his Time before *Pompey*'s arrival. Notwithſtanding the Coldneſs of the Seaſon, he determined to ſignalize himſelf by ſome great Action. To this end, he marched out of Winter Quarters, before the Spring began, entered *The Further Province*, and took his Route towards *Luſitania*. *Viriatus* had cantoned his Troops there, and appeared no more in the Field; and *Metellus* went to attack him in his ſtrongeſt Holds. The *Roman* was very deſirous of fighting one Battle at leaſt, before he left *Spain*, with this famous General, who had hitherto avoided coming to any Engagement with him. *App. in Iberi*

The *Legions* were on their March, when they were ſurrounded by two Armies of *Spaniſh* Banditti. One was commanded by a Captain, named *Curius*, the other by a Chief, called *Apuleius*; whoſe Names ſeem to ſhew that they were *Romans*. But *Rome* had now maintained her Superiority in *Spain* above a Century; ſo that the Inhabitants of the Country had had time enough to change their own barbarous Names into *Latin* ones. The *Spaniſh* Robbers ſallied ſuddenly out of their Ambuſcade, and falling on the advanced Guard of the *Roman* Army, where the Baggage was in a long Train of Waggons, they took ſome Booty which was afterwards recovered by *Servilianus*. Then the *Legionaries* came up, and gave battle, in which *Curius* loſt his Life; and the Aggreſſors were ſo effectually diſperſed, that they no more interrupted *Metellus* in his march. Not that theſe were the only Obſtacles he met with in his way. *Viriatus* had poſſeſſed himſelf of the beſt Places in the Country, and put ſtrong Garriſons into them. But it was only matter of Diverſion to the *Roman* to retake them. He brought back *Eſcadia* [80], *Gemella* [81], *Obolcula* [82], and many other conſiderable Cities to their Duty to the Republick. Thoſe which capitulated he treated with Clemency; the reſt were plundered. Some of the Chiefs of the Revolters, to the Number of 500 were beheaded; and the reſt, amounting to 9500, were ſold to the beſt Bidder. And *Metellus* hoped that ſuch great Succeſſes and terrible Executions, would have brought *Viriatus* to the Aſſiſtance of his Allies, which was the chief Point he had in view. But the wiſe *Luſitanian* knew how to make a difference between the Generals *Rome* ſent againſt him. Tho' proud and enterprizing againſt others, he kept himſelf wholly upon his guard againſt the preſent, and would not

80 We know nothing more of *Eſcadia*, than that it ſtood in the Neighbourhood of *Bætica* and *Luſitania*.

81 The City of *Gemella* is the ſame to which *Strabo* and *Ptolomy* give the Name of *Tucci*. *Pliny* expreſſes himſelf ſo clearly in this Matter, as to leave no room for doubt. *Tucci*, ſays he, *B.* 3, was ſurnamed *Gemella Auguſta*: And ſo it is called in an ancient Inſcription in *Gruter*, where we find theſe Words, COLONIÆ AUGUSTÆ GEMELLÆ TUCCITANÆ. *Gemella Auguſta* was probably the Name of one of the *Roman Legions* which *Auguſtus* ſettled at *Tucci*, in form of a *Military Colony*. According to *Ambroſe Morales*, it ſtood in the Place where we now find *Martos*, a City of *Andaluſia*, near the little River of *Salado*, at the Foot of a Mountain. In the Neighbourhood is a Place now entirely ruined, which is called *Oſſaria*; and ſome *Spaniſh* Geographers conjecture, that this is the Place where *Tucci* ſtood. *Pliny* and *Antoninus* ſpeak of another *Tucci* in *Bætica*, between *Ilipa* and *Italica*; which, according to *Rodericus Carus*, is the ſame Place as *Tocina*, a little City not far from *Seville*.

82 *Obolcula* which *Antoninus* and *Ptolomy* call *Obucula*, was formerly a City of *Turdetania*, a Province of *Bætica*. Some Geographers think it *Lora*, a little City of *Andaluſia* near *The Guadalquivir*; others will have it to be *Marchena*, a City of the ſame Country. It is commonly thought, with *Rodericus Carus*, that it ſtood where we now ſee *Caſtillo de la Monclova*, 42 Miles Eaſt of *Seville*. This Situation agrees with *Antoninus's Itinerary*.

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once appear in his ſight. However, *Metellus* made both *Spain* and *Rome* very ſenſible, what Fear he had ſtruck into *Viriatus*; and it was from this Expedition concluded, That no other *Roman* General was capable of reducing this great and formidable Enemy, with Honour.

But in the heighth of this Succeſs, he received Advice that his Succeſſor had left *Rome*; and then his Reſentment revived. Indeed, the Lawrels he had already gathered in *Spain*, promiſed him the Honours of a *Triumph* at his Return, few Generals having better deſerved them. But he had not yet acquired a Right to add the Title of *Celtibericus* to that of *Macedonicus*, which was the Point he moſt ardently deſired. In order to this, he ought to have finiſhed the War in *Spain*; which was not done, tho' it was far advanced, and he had juſt Reaſon to hope for it from the general Terror he had ſpread throughout this great Country. What Mortification muſt it then have been to him, to be obliged to ſurrender up his victorious Troops, to a Man not capable of making a proper Uſe of them? His Paſſion firſt vented itſelf in raſh Expreſſions, and then in Actions, which were much more blameable. It often happens, that the greateſt Men are better able to govern others, than themſelves. *Metellus* reſolved to weaken the Army he was to deliver up, and to reduce it, if he could, to a contemptible State. To this end he diſbanded ſome of his beſt Troops; every Veteran who deſired his diſmiſſal, obtained it. He exhauſted the Magazines prepared for his Army, gave the Proviſions in them for Booty to his Troops, let his Elephants die, and broke in pieces the Arrows which were provided for the *Cretan* Archers, and threw them into the River. It may well be imagined that *Pompey* complained of theſe Proceedings to the Senate; and it therefore is not to be thought ſtrange, that we don't find the Name of *Metellus* in the Liſt of triumphant Victors. To refuſe him a *Triumph*, was the ſlighteſt Puniſhment *Rome* could inflict on him, though an able General, ſince he had been ſo little Maſter of himſelf as to ſacrifice the Good of his Country, to his own private Ambition.

Val. Max. B. 9. c. 3.

App. in Iber.

§. XVII. The Spring was not far advanced, when *Pompey* landed at *Tarragona*. And after all, the Army *Metellus* ſurrendered up to him, tho' diminiſhed, amounted to 30000 Foot, and 2000 Horſe; had been well inured to Diſcipline, by that General; and even ſeemed to have imbibed ſome of his Ardour: So that, all Things conſidered, his Ill-Will did not prove ſo prejudical to his Succeſſor, as he intended. If *Pompey* had had the Conduct and Experience of his Predeceſſor, he might have ſubdued all [83] *Celtiberia*, and made himſelf Maſter of *The Hither Province*, with theſe Troops. He made his firſt Expeditions there, and as ſoon as he took the Field, Fear ſeized the Rebels. The proud *Termantini* and *Numantini* began to conſider the Weakneſs of the Party in which they had engaged; and condeſcended to propoſe advantageous Conditions of Peace, which the *Conſul* received with Diſdain. They offered to deliver up the two Cities immediately to the *Romans*; to furniſh the *Conſular* Army with Cloaths for 9000 Men, with 3000 Ox-Hides for Shoes, and with 8000 able Horſes to remount the Cavalry; and to deliver 300 Hoſtages, as Pledges of their Performance of theſe Promiſes. Offers, advantageous enough to have ſatisfied *Metellus*, or any General leſs preſumptuous than *Pompey!* But he would be content with nothing but the Glory of ſubduing a Nation by Force of Arms, which he might have brought into Subjection without Blood. And therefore, this endleſs Succeſſion of Wars here, ought not to be ſo much aſcribed to the Ambition either of the Senate, or of the Body of the People, as to the Vanity of the *Roman* Generals. But be that as it will, the *Conſul* added a Clauſe to thoſe Offers, which the *Termantini* and *Numantini* could by no means ſubmit to. He inſiſted, That thoſe brave Men ſhould for ever lay aſide the uſe of their Arms, and bring him all their Swords and Darts, and Javelins, and Arrows. This was a Thunderſtroke to the proud *Spaniards*. To diſarm them,

Diod. apud Fulv. Urſ.

83 *Metellus*, according to *Appian*, had the Glory of having ſubdued all *Celtiberia* before he left *Spain*. So that *Quintus Pompeius* had nothing to do, but to keep the People in their Duty. But this was too little a Task for a very ambitious General. He was envious of the Exploits of his Predeceſſor, and propoſed to himſelf the Conqueſt of *Numantia* and *Termantia*. Theſe two Cities had kept themſelves in an Independent State, and quietly enjoyed the Advantages of the Peace which *Metellus* had granted to the Province. *Pompey* therefore, in order to have a ſpecious Pretence for renewing the War, revived the old Quarrels. He reproached the *Numantini*, ſays *Florus*, with having declared for *Viriatus*, and with having formerly given Refuge in their City to the *Segedani*, who were Enemies to the *Roman* People. The People of *Numantia* in vain endeavoured to juſtify their Conduct; the Deputies ſent with this Deſign, were ſhamefully driven away by the proud *Conſul*; and then they thought to appeaſe him, by renouncing their Alliance with the *Segedani*. But neither was *Quintus Pompeius* ſatisfied with this new Mark of Submiſſion. He told the *Numantian* Deputies, with an imperious Tone, That the *Numantini* had no Pardon to hope for, unleſs they brought into the *Roman* Camp, all the Arms they had, offenſive and defenſive.

was to rob them both of Honour and Life; and it was eaſy to read the Indignation of the Deputies in their Faces. *Are brave Men*, ſaid they, *whoſe only Profeſſion is War, to be thus treated? Such Men never lay down their Arms but with their Lives.* This ſaid, they immediately left the *Roman* Camp, returned to their Cities, and communicated their Rage to their Countrymen. *To War, To War*, was the univerſal cry in *Numantia* and *Termantia*; and the very Women and Children openly expreſſed their Indignation. They declared, *They would diſown thoſe to be their Fathers or Husbands, who ſhould be cowardly enough to ſuffer themſelves to be diſarmed*; and ſaid, *That Death was far preferable to ſuch a Diſgrace.* On the other hand, *Pompey* perſiſted in his Demand; and his Obſtinacy and Imprudence are therefore juſtly to be deemed the Cauſes of that bloody War, in which *Rome* ſuffered more Diſgraces, and had greater Diſaſters to encounter, than in the Conqueſt of all the reſt of the then known World.

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§. XVIII. The *Conſul* full of that Confidence, which a numerous and well-diſciplined Army inſpires, drew nigh to *Numantia*, and inveſted it; and himſelf firſt experienced the inſuperable Valour of a ſmall People, whoſe Bravery and Obſtinacy abundantly ſupplied the want of greater Armies. The *Numantini* and *Termantini* together, never had more than eight or ten Thouſand Men in arms, all raiſed in their own Territories; and with this handful of Men, they had the Courage to make head againſt a *Conſular* Army. Nevertheleſs, the *Roman* General was ſo ſure of Victory, that he left his Camp to attend to his Pleaſures and private Affairs. During his abſence, the ancient Diſcipline among the Soldiers was relaxed; and they made Incurſions round the Place, in order to enrich themſelves with the Spoils of the Country. The *Numantini* watched all the Motions of the Enemy, and continually ſent Squadrons of Horſe againſt the Robbers; and it happened, that a Party of *Romans* was ſurrounded by the *Numantian* Cavalry, and maſſacred without Mercy. This firſt Blood was, as it were, the Signal of a moſt deſperate War; and the ſame acts of Hoſtility being continued, the *Numantini* always got the aſcendant. When the *Conſul* returned, he was both ſurprized and exaſperated at the continual Diſadvantages his Troops had had, in many Encounters with ſo deſpicable an Enemy; and he reſolved to finiſh the War with one general Battle, which he ſaid he did not do ſo much to acquire Glory himſelf, as to chaſtiſe theſe raſh Men. But he unfortunately gained nothing by it, but Confuſion. All the Country round *Numantia* was full of Rocks, or Coppices, or deep Gutters, and theſe every where broke it into narrow Ways, which were ſcarce paſſable. Nevertheleſs, *Pompey* drew up his *Legions* in Battalia, in a Valley which was ſpacious enough for a Battle; and there waited for the Enemy, reſolving to finiſh the Affair in one Action. But *Magaras*, the brave General of the *Numantini*, who appears by the Event to have been a great Soldier, and whoſe Name is recorded by only one Hiſtorian, was very careful of preſerving his little Army, and would not expoſe it to the Hazards of a Battle. He divided it into Plattoons, which he poſted on the Eminencies above the Valley; ordered them to fall on the *Romans* from thence, in ſeveral Places at once; and they attacking the *Legions* on all ſides, did ſome Execution among them. This he continued for ſeveral Days, till at length the *Romans* grew tired with this way of fighting. Their Enemies fought only on the Wing, if I may ſo ſpeak; they flew down the Rocks only to throw their Darts; and this done, turned their backs, and climbed up the Hills again, almoſt with the ſwiftneſs of Stags. The *Conſul* himſelf was therefore ſenſible, that this Poſt was no longer tenable; and he decamped, and marched towards *Termantia*.

App. in Iberic. Vell. Paterc. B. 2. c. 1.

Florus B. 2. c. 18.

But he was no more ſucceſsful before this City, than before the other. *Termantia*, tho' a little more acceſſible, yet had its Rocks and Precipices; and the *Conſul* ſuffered ſo much in three different Actions in one Day, as made him very ſenſible both of the Valour of the *Termantini*, and the inconvenient Situation of this new Poſt. In the firſt place, he no ſooner appeared before the City, but the *Termantini* fell upon his *Legions*, and killed him 700 Men. Then they attacked a Convoy which was coming to the *Roman* Camp, and beat *The Tribune* who eſcorted it. And laſtly, the Cavalries engaged towards the Evening, and the *Romans* were ſo vigorouſly puſhed, that they were forced to retire from Poſt to Poſt, till they came to the edge of a Precipice; and there Men and Horſes were tumbled down over one another upon the Points of the Rocks, and beaten to pieces in their fall. The Night, which ſoon approached, ſeemed rather to interrupt the Battle, than ſeparate the Armies. The *Termantini* continued at the foot of the Rock all Night, in order to renew the Attack at break of Day; and this Obſtinacy was their Ruin. The *Romans* recovered the terrour with which the boldneſs of the Enemy had ſtruck them

Appian ibid.

over

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Epit. Livian.

over night; and being more ſuperior in Numbers than in Courage, advanced in good order, and renewed the Attack with ſuch Fury, as no Enemy but *Celtiberians* could have withſtood. Nevertheleſs, the *Termantini* kept their ground, and continued fighting till after Sun-ſet; and then they became ſenſible of their Folly. The Number of the ſlain was indeed equal on both ſides; but the Loſs was ſcarce felt by the *Romans*, tho' a very conſiderable one to a very ſmall Nation, whoſe Valour had in ſome meaſure unpeopled them. The *Termantini*, therefore, reſolved to continue quiet for the future; and confining themſelves to the Defence of their Walls, appeared no more in the Field.

Diod. Sic. in Eclog.

§. XIX. On the other hand, *Pompey* did not think it proper to beſiege a City which was defended by the Remains of ſo brave a Body of Men. He turned his Arms towards *Malia*; a poor Country Town advantageouſly ſituated, in which the *Numantini* had put a Garriſon. Upon the approach of the *Roman* Army, the *Malians* cut the Throats of all the *Numantian* Soldiers, and ſurrendered to the *Conſul*. From thence he marched to the Country of the [84] *Sedetani*; and was interrupted in his March by one of the Captains of the *Banditti*, who ravaged *Spain*, in theſe Times of Confuſion and Rebellion. But the Robbers were vigorouſly attacked by the *Romans*, ſurrounded, and made Priſoners of War; and they then gave the ſtrongeſt Proofs of the Fierceneſs of the *Spaniards*, and of their Conſtancy in maintaining their Liberty. When they were put to ſale for Slaves, the greater part killed themſelves. Some fell on the Merchants that bought them, and ſtrangled them. Many ſuffered themſelves to be chained, and carried on board Ships, in order to be tranſported to foreign Countries: But when they were out at Sea, they plotted together to make Holes in the Ships that carried them, ſunk them, and periſhed with their Maſters, and every thing aboard. So that the *Spaniards* valued their Lives as nothing. The greateſt of all Misfortunes to them, was to ſurvive a Diſgrace.

Id. ap. Valeſium.

Nevertheleſs, the *Conſul* drew near once more to *Numantia*. The City of *Lagni* as ſome, or as others, *Lanci* [85], covered the Country of the *Numantini*; and was a Barrier which muſt be broke through. *Pompey* therefore reſolved to beſiege it; and advanced with great Marches towards it. As ſoon as the *Numantini* ſuſpected his Deſign, they ſent thither a Reinforcement of 400 Men, who entered the Town by Night. Theſe new-comers were at firſt looked on by the *Lancians* as their Deliverers, and liberal Preſents were made them. But a few days after, when they ſaw the great Army which the *Roman* General was bringing with him, their Courage ſunk, and their Affection for the *Numantini* decreaſed. In ſhort, they had recourſe to the *Conſul*'s Clemency, and offered to ſurrender to him, but upon this Condition, which they thought themſelves indiſpenſibly obliged to make; That they ſhould have leave to ſend home the *Numantini* ſafe. The *Conſul* declared, he would not accept of their Offer, on any other Terms than that of delivering up the *Numantian* Reinforcement to him; and upon their refuſal, he inveſted the City. A Breach was ſoon made by the *Romans*, ſo that the Danger became extream: And then, theſe cowardly People ſent *Pompey* word, that they would ſacrifice their Allies to him the next day. But the infamous Plot was not kept ſecret enough; the *Numantini* diſcovered it. Then, full of Rage and Revenge, they reſolved to prevent theſe perfidious People, who had deſtined them to die; and they entered the Houſes in the Town in the Night; and made a terrible Slaughter. Amidſt the Cries and Confuſions of this

84 The *Sedetani* inhabited the fourth Part of the Kingdom of *Arragon*. See Vol. 3.

85 The Name of *Lanci* was common to two or three Cities of *Old Spain*. The firſt is that, whoſe Inhabitants *Pliny* calls *Lancienſes Ocelenſes*, in his 3d Book, where he reckons up the Cities of *Luſitania*. *Ptolomy* calls it *Ocellum*. It belonged to the *Vettones*, a People who inhabited a Part of the Province of *Tralos Montes*, and of the Kingdom of *Leon* on this ſide *The Duero*. The ſecond was called *Lancia Oppidana*. It is mentioned by *Ptolomy*; and it belonged alſo to *Luſitania*. At leaſt, we have reaſon to gueſs ſo, both from the Text of *Pliny*, who mentions two Cities of *Lanci*, in this Part of *Spain*; and from an ancient Inſcription, ſome Parts of which are ſtill remaining. We there clearly read the Names of the neighbouring Cities which contributed towards the Expence of the magnificent Bridge built over *The Tagus*, over-againſt *Alcantara*, in the Time of *Trajan*: And the Citizens of both the Cities of *Lanci* are expreſly named in the Inſcription in theſe Words. Lancienses Oppidani, Lancienses Transcudani. After many Enquiries, moſt Geographers have thought they had ſufficient Authority to ſay, That the latter were the ſame People whom *Pliny* calls *Lancienſes Ocelenſes*. All that remains then is to enquire, which is the City here ſpoken of; in which we cannot arrive at any Certainty. The Ancients have not ſaid enough of it, to ſolve our Doubts about the Situation of theſe two Cities. They only tell us, That the *Lanci*, which was beſieged by the *Romans*, was, as it were, a Bulwark to *Numantia*; and conſequently could not be far from it. *Dio Caſſius* and *Florus* ſpeak of a third City of *Lancia*, in *The Aſturias*; probably the ſame City that *Ptolomy* places in that Province, and calls *Lanciatum*. Nor is the Uncertainty leſs concerning the Situation of a ſecond City of *Ocellum*; ſome Footſteps of which, *Father Briet* thinks, are found at *Mondonedo* in *Galicia*.

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nteſtine War, the *Roman* General gave orders for the Aſſault; and his *Legionaries* found no difficulty in taking a defenceleſs City. When *Pompey* was Maſter of it, he thought it neceſſary to ſignalize both his Clemency and his Severity; but he unluckily miſapplied both. He put all the *Lancians*, who eſcaped the Sword of their Allies to death; and he gave quarter to the 200 *Numantini* who had ſurvived the Aſſault. If his Deſign was to gain the *Numantini*, he loſt his Aim, and only made them ungrateful. If to puniſh the *Lancians*, it was infamous for him to put them to Death, after he had ſollicited them to maſſacre the *Numantini*. Such were the Exploits performed by *Pompey*, who had, by his imprudent Refuſal, kindled the *Numantian* War, and exaſperated a brave People, whom he might have reduced upon very reaſonable Terms.

§. XX. As for *Further Spain*, it ſuffered more than the Province on this ſide *The Ebro*. *Viriatus* ſupported the Revolt with more Valour, and much greater Ability than appeared in his Opponent, the *Pro-Conſul Servilianus*; tho' the *Roman* had, at firſt, gained ſome Advantages over the *Luſitanian*. He forced *Viriatus* to raiſe the Siege of [86] *Baccia*, and took ſome Caſtles in that Neighbourhood. From thence he marched againſt one *Connobas*, a Captain of *Banditti*, who received all the Deſerters from the *Roman* Armies; and ſoon ſubdued him. The Robbers ſurrendered without fighting, upon a Promiſe [87] that *Servilianus* would treat them with Clemency; and he kept his Word with *Connobas* and his *Spaniards*, and gave them their Lives. But he reſolved to make Examples of the *Roman* Deſerters, in order thereby to eſtabliſh Diſcipline in his Camp. To this end, he cut off both the Hands of every [88] Deſerter, in the ſight of all his *Legionaries*. This Puniſhment cauſed ſome murmurs among the Soldiers, who are always ready to favour their Comrades, and blame their Commanders; but the ſucceeding *Romans* have done Juſtice to *Servilianus*, and propoſed his Rigour as a fit Example for the Generals of the Republick to follow.

App. in Iberic. Val. Max. B. 2. c. 7. Oroſius, B. 5. c. 4. Front. Strat. B. 4.

Hitherto then, the *Pro-Conſul* had begun his Expeditions with Succeſs. *Viriatus* loved to give his Enemies Confidence at firſt, in order to bring them to his Point. In the preſent Inſtance, he took it for granted that the *Roman* Army would beſiege *Eriſana* [89]; and regulated his Conduct by that Preſumption. He encamped within reach of the City unknown to the *Romans*; and by this maſterly Step, with which he opened the Campaign, plainly ſhew'd himſelf to be a great General. *Servilianus* encouraged by his late Succeſſes, firſt ſummoned *Eriſana* to ſurrender, and upon its refuſal, inveſted it. *Viriatus* on the other hand, when the Circumvallation was ſcarce begun, entered the Town himſelf by Night, with a great Detachment of his Troops, but not with a Deſign to lay idle there, and expoſe himſelf to the Danger of a Famine, the uſual Conſequence of long Sieges. His Intent was to make a vigorous Sally upon the *Romans*, whilſt buſy in their Works: And this Deſign was no leſs courageouſly executed, than wiſely concerted. When it was leaſt expected, and even before it was known that *Viriatus* was ſo near; the Gates were on a ſudden opened, and an Army marched out in ſuch order, and with ſo good an Appearance, as might juſtly give Terrour. The firſt attack was made on the *Roman* Pioneers, who were ſoon diſperſed, and left their Spades, Mattocks, and other Tools for removing Ground, on the Field of Battle. Then the *Legions* ſcornfully marched out of their Camp to drive back theſe audacious Burghers to their Walls; not knowing either their Number, or their Valour, or Leader. But they were ſoon made ſenſible that they had to do with *Viriatus* himſelf, and the choiceſt of his Troops; and their Contempt turning into diſtruſt, as they fought, they retreated. This was the grand Point which the *Luſitanian* had all along in view; and by preſſing them cloſe in Flank, he drove them on in-

App. in Iberic.

86 The City of *Baccia* in *Luſitania*, called by different Authors, ſometimes *Vaccua*, and ſometimes *Vacca*, ſtood on the River of the ſame Name, which is now *The Vouga*; from which this City is now called *Ponte-Vouga*.

87 *Appian* has here miſtaken *Fabius Æmilianus* for *Fabius Servilianus*; and this Miſtake, and ſome others which we have already obſerved, cauſe great Diſorder and Obſcurity in part of his *Hiſtory of the Wars in Spain*. It is certain, that *Fabius Æmilianus* had left *The Spaniſh Provinces*, two Years ago, to *Quintus Pompeïus*, who ſucceeded him in quality of *Prætor*.

88 *Oroſius* and *Appian* relate this matter ſomewhat differently. The latter pretends, That *Servilianus* cut off both the Hands, not only of the Deſerters, but likewiſe of all *Connobas*'s Soldiers, without exception. The former tells us, That 500 of the chief Inhabitants of *Baccia*, who had declared for *Viriatus*, were puniſhed with this Severity. Indeed, it may ſeem hard to believe, that *Fabius* ſhould ſuffer himſelf to be carried to this exceſs of Inhumanity towards Men who had honeſtly ſurrendered themſelves up to him. But then, on the other hand, it may have been obſerved, through the whole courſe of this Hiſtory, That the *Roman* Generals were not very ſcrupulous of making ſuch Examples of Severity, in order to keep the Soldiers to their Duty.

89 We don't know the Situation of *Eriſana*: But it appears to have belonged to *Luſitania*, and to have followed *Viriatus*'s Party.

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ſenſibly to the Place, where the reſt of his Army lay in ambuſh, and there they were ſurrounded. And now, the *Legions* began to be ſenſible of their Danger, and that it was in the Power of the Enemy to make a general Slaughter of them all. The *Pro-Conſul* deſpaired of leading back his Troops to his Camp, or indeed, of ſeeing *Rome* more. The only Choice he had left, was Death or Slavery. Nevertheleſs, the *Spaniſh* General gave the *Romans* a ſhort reſpite, and left off fighting for ſome Minutes. He thought the Criſis was now come for putting in execution the glorious Deſign which he had long had in his view. He aimed at erecting himſelf a Throne, in the vaſt Country which he had conquered from the Republick. A Peace with *Rome* was abſolutely neceſſary, in order to his aſſuming the Title of a King. This Peace could no other way be ſo honourably ſecured as by Victory. And this Victory he now had in his Power; inſomuch, that neither the *Pro-Conſul*, nor any of his Army could eſcape Death, but by ſigning ſuch Terms as he ſhould offer.

Diod. in Eclog. B. 32. Epit. Livian. App. in Iber.

Upon theſe Conſiderations therefore, *Viriatus* ſent a Deputation to *Servilianus*, who was trembling, and in deſpair; and both he and his *Legionaries*, received the News of the Diſpoſitions of the *Luſitanian* with great Joy. The latter offered Peace on this ſingle Condition, *That he ſhould continue Maſter of the Country now in his Power, and the* Romans *remain poſſeſſed of the reſt of* Spain: And this was indeed, granting the *Roman* Army much more than their Situation gave them reaſon to hope for. They expected Death, or Captivity; or at beſt, to have given up the whole Province, after ſuffering the Diſgrace of *paſſing under the Yoke*. The *Pro-Conſul* therefore thinking theſe very favourable and moderate Term from the Barbarian Chief; immediately concluded a Peace; ſigned it, and got it ratified by the *Roman* Senate and People. And now *Viriatus* would have been very happy in his Reconciliation with *Rome*, if the Republick had been leſs Powerful, or leſs Ambitious. But the *Romans* only complied with the Neceſſity of the Times, for a few Months; reſolving never to ſuffer their moſt formidable Enemy to become a Sovereign, and raiſe himſelf to a Crown. And indeed, had it not been for the new Wars, which thoſe Politicians ſoon raiſed in *The Further Province*, *Viriatus* would have become, as one ancient Author calls him, *The Romulus of Spain*. He would have founded a Monarchy, capable of being a Ballance to the Authority of *Rome*, or at leaſt, of ſetting Bounds to her Conqueſts in thoſe Parts.

Florus B. 2. c. 17.

§. XXI. During theſe Expeditions, which were ſo little for the Honour of the *Roman* Generals in *Spain*, the *Conſul Cn. Servilius Cæpio* continued in *Italy*, to govern the Republick, rather than to take the Field. There was no Inſurrection in *Ciſalpine Gaul*, to call for his Preſence; and his chief Employment in *Rome* was, the getting certain Criminals accuſed, and brought to Juſtice. The moſt flagitious of all, was a corrupt Judge, named *Hoſtilius Tubulus*. This Man, who was one of the *Prætors* of the laſt Year, had been, according to the new Inſtitution, appointed Judge of a Court, which was to try and puniſh Aſſaſſins. As Murders were daily multiplied in *Rome*, the Republick had it at heart to put a ſtop to them, by very ſevere Puniſhments of the Guilty. But never Commiſſion fell into worſe Hands. *Tubulus* was an avaritious Wretch, who took Money of the Criminals without Shame or Reſerve, and ſcreened both their Perſons and Eſtates from Juſtice. The Colluſion was notorious; and rouzed the Zeal of *P. Scævola*, a *Tribune of the People*; upon whoſe Complaints to the *Comitia*, the People referred the Affair to the Senate; and the Senate gave the *Conſul* a Commiſſion to hear the Cauſe, and determine it. The Proof of the Fact was neither difficult, nor required much Time. The whole Body of the People exclaimed againſt the infamous *Prætor*; and the Publick, if I may ſo ſpeak, pronounced Sentence upon him by their Clamours. So that the Accuſed having nothing to do but to hide himſelf from the Severity of his Judge, he condemned himſelf to Baniſhment, or rather, fled. But the *Roman* People, who thought this too ſlight a Puniſhment, ordered ſearch to be made for him, that he might be compelled either to clear himſelf of the Crime laid to his Charge, or ſuffer the Pains he deſerved. And then, through fear of his being ſhut up in a Dungeon, and there put to death, he became his own Executioner. He took Poiſon, and thereby prevented the Sentence which would have condemned him to die. Thus the *Romans* often fell by their own Hands, but not with equal Glory. Theſe Violences offered to themſelves were thought to deſerve Praiſe or Reproach, only as the Motives they had for theſe Executions, were deemed Honourable or Baſe, according to the prevailing Prejudices of the Time.

Cic. de finib. B. 2.

Aſconius Pedianus ad Orat. Cicer. pro Scauro.

§. XXII.

§. XXII. This Year which brought ſo little Fame to *Rome*, was ſucceeded by another, which not only diſhonoured her, but even made her odious to the World, by ſhewing how much ſhe was fallen from her ancient Virtue. That *Cælius* ſurnamed *The Wiſe* [90], who had been kept from the *Conſulate* by Artifice the laſt Year, was at laſt elected in *The Field of Mars*; and his Collegue was *Q. Servilius Cæpio*, who received the *Faſces* from the *Pro-Conſul*, *Cn. Servilius Cæpio* his Brother. For the Honour of the Republick, the War in *Spain* ought to have been allotted to *Lælius*, a General of experienced Wiſdom, Probity, and Valour. But it unfortunately fell to *Quintus Cæpio*, a Man little ſcrupulous in Points of Honour, and always ready to prefer his own Glory to the Welfare of his Republick. So that this ſecond *Cæpio* went to ſucceed his Brother, in *The Further Province*, in *Spain*; whilſt *Lælius* continued unactive in *Rome*. Year of *ROME* DCXIII. C. LÆLIUS SAPIENS, & Q. SERVILIUS CÆPIO, Conſuls.

As for *Pompey*, he was again choſen General for *The Hither Province*, to continue the War with *Numantia* and the adjacent Country; but had the Mortification to have his Veterans taken from him. The *Citizens* at *Rome*, ordered new Levies to be raiſed to ſupply the Place of his old Soldiers; and the Republick ſent a certain Number of Senators to him, to be of his Council, and temper his Fire. Whatever Credit he might have at *Rome* with ſome, the moſt ſenſible Men blamed him for his Proceedings at *Lanci*; and he undertook another raſh Enterprize, before either his Council or new Troops arrived. *The* [91] *Durius*, a conſiderable River, watered the City of *Numantia*, enriched the neighbouring Plains, and Proviſions were continually conveyed by it to the City. In order therefore to ſtarve the Place, by over-flowing the Fields, the *Roman* General reſolved to turn the Waters of the River, by Drains and Trenches, into the adjoining Valleys, which produced all the Riches of the Country. A Work of immenſe Labour, and more prejudicial to the Beſiegers, than their Enemies. The *Numantine* Army continually made Sallies on the Workmen; and tho' the *Legions* came to their Defence, they almoſt always retired with Loſs. Beſides, the ſame Means that *Pompey* uſed to cut off Proviſions from the City, increaſed the Want of them in his own Camp. The multitude of Channels he cut to divert the Stream obſtructed the great Roads, and the Mud brought by the Inundations made them impaſſable for Carriages. So that the *Roman* Army languiſhed away in their Camp for want of freſh Convoys, and the Soldiers frequently deſerted. One Day, a conſiderable Body under the Command of a *Military Tribune* named *Oppius*, marched out in ſearch of Proviſions; and the Enemy, taking pleaſure to ſhed the Blood of thoſe who took ſuch pains to deprive them of Water, cut them in pieces. The *Tribune* himſelf was left dead on the Field of Battle. Beſides, nothing was more common than to find 4 or 500 Men at a time wanting in the *Pro-Conſul*'s Camp. So that his Army was gradually weakened by theſe ſmall Loſſes; and his Enterprize proved more prejudicial to him than the Loſs of a Battle. In this Situation the Senators found *Pompey*'s Affairs when they landed with the new Levies; and in purſuance of their Orders, they diſbanded all the Soldiers in the *Pro-Conſular* Army who had ſerved ſix Years in *Spain*; and who willingly reſigned their Places to unexperienced Troops, and ſet out for their native Country with joy. This then, by any General who was leſs madly bent on his own Deſigns, would have been thought a favourable Opportunity, to lay aſide an Attempt which was more dangerous than uſeful. But *Pompey* piqued himſelf on perſiſting in his Undertaking. He reſolved to make theſe freſh Recruits finiſh *App. in Iber.*

90 *Plutarch* is the only Author who has advanced (in his *Politicks*) That *Caius Lælius* reſigned the *Conſulſhip* to *Quintus Pompeïus*, of his own free Conſent. To which he adds, That the latter out of Gratitude, gave *Lælius* his Vote and Intereſt to raiſe him to this firſt Dignity in the Republick. But is it probable, that he, who was then employed in *Spain*, ſhould leave his Province, in order to come to *Rome* before the Time? Beſides, *Plutarch* contradicts himſelf in this Matter. He confeſſes, in his *Apothegms*, That *Quintus Pompeïus* had oppoſed *Lælius*: And it is more probable, that *Cnæus Servilius Cæpio*, who was then idle at *Rome*, preſided in the Elections for this Year 613.

91 *The Durius* is now known by the Name of *Douero* in *Spaniſh*, and *Douro* in *Portugueſe*. It riſes in *Old Caſtille*, towards the Frontiers of *Navarre* and *Arragon*, in the Mountain *Idubeda*, near the Town of *Aguilar del Campo*. It runs through the three Kingdoms of *Old Caſtille*, *Leon*, and *Portugal*, as far as to *Porto*; and diſcharges itſelf into the *Atlantick Ocean*, a League from that City. Its Mouth is dangerous, becauſe of the Banks of Sand and Rocks, which ſtop up the Entrance into it. It is ſaid to run 100 Leagues. But it is not every where navigable, on acount of its Falls from the Rocks, and its running among them. The Accounts of ſome Authors, who pretend that *The Douero* took its Name from the *Dorians*, is deemed a mere Fable. Theſe ſuppoſe, That a ſwarm of theſe People followed *Hercules* into *Spain*, and ſettled in the Countries watered by this River. And a learned Man of our Time, has thought that the *Dorians* were a Colony of *Phœnicians*, who came originally from the City of *Dor* in *Paleſtine*. Here is then Conjecture for Conjecture. It is more natural to ſay, that the Name of *Douero* is taken from the *Celtic* Word *Dour*, which ſignifies *Water*. This Etymology is agreeable to the ancient Traditions, which tell us, That the *Celtici* made themſelves Maſters of Part of *Spain*.

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the Work which he could not accompliſh with his old Soldiers. As the Seaſon advanced, and the firſt cold Weather began, he pretended that it was neceſſary to inure theſe new Men to Fatigue: And notwithſtanding his want of Proviſions, he kept them in his Camp, in the midſt of Mire. This brought many Diſeaſes among Troops not accuſtomed either to the Air or Water of the Country; and the Bloody-Flux made terrible Havock among them.

In the mean time, the *Numantini* were perpetually haraſſing, with as much ardour as ever, ſometimes their Workmen, ſometimes their Forragers, and ſometimes the Detachments which guarded their Convoys. One day, they obſerved the Enemy's Camp to look leſs provided of Men than ordinary; and took this Opportunity to enſnare them. After they had hid a great Body of Troops under Covert, ſome *Numantini* ſkirmiſhed round the *Pro-Conſul*'s Trenches, threw their Darts at the *Romans*, and braved them. Young Soldiers are often more impatient than Veterans; and theſe ſallied out of their Camp in great confuſion to repulſe this Handful of inſolent Aggreſſors. The latter retired ſlowly, till they came to the Ambuſcade; and there a Part of theſe new-landed Troops, together with a great Number of the young *Roman* Nobility, who were come to *Spain* to learn the Art of War, periſhed. So that theſe repeated Loſſes forced *Pompey* at laſt to leave the Field, and put his Army into Winter-Quarters. He cantoned them in ſeveral Cities of the Allies; and put at the Head of each Party one of his uſeleſs Senators, as he called them, whoſe Counſels he had deſpiſed.

Oroſ. B. 5. c. 4.

§. XXIII. However, during this interval of Inaction, he ſeriouſly reflected on his own Conduct. The great Army he had received from *Metellus* was almoſt brought to nothing. Moſt of his Expeditions had had no other effect than to exaſperate the Nations in his Province. The Senators ſent from *Rome*, whom he had deſpiſed, were Witneſſes of his Obſtinacy, and he had Reaſon to fear their Accuſations. And laſtly, his *Pro-Conſulſhip* was near expiring, and he ſhould leave his Succeſſor much more Reaſon to complain, than he had had from his Predeceſſor; ſo that his Enemies at *Rome*, eſpecially *Metellus*, would glory in his Misfortunes. But nevertheleſs he had one Reſſource ſtill left; which was to conclude a Peace with the *Numantini*, to whom he had, with ſo much Inſolence, refuſed to grant one. *Pompey*'s chief, if not only, Talent was Intrigue; and he conducted the Negotiation with more Art, than he could command the Troops of the Republick. He ſuborned ſome of the Natives of the Country, who without appearing to be in his Intereſt, repreſented to the *Numantini* how advantageous it would be to them, to renew their Treaty of Peace with *Rome*. *The* Proconſul, ſaid they, *is no longer what he formerly was, when he was leſs acquainted with you; and when the Forces of his Republick, and his new Office ſwelled him with Vanity. You have humbled his Pride. But nevertheleſs theſe* Romans *are terrible Enemies! If they are vanquiſhed under one* Conſul, *they recover themſelves under another; and their Misfortunes always end at laſt in ſignal Succeſſes.* Viriatus *was ſo ſenſible of this, that as ſoon as he found it his Intereſt to be reconciled with* Rome, *he thought it no Diminution of his Victory, to ſeek the Friendſhip of his vanquiſhed Enemies. He looked forward to the Time to come; and though for the preſent Invincible, thought it no diſhonour to make the firſt Advances towards an Accommodation with thoſe whom he had intimidated. This is exactly your Caſe. The* Proconſul *is afraid of you; and you have now a better right than ever to be heard with reſpect. Reaſſume therefore your Negotiations; and try, whether the Humiliation of the* Roman *General will not make him more tractable than he was, when in the Height of his Expectations.*

This Diſcourſe from Men that were thought diſintereſted, appeared ſo very reaſonable to the *Numantini*, that they followed their Advice. Though with Dread, they ventured to ſend another Deputation to the *Pro-Conſul*; and though their Ambaſſadors offered much worſe Terms than formerly, they obtained all they asked. They only propoſed to ſurrender up to the *Romans* their Deſerters, and to pay them thirty *Talents* at different Times. And now the artful *Pompey* made uſe of another Stratagem in order to conclude the Treaty with Credit. He more earneſtly deſired it, than they who intreated him to enter into it; but he was concerned to ſecure his Honour, or at leaſt to ſave Appearances. He was afraid the Senators of his Council would reproach him with having too eaſily condeſcended to ſatisfy the Deſires of the Enemy; and therefore acted a double Part. In his private Conferences with the *Numantini*, he promiſed them with an Oath, not to demand more of them than they had offered; but in Council he ſtarted Difficulties, and proteſted he would enter into no Agreement with them

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them, till they had firſt ſurrendered up their City and themſelves to him. So that the Treaty was always at a Stand after the publick Debates, and renewed again after the private Conferences of the *Pro-Conſul*. Till at length, by *Pompey*'s Management, the Senators became reſolute, and a Majority of them agreed, that the Peace ſhould be made, notwithſtanding the Oppoſitions of the *Pro-Conſul*. A Peace, equally advantageous to *Rome* and to *Numantia*, if it had been laſting! But we ſhall ſoon ſee it broken by this very *Pompey*, who was the Author of it, and the chief Agent in it. However, the *Hither Province* enjoyed at leaſt an interval of Tranquillity, whilſt War was again kindled in *The Further*.

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§. XXIV. *Viriatus* did not give himſelf up to Repoſe, notwithſtanding his Agreement with the *Romans*. The Peace he had forced them to accept, was neither ſo ſolidly eſtabliſhed, nor had been confirmed by ſo long a Continuance, as to appear unalterable. And therefore the *Luſitanian* would not lay aſide his Arms, or diſband his Troops, though there was at preſent an Appearance of Tranquillity. Beſides, as the Deſign he had formed of founding a Monarchy could ſcarce be put in execution but Sword in Hand, he ſtill kept his Soldiers, who loved him to Adoration, encamped; and in nothing abated his military Diſcipline. All the Liberty he thought fit to give himſelf, during this time of Inaction, was to ſeek for a Wife in the Country, where he deſired to reign. If he ſhould become a King, he would want a Queen to furniſh him with Succeſſors. But he did not ſuffer the Charms of Beauty to captivate him. He conſulted his Underſtanding more than his Eyes, and made his firſt Application to a Man who was very rich, and conſequently had great Intereſt in his Country. This Man, whoſe Name is not tranſmitted to us, had a Daughter much celebrated for her Wealth and Wiſdom, and not diſagreeable in her Perſon: And tho' a great Eſtate was the General's leaſt Concern, no Man deſpiſing Money more; yet he eſteemed the Daughter for her Reputation for Virtue, and deſired an Alliance with the Father on Account of his Credit among the People. His great Point in view was to make the latter his Agent, to pave the way for his mounting the Throne. However, as may well be imagined, the *Luſitanian* General was readily accepted for a Son-in-Law; and the Father in Perſon joyfully conducted his Daughter and his Treaſures to *Viriatus* in his Camp; where the Marriage was to be ſolemnized, according to the Ceremony of the Country. And then the General diſplayed the Character of a great Warrior in the ſtrongeſt Points of Light, and gained the Admiration of all his Soldiers. As ſoon as the future Father-in-Law arrived, his firſt Care was to ſet out his Riches in the beſt manner in his Tent. There you ſaw heaps of Gold and Silver Vaſes of the moſt exquiſite Workmanſhip ranged in great Order, rich Carpets, coſtly Habits, and in ſhort, the fineſt and moſt expenſive Moveables of all Sorts. When all things were ready, notice was ſent to *Viriatus*. But the wiſe General diſcovered no Impatience, even for his firſt Interview with the Lady whom he had ſought, and was going by ſacred Ties to unite to himſelf. He walked gravely towards the Tent in his military Dreſs, and with a Javelin in his Hand, and ſaluted both the Lady and her Father: But he ſcarce vouchſafed to caſt a Look on the magnificent Appearance, which dazzled every other Eye. He only held up ſome of the choiceſt Stuffs on the Point of his Javelin, and, to ſhew his Contempt of Riches, ſaid; *What a Madneſs is it for Men to value themſelves on theſe uſeleſs things, and to place their Confidence in them! They are all ſubject to the Fate of Battles; and the Poſſeſſor has reaſon to be in continual Fears, leſt they ſhould every Moment be taken from him by a victorious Enemy. Let our Dependence then be ſolely on our Arms, and let our Bucklers and our Curraſſes be our only Finery.* This Deportment, and theſe Words of a General in the Preſence of an Army, were a very ſalutary Admonition to them; and he did not reſt there. In order to ſhew them that he was as much above Pleaſure, as Intereſt; as ſoon as the Sacrifice which ratified the Marriage was over, and the nuptial Feaſt finiſhed, he ſent away his Bride, before he had once ſeen her in private. She was, by his Orders, conveyed out of the Camp to a ſtrong Caſtle, which he had in the Mountains, and there guarded by a Detachment from his Army: And he gave Proofs of that Sobriety which he had always practiſed, at the Entertainment it ſelf. Tho' the Table was magnificently ſpread, he eat little, and ordered the Diſhes to be diſtributed among his Soldiers. May we not then affirm, that all the *Roman* Virtues had left *Italy*, and made their Retreat into *Spain*? The new *Romulus* ſeemed to ſurpaſs the Founder of *Rome*, in Continence, Diſintereſtedneſs, and Frugality, as much as he did in Valour. And certainly, *Viriatus*, who was very worthy of a Throne, would have aſcended

Diod. Sic. apud Valeſ.

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one, if the Ambition of the *Romans* had not prevented his Advancement, by the baſeſt Perfidy.

§. XXV. We have already obſerved, that the Command of the Troops in *Further Spain* was fallen to Q. *Servilius Cæpio*. This *Conſul* was ardently deſirous of revenging the Diſgrace *Fabius Servilianus* had ſuffered the laſt Year before the Walls of *Eriſana*. But the Peace the latter had then been obliged to make with *Viriatus*, much obſtructed that Glory which his Succeſſor hoped to acquire in his Province. He therefore endeavoured to perſuade the Senate to permit him to break a ſhameful Peace, though ratified by the *Roman* People. The *Romans* were not now ſo ſcrupulous as formerly of the faithful Execution of Treaties: And he ſet out for his Province, full of hopes of prevailing at laſt on *The Conſcript Fathers* to give him leave to declare War again with *Viriatus*. To this end, he wrote Letter after Letter to the Senate, and as ſoon as he landed in *Spain*, tired them inceſſantly with his Repreſentations. He informed them, *That* The Further Province *was far from being ſettled in Peace*; *That* Viriatus, *ſtill in Arms, waited only for a Pretence, and a favourable Opportunity, to extend his Conqueſts to* The Ebro; *That the Troops of the Republick were loſing their Vigour in Idleneſs*; *and That though their General was very uneaſy upon every Motion of the* Luſitanians, *yet his Hands were tied up, and himſelf, as it were enſlaved, by the religious Obſervance of the late Treaty. He intreated them to deliver him from this endleſs Perplexity, of having an Enemy to deal with, who concealed his Enmity under pretended Regards to an extorted Alliance. And he repreſented* Viriatus *as a Man whoſe Fidelity was always to be ſuſpected, and whoſe Stratagems and Artifices were always to be feared by the* Romans, *even in time of Peace.* App. in Iberic. Eutropius. Theſe Remonſtrances made ſome Impreſſion on the greateſt Part of the Senators; and they returned for Anſwer, That he ſhould make it his Buſineſs to exaſperate the *Luſitanian* by indirect means, and by repeated Affronts to force him to commit the firſt Acts of Hoſtility, and thereby bring on himſelf the Odium of having broken the Treaty. So much did the *Romans* degenerate in their Policy from thoſe Maxims of Probity in which their Forefathers gloried. And even this Order, which was ſo unworthy of the Senate of *Rome*, was not ſufficient to ſatisfy the Impatience of the *Conſul*. Indeed, he did all he could to make a Quarrel, and offered repeated Affronts to *Viriatus*: But that General wiſely overlooked them. He had his Reaſons for ſtrictly preſerving the Peace. Then *Cæpio* made freſh Applications to the Senate. He again repreſented, That the Engagements entered into with *Viriatus* were injurious to the Majeſty of the *Roman* People; That the uſual Methods of ſtirring up the *Luſitanians* to an open Breach were ineffectual; That their General obſtinately preſerved the Peace, only out of private views, which could not but be prejudicial to the Intereſts of *Rome*; and That the Republick would draw more Odium on her ſelf by having Recourſe to Artifice, than by an open Violation of the Treaty, and a publick Declaration for War. In a word, by his Reaſonings and Importunity, he prevailed at laſt, and obtained the conſent of the *Conſcript Fathers*. Their Decree was confirmed by the People in *Comitia*; and *Viriatus* was a ſecond Time declared an Enemy to the Republick. What was now become of that ſtrict Equity, which we ſo often admired in the firſt *Romans!* They were always ambitious; but had always hitherto had more regard to Publick Faith.

§. XXVI. As ſoon as the *Conſul Cæpio* had his Authority to begin the War, he put his Troops in motion. *Viriatus* was then reſiding at [92] *Arſa*, a City of *Bætica*, and employing himſelf in Works of Peace. Not that he had entirely laid aſide his Arms; his Diſtruſts kept him always upon his Guard: But his Precautions were not ſo great as formerly, when he would never leave his Camp on any Account, or ever ſleep in it, any otherwiſe than in his Armour, and on the Ground. He now gave himſelf a little Relaxation. So that he was ſurpriſed at the News of the Steps taken at *Rome*, and of the *Conſul*'s Approach. *Arſa* was not conſiderable enough, for him to think fit to ſhut himſelf up in it, and ſuſtain a Siege in Perſon; and he therefore gave it up to the Mercy of the Enemy, and retired to his Camp, where his Army expected

92 We know nothing certain of the City of *Arſa*, unleſs it be that it belonged to *Andaluſia*, and ſtood near *The Guadiana*. The *Spaniſh Martyrology* places it in the Neighbourhood of *Arcallon*, two Leagues from *Zafanca della Serena*, in *Eſtramadura*, a Province of ancient *Bætica*. *Stephen of Byzantium*, *Appian*, *Pliny* and *Ptolemy* mention it. The latter ranks it among the Cities of *Turdetania*. *Molet* affirms without Proof, that it ſtood in the Territory of *Arcos*: *Ambroſe Morales* thinks it ſtood in the ſame place where now ſtands *Arroyga*. But all theſe different Accounts of its Situation are only built on very uncertain Conjectures.

him.

him. In order to make it the more difficult for the *Romans* to follow him, he committed terrible Devaſtations in all the Places where he came; and at length entered the Country of the [93] *Carpetani*, and encamped there. The *Conſul* ſtopped ſome Days before *Arſa*, and took it. This firſt Succeſs gave him Wings to follow *Viriatus* to his Retreat, and he came up with him on the Confines of *Carpetania*. *Viriatus*'s Troops were indeed much leſs numerous than thoſe of the *Conſul*; and not in a Condition to hazard a Battle. But nevertheleſs it was out of Character for their brave General to flee; and he therefore had recourſe to Stratagem. His only reſource was to make an honourable Retreat, without running the hazard of fighting; and this he did like a great Commander. He poſted his Army on a Hill which was very ſteep on all ſides; and as his Cavalry much excelled the *Roman* in ſwiftneſs, he drew them up very wide in the firſt Line, and poſted his Infantry behind them. Before the Action, he ordered his Foot to draw off inſenſibly, and ſlip down the Hill into the adjoining Valley; and as ſoon as the Signal ſhould be given for the firſt Onſet, to take different Routs, in Plattoons, to the Place which he had appointed for their general *Rendezvous*. In the mean time, the *Romans* endeavoured to climb the Hill, and when they were near enough the Enemy to throw their Darts, the *Luſitanian* Cavalry, and their General, inſtantly diſappeared, and the Hill which juſt before was covered with Soldiers, was left without one Man upon it. The *Conſul* was more ſurprized at this, than a Sportſman when he loſes ſight of a flight of Birds, before he has time to get ready his Bow and let fly his Arrows; and ordered his Cavalry to follow the Enemy full ſpeed. But *Viriatus* and his Troops were already ſo far off, that it was impoſſible for the *Roman* Horſe to come up with them. And as for the Infantry of the Enemy, which had ſtollen off in ſmall Parties, they ſeemed to be vaniſhed under ground. It was in vain to ask the Peaſants diſperſed about the Country, which way they went; no body could give any account of them. So that, all *Viriatus*'s Army arrived at the Place appointed, without the Loſs of one Man.

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Front. Strat. B. 2. c. 13.

The *Roman* Horſe, when they returned to the Camp, after this fruitleſs Excurſion, turned the Affair into ridicule. They did not love their General. His ſudden ſallies of Temper, his wild Air, and his great Rigour in Diſcipline, made him generally hated; and the Soldiers were well pleaſed to laugh at his Expence. *Indeed this is very ſtrange*, ſaid they; *A* Roman Conſul *has been fighting with a Company of Sprights; which as ſoon as they perceived him, vaniſhed into air, and left not the leaſt Footſteps of the Apparition. We have a General who is only fit to make War with Ghoſts.*

§. XXVII. Theſe were ſevere Jeſts, and *Cæpio* ſought for an Opportunity of Revenge, which he found in a few Days. But he firſt vented his Rage at being become the Contempt of his Troops, on the *Spaniſh* Nations, which had never deſerved his Reſentment. He entered into the Country of the *Vettones* [94], and marched beyond it, committing every where terrible Devaſtations. Indeed theſe People had had Thoughts of aſſiſting *Viriatus*, but their Deſign had not been put in Execution; and upon their being now plundered by the Incurſions of the *Roman* Army, they were leſs in a Condition than ever to join their Forces with thoſe of the *Luſitanian*. So that *Viriatus* thus diſtreſs'd, was, in a manner, forced to renew the Conferences for a Peace; and he ſent Deputies to the *Conſul*, who expreſſed themſelves with great Caution, and offered a Submiſſion without Meanneſs. *We made a Peace with* Rome, ſaid they; *and this Peace was ratified by the* Roman *People. How then could you break it? It muſt be ſurely, becauſe you have repented of having granted us too advantageous Terms. And why then have you not laid before us your new Claims, otherwiſe than by a recourſe to Arms? If your Propoſals are reaſonable, you would have found us ready enough to comply with them. Let us then put ourſelves once more upon that Iſſue. Propoſe your Demands. If they are ſuch as reflect no diſhonour on an Army, which has maintained the War theſe fourteen Years, without being weakened by it, we will accept them.* But the *Conſul* heard the Deputies with a diſdainful Air, and loftily anſwered them in theſe Terms. Servilianus *was indeed too indulgent, to grant you a Peace. But the* Senate *have ordered me to make War upon you; which I will do with the utmoſt Rigour. You have deſerved the ſtrongeſt Reſentment of*

Diod. Sic.

93 The *Carpetani* inhabited the Kingdom of *Toledo*, and almoſt all that Part of *New Caſtille* which is commonly called *La Mancha*.

94 The *Vettones*, a People of *Old Luſitania*, placed themſelves between *The Douero* and *The Tagus*. Their Country contained the South Part of the Kingdom of *Leon*, and that Part of the Province of *Traſos Montes*, which is on this Side the former of thoſe two Rivers. See Vol. 4. p. 552. Note 33.

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Rome, *and if you would not have us to proceed to Extremities, you muſt firſt give us Satisfaction in this important Point. Let* Viriatus *deliver up to me the Perſons who cauſed the Revolt of the Cities that have deſerted us; and then he ſhall know more of my Mind.*

The *Luſitanians* returned to their General with this melancholy Anſwer; and then, whatever were his Motives, whether Neceſſity, or Condeſcention, or Ambition, or an Impatience to reign, *Viriatus* condeſcended ſo far, as to ſacrifice to the *Conſul*, the Chiefs of all the Cities he had taken from the *Romans*, and among the reſt, the Father of his new Spouſe. He put ſome to death in his own Camp; and the reſt he delivered up alive to the Severity of the *Roman*, who cut off all their Right-Hands, not one excepted. He hoped that this blind Obedience would ſoften the *Conſul*, and induce him to give his Nation time to breathe. But to his great ſurprize, the next Orders he received from *Cæpio*, were, That he muſt ſtrip his Soldiers of their Arms which they had borne with ſo much Succeſs, and ſend them in Bundles to the *Conſul*'s Camp. This was demanding of theſe Conquerors, what the *Numantini* had already refuſed *Pompey*. The Heart of *Viriatus* ſwelled with Rage; his Army ſhuddered at the Propoſal; and the Indignation was univerſal. Hoſtilities therefore muſt be renewed.

§. XXVIII. In the mean time, the *Conſul* advanced, and poſted himſelf in a Plain, on the Banks of a River, which ſeparated his Army from the *Luſitanian*. *Viriatus* was encamped on inacceſſible Mountains, and the River was a Barrier between him and his Enemies. No Man ever better underſtood the Art of encamping. He had Plenty of every thing in his new Camp; whilſt the *Romans* in theirs, wanted Wood for common Uſes; and there was no Foreſt in the Neighbourhood, but on the other ſide of the River, which it was dangerous to paſs, without Bridge or Boat, in ſight of a General who was always watchful to take all Advantages. But *Cæpio* thought this a proper time to ſignalize his Reſentment againſt the *Legionary* Cavalry, which almoſt wholly conſiſted of *Roman Knights*; that is, of the braveſt part of the Nobility. He pitched on them to ſwim croſs the River, and cut Wood on the Mountains on which *Viriatus* was poſted. Theſe were thought mad Orders, and were indeed the Effect of Paſſion; but the Lieutenant Generals, and *Tribunes*, who compoſed the Council of War, could not divert the *Conſul* from his Deſign, tho' it would raiſe the Reſentment of many illuſtrious Families. *Cæpio* was inexorable. The Remembrance of a ſtinging Jeſt made him overlook all other Conſiderations. He was reſolute, and with pleaſure expoſed the beſt Part of his Army, to be cut to pieces. On the other hand, the brave *Knights* did not heſitate about obeying their General's Orders; and in compaſſion to them, all the Cavalry of the Allies joined that of the *Legions* without Orders; and many of the *Manipuli* entered into a Combination to go and ſupport theſe Victims, who ſeemed to be condemned to ſlaughter. In ſhort, the Detachment became ſo conſiderable, that *Viriatus* himſelf did not think proper to attack them; and they cut their Wood without moleſtation, and brought it to the *Roman* Camp.

But their eſcaping the Danger did not appeaſe the Reſentment of the *Knights* againſt their General. As they were paſſing the River, and marching to the Foreſt, the Air rung with their Curſes on the barbarous *Conſul*; and when they were unloading the Carriages in the Camp, after their return, one of them cried out aloud, *Let us burn the Man with this Wood, who has made us cut it in the midſt of ſo much Danger!* Which Words were the Signal for one of the moſt ſudden and moſt cruel Mutinies that ever happened. In their Rage, every Soldier ſeized his Faggot, and then they ſurrounded the *Prætorium*, and prepared to burn their General alive. Which they would have accompliſhed, if *Cæpio* had not, by the Aſſiſtance of ſome wiſe Men, ſaved himſelf by a precipitate Flight, and hid himſelf from the Searches of the Mutineers for ſome Days. But here it muſt be obſerved, that we dare not warrant this Story; it not being built on ſufficient Authority, to appear to us paſt doubt. For how could it have eſcaped the Knowledge of the many *Greek* and *Latin* Writers which we have, if there had been ſufficient ground for the Truth of it? And whether it be true or not, the following Fact caſts Infamy enough on the baſe *Cæpio*, without loading him with Reproaches which perhaps he did not deſerve.

§. XXIX. *Viriatus* was ſtill in his Camp; and, notwithſtanding the Weakneſs of his Army, inſulted the *Romans*, who were languiſhing in theirs. But his Heart was moſt intent on renewing the Peace with *Rome*; and he continued his Negotiations with the *Conſul*, even during his Hoſtilities. His aim in the latter was to appear irreconcilable, that

he might obtain the better Terms; and his Reaſon for deſiring a Peace, was, that he might eſtabliſh himſelf on a Throne. The Perſons he employed to treat with *Cæpio*, were *Audax*, *Ditalco*, and *Minur*, whom he thought his firm and faithful Friends. But they were Traitors, eaſily corrupted, wholly devoted to their own Intereſt, and capable of any Crime by which they could promote it. *Cæpio* ſoon diſcovered this, and treated with them in a very different manner from what the General, who ſent them, expected. By his Preſents, Promiſes, and larger Expectations, he got them to promiſe him, that they would murder their Chief. And indeed, that mercenary Barbarians ſhould dare to be guilty of ſuch Cruelty, is not very ſurprizing. But that a *Roman Conſul* ſhould be the Author of a Compact, ſo contrary to the Law of Nations, to publick Faith, and even to Humanity it ſelf, is a Fact which would appear incredible, if it were not atteſted by all the ancient Writers. However, it was eaſy enough for Men in whom he confided, to aſſaſſinate their Maſter and their Friend. They had free acceſs to him at all Hours, Day and Night. *Viriatus* was indeed indefatigable, and ſeldom lay down but by ſtealth, when an Exceſs of Fatigue forced him to take a little reſt. But nevertheleſs the Aſſaſſins ſoon found means to do their Work. They entered his Tent one day as he was laying upon the Ground, in his Cuiraſs, and his Helmet on his Head, in a deep ſleep; and the only part of his Body which was uncovered, being his Throat, they there gave him his death's Wound. The treacherous Villains left him ſwimming in his Blood, before he had time to call for aſſiſtance; and then had recourſe to their only Refuge, which was flight. After they had paſſed the Guards of the Army, as uſual, they repaired to the *Conſul*'s Camp, informed him of the Death of his Enemy, and demanded of him the promiſed Reward. And then the Wretches found by Experience, that Traitors are hated even by thoſe who profit by their Treaſon. *Be content with what you have received*, ſaid *Cæpio*. *Or if you have any further Demands, apply to the* Roman *Senate*. *They only are the Diſtributors of Favours. But this I muſt tell you, that our Magiſtrates are not very ready to reward thoſe who murder their own Generals. All I can do for you is, to give you Protection.* The *Conſul* would fain have impoſed on the World by this pretended diſlike of what they had done; and thrown off from himſelf the Odium of ſo infamous an Action. But it was well known that he was the Author of it; and Poſterity have done him Juſtice. His Name is execrable in Story, to this very Day.

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App. in Iberic. *Val. Max.* *B.* 9. *c.* 6. *Florus B.* 2. *c.* 17. *Oroſius*, *B.* 5. *c.* 4. *Epit. Liv.*

§. XXX. The Enemy thought *Viriatus* ſlept longer than uſual; but at length entered his Tent; and there, to their great Aſtoniſhment, they ſaw the lifeleſs Corps of the greateſt Man *Spain* had ever bred, and all the Hopes of their Country fallen with him. Their Grief at this Loſs, firſt burſt out into tranſports of Rage; and when they were a little appeaſed, they ſought for the Authors of this Villainy; but the Aſſaſſines themſelves were the only Witneſſes of it. The Suſpicion therefore could only fall on *Audax*, *Ditalco*, and *Minur*, or at leaſt on one of the three; and when it was known that they were fled for Refuge to the Enemy's Camp, and that the *Conſul* kept them there under his Protection, it was not doubted but the Traitors had been employed by him to perpetrate this horrid Crime. And now, ſince the *Luſitanians* had it not in their Power to allay their Grief by Revenge, they reſolved at leaſt, to teſtify it, by a magnificent Funeral; which they did, after this manner. They built a funeral Pile, placed the Body of the Deceaſed upon it, and ſprinkled it with the Blood of a great Number of Victims. The Cavalry made their Evolutions about it; and the Foot danced round the Pyramid till the Fire went out. Then they gathered up the Bones of the Deceaſed, and as they were going to encloſe them in the Tomb built for him, there was a new funeral Shew exhibited. 200 Pair of Gladiators entered the Liſts, and fought. They who were killed in the Conteſt, perſuaded themſelves that their Shades would go and guard that of their General. And they ſaid, they deſpiſed Life, in order to follow him to a Place of Reſt. And indeed no Officer was ever better beloved by his Soldiers. The Ancients look on this voluntary Subjection of a whole Nation, to the Commands of a Man, who had neither Eſtate nor Birth to recommend him, but was at firſt only a Banditti, as a kind of Prodigy. They ſeem to think it next to impoſſible, that ſo many Virtues, Civil and Military, ſhould have united in a Man of ſo ſcandalous a Profeſſion! But the Truth is, he was a Maſter of the Art of War; and gained the aſcendant over all the *Prætors*, and *Conſuls* which *Rome* ſent againſt him, for fourteen Years together. Tho' ſometimes followed by a great Army, ſometimes by a ſmall one, as it happened; yet, whether weak, or ſtrong, he ſtill made War with Advantage. When he was ſuperiour in Forces, he won Battles, took Cities, reduced Provinces, ſubdued Nations. When his Army was ſmall, he avoided fighting,

Epit. Liv. *Diod. apud Valeſ.* *App. in Iberic.*

Diod. apud Valeſ.

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encamped in inacceſſible Places, engaged with great Caution, and at the long run fatigued the Enemy, and always returned victorious from the Campaign. He was, with regard to his Enemies, a ſtrict Obſerver of his Word, and ſcrupulouſly exact in performing Treaties. And, with regard to his Soldiers, he better underſtood how to keep them to Duty, and ſooth and encourage them to labour by his Example, than by his Speeches. As he was abſolute, he might without Contradiction have applied the greateſt Part of the Booty to his own Uſe; but he always divided it equally among his Troops. He was Chaſte, Temperate, Diſintereſted; and if he had Ambition, he only applied it to the Good of the Publick, and deſired to reign, only in order to eſtabliſh a regular Form of Government, over the Nations that he had Saved, or Conquered. And therefore it is not at all ſurprizing, that ſo great a General ſhould have no Seditions in an Army of Voluntiers, who were not, by any ſuperior Authority, forced into his Service. In ſhort, to finiſh his Character with one Circumſtance, which alone ought to make his Memory Immortal: Rome *judged him to be invincible; and thought ſhe could no otherwiſe put an end to the War with him, than by the moſt infamous Act of Treachery.*

App. in Iber. §. XXXI. The Events that followed the Death of *Viriatus* were yet more evident Proofs of his Abilities. The *Luſitanians* did not immediately give themſelves up to deſpair; but choſe themſelves another Leader, whom ſome call *Tantalus*, others *Tantanus*; and ſoon found a great difference between the old General and his Succeſſor. It muſt be owned indeed, that the latter had Bravery and Reſolution; but from his firſt Step, he graſped at too great Deſigns, and attempted an Enterprize which was beyond his Strength. *Saguntum* was then one of the greateſt and moſt ſtately Cities of *Tarragonian Spain.* It had formerly been deſtroyed by *Hannibal*, and rebuilt by its Deſtroyer himſelf, who had given it the Name of *Carthage.* Afterwards it had been reconquered by the Great *Scipio*, adorned, fortified, and repeopled by his Care, and had reaſſumed its firſt Name of *Saguntum*; and it was ſtill under the Protection of the Republick. It was to revenge her Quarrel, that the *Romans* firſt entered *Spain*; ſo that it was her Cauſe which gave them occaſion to undertake the Conqueſt of this great Continent: And this led *Tantalus* to conclude, that if he could make himſelf Maſter of this famous Poſt, he ſhould at once obliterate the Glory of his Predeceſſor, and fill the *Conſular* Army with Terrour at his Name. But tho' the Deſign was great, it was impracticable. How could he poſſibly penetrate through ſo many Countries with an Army he had not yet commanded, and croſs all the Rivers in his way? In ſhort, *Cæpio* followed cloſe after him, and made him often repent of this mad March. After ſome time, the *Conſular* Army got before him, and gave him battle after he had paſſed the River *Bætis.* The *Luſitanians* were repulſed and put in Diſorder, and in a manner ſurrounded by the River on one ſide, and the *Roman* Forces on the other; and then, there remaining neither any Hopes of Safety in reſiſtance, nor any other reſource, but to the Clemency of the Conqueror, *Tantalus* threw down his Arms, and ſurrendered at diſcretion. The *Conſul* now thought himſelf at the higheſt pitch of Glory, and was much elated with the Hopes of *a Triumph*, and effacing all the Stains of his paſt Conduct. This led him into an Exceſs of Clemency; he accepted the Offers of the *Luſitanians*, and gave them more favourable Terms than they had reaſon to expect. He conſidered this Army which had been ſo formidable, and had given the Republick ſo much Employment for 14 Years laſt paſt, as a Body of Men who had neither Houſe nor Home; propoſed a Peace to them upon this Condition, among others, that they ſhould go and cultivate a Country which he would give them; and the Offer was accepted. Theſe terrible Warriours became induſtrious Husbandmen, and by that means, *The Further Province* was ſettled in perfect Peace.

And now, tho' the happy Iſſue of ſo troubleſome a War could not but be exceeding agreeable to the *Roman* Senate and People; and tho' moſt of the Generals of the Republick had obtained the Honours of *a Triumph* upon leſs Succeſs; yet, the *Senate* had more regard to their own Honour than to the Importance of the Service, when they came to conſider what Rewards to beſtow on *Cæpio.* They well knew by what Means he had got rid of *Viriatus*; and tho' they enjoyed the Fruits of his Crime, they did not approve of it. *Auth. de viris Illuſ.* So much Equity, or Decency at leaſt, was ſtill left in this degenerate Age; That they would not exhibit to the World the Pomp of *a Triumph*, which had been purchaſed by Acts of Infamy. The *Fathers* loudly exclaimed againſt the *Conſul*'s Conduct, and thereby, in ſome meaſure, repaired the Honour of the Republick. But nevertheleſs, they conſented that the ſame *Cæpio* ſhould be left to command another Year in *Further Spain*, with the Title of *Pro-Conſul.* Thus, in States which are degenerated from their former Virtue,

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Virtue, Men that make themſelves uſeful, though by the moſt ſcandalous means, are but half puniſhed, and half rewarded; and ſuch was the preſent Policy of *Rome*.

§. XXXII. Whilſt the War in *Spain* was on one Side more violent than ever againſt the *Numantini*; and on the other entirely extinguiſhed by the Death of *Viriatus*, and the Surrender of *Tantalus*: *Rome* enjoyed a perfect Tranquillity, under the Adminiſtration of the wiſe *Conſul Lælius*. In his *Conſulſhip*, *P. Licinius Craſſus* [95], the *Ædile*, ſet the two beſt Tragick Poets in *Rome* at work in preparing Plays, for the Publick *Games*. The firſt was *Pacuvius* [96], whoſe Poetick Vein was not frozen at the Age of fourſcore Years. The ſecond, the famous *Attius*, then in the Flower of his Age, and not paſt thirty [97]. But though the *Latin* Tongue was then in its Purity, we find the Diction of both, harſh and unpoliſhed; and from thence we conclude, that their Genius made amends for the Faults of their Language. However, *Licinius Craſſus* was at a very extroardinary Expence in pompouſly decorating the Theatre, where the Pieces were preſented; and in preparing for the other ſhews, with which he reſolved to entertain the Publick; which will not appear at all ſtrange, if it be remembred, that he is ſaid to have been, without Exception, the greateſt Citizen in *Rome*. He was a great Orator, a moſt able Civilian, and the ſupreme Governor in Matters of Religion. So that no Man in the Republick had more Authority than himſelf, or was better able to beſtow large Sums, in Bounties to the People.

Cic. in Bruto.

We

95 *Publius Licinius Craſſus*, who ſucceeded *Scipio Naſica* in the Dignity of *Pontifex Maximus*, was the Son of *Publius Mucius Scævola*. This is the *Mucius* who governed the Republick in Quality of *Conſul*, in the Year 578, and *triumphed* on account of the *Ligures*. His Son *Mucianus* was adopted into the *Licinian* Family, and, according to Cuſtom, took the Name of the Father who adopted him. According to *Aulus Gellius*, all the Advantages of Nature and Fortune were united in him. *Cicero*, in his *Brutus*, ranks him among the eloquent Perſons of his Age. Indeed, though the Hiſtorians give us the Character and chief Actions of *Licinius Mucianus*, they have not fixed the exact time of his *Ædileſhip*. But for want of Authorities, we build on Conjectures inſtead of Proofs, as other Annaliſts do, in placing his Election in the Year of *Rome* 613. *Mucianus* was then one of the moſt eminent Candidates for the *Curule* Magiſtracies. His Merit, and the Votes of the moſt conſiderable Perſons in the Republick, gave him Aſſurance of being preferred to his Competitors. He appeared before the *Comitia*, ſays *Cicero*, *B.* 1. *De Oratore*, attended by a numerous Train of noble *Citizens*, all related to his Family; and eſpecially by his Relation and Friend *Servius Sulpicius Galba*, a Man of *Conſular* Dignity, and famous for his Eloquence. He had married his Son *Caius Sulpicius*, to the Daughter of *Mucianus*; and this Marriage had cemented their former Friendſhip.

96 *Marcus Pacuvius*, according to St. *Jerome's Chronicon*, made himſelf known by his Tragedies in the third Year of the 156th *Olympiad*, which anſwers to the Year of *Rome* 599. His Mother was the Siſter of *Ennius*, not his Daughter, as *Euſebius of Ceſaræa*, and *Crinitus*, after him, pretend. He was born at *Brindes*, and from thence repaired to the Capital. *Pliny* and *Aulus Gellius* ſay he had a Taſte for Painting. The former extols one of his Pictures, which was hung up on the Walls of the Temple which the *Romans* had dedicated to *Hercules*, in the Ox-Market. But his Genius immediately recalled him to the Study of Poetry. He publiſhed ſome Dramatick Performances, which were deſervedly well received by the Publick. After he had ſupported the Reputation he had gotten in this way to an extreme old Age, he left *Rome*, and retired to *Tarentum*, to enjoy the Pleaſures of Retirement. There he ſpent the reſt of his Days, and died at the Age of ninety. He writ his own Epitaph in the four following *Latin* Verſes, which *Aulus Gellius* has taken care to tranſmit to Poſterity.

Young Man, tho' in haſte, attend a little to this Tomb. It invites thee to caſt an Eye on it, and read what is here written. Here lay the Bones of Marcus Pacuvius *the Poet. This is all. Farewel.*

Adoleſcens, tamen etſi properas, hoc te ſaxum rogat;
Uti ad ſe aſpicias, deinde quod ſcriptum eſt legas.
Hic ſunt Poetæ Marcei Pacuvei ſita
Oſſa. Hoc volebam, neſcius ne eſſes. Vale.

This Epitaph ſavours of the Simplicity and Modeſty of the Poet. Before him *Nævius* had cauſed his Epitaph to be engraven on his Tomb. But there the Pride and Vanity of the Poet are much more remarkable than his Character. He ſpeaks of himſelf thus: *If the Immortals could weep for any Mortal, the* Muſes *would weep for the Death of the Poet* Nævius. *Since he went down to the Kingdom of* Pluto, *the* Romans *have forgotten to ſpeak* Latin.

Mortaleis immortaleis flere ſi foret fas,
Flerent Divæ Camænæ Nævium Poetam.
Itaque poſtquam eſt Orchio traditus theſauro,
Oblitei ſunt Romæ loquier Latina lingua.

Nor is *Plautus* more reſerved, in the Epitaph which is aſcribed to him by *Varro*. *Since* Plautus *died*, ſays he, *Comedy is in Tears, the Theatre deſerted. The Smiles, Sports, Jeſts, and Numbers, which are numberleſs all jointly mourn for him.*

Poſtquam morte datu 'ſt Plautus, Comædia Luget;
Scena eſt Deſerta. Dein Riſus, Ludu', Jocuſque,
Et Numeri, innumeri ſimul omnes collacrumarunt.

Lilio Giraldi fathers on *Pacuvius* a wanton Story, in which the Women are treated very uncivilly. He quotes for his Authority the Epiſtle of one *Valerius* to *Rufinus*; which may be ſeen in the 8th Dialogue of the *Hiſtory of the Poets*. The ſame Author has taken from him an old Riddle, on a Tortoiſe; for which we refer to his Treatiſes *On the Riddles of the Ancients*.

97 St. *Jerom*, in his *Chronicon*, places the Birth of *Lucius Accius*, or *Attius* the Poet, whom he makes the Son of a *Freedman*, in the Year of *Rome* 583, under the *Conſulſhip* of *Aulus Hoſtilius Mancinus*, and *Aulus Hoſtilius Serranus*; and it is certain that he grew famous from the 160th *Olympiad*, which coincides with the Year of *Rome* 613, by the dramatick

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We have already obſerved that the Licentiouſneſs of Manners, which daily increaſed, much wanted Reſtraint. To this end, the Tribunals erected for trying Criminals were multiplied; Informations were brought in great Numbers; and ſometimes, without Foundation. Inſomuch that if the Impunity of Crimes was a dangerous Evil on the one hand, ſo was the Madneſs of the Informers on the other. There was reaſon to fear, that Innocence was often oppreſſed by Calumny; and therefore a *Tribune of the People*,

Aul. Gel. B. 1. c. 13. Cic. in Orat. pro Roſcio. Amer.

tick Pieces, which the *Ædiles* cauſed to be acted in the Theatre at *Rome*. But St. *Jerom*'s date does not ſeem reconcileable with what *Cicero* ſays of him. The Orator declares in his *Brutus*, That he had often converſed with *Lucius Accius*; and it ſeems to be implied in a Paſſage of *The Firſt Philippick*, That the Year of *Rome* 709, in which *Julius Cæſar* was killed, and in which one of this Poet's Tragedies was played, was ſixty Years after his Death; and conſequently, That we muſt place his Death in 649 or 650, if we run back ſixty Years from thence. But if it be true, that *Accius* died in 650; it is more ſo, that *Cicero* was born in the year 647: And conſequently, That the latter muſt have often converſed with the Tragic Poet when only three Years old. So that theſe ſeeming Contradictions are only to be reconciled by a different Interpretation of that Paſſage. That *Cicero* was born in the Year 647, under the *Conſulſhip* of *Caius Attilius Serranus* and *Quintus Servilius Cæpio*, is a known Fact, atteſted by all the Hiſtorians; and it is reaſonable to believe, That he muſt have been at leaſt fifteen or twenty Years of Age when he contracted a Friendſhip with *Accius*: And conſequently, That the Poet muſt have lived till about the Year 668. As to the Difficulty of the ſixty Years before the Year 709, *Cicero* himſelf will happily extricate us out of it. His meaning only is, that the Tragedy of *Accius* was again acted in the Year 709, ſixty Years *after it had been firſt brought on the Stage*. What Occaſion is there to reckon, as ſome do, theſe ſixty Years from the Death of the Author? *Cicero*'s Words don't in any ſenſe imply it. He only implies, That when one of *Accius*'s Tragedies was acted again, during the Celebration of *The Apollinarian Games*, great Applauſes were given to *Brutus*, one of *J. Cæſar*'s Murderers, tho' he could not be preſent at the Performance, becauſe obliged to abſent himſelf from *Rome*, to ſcreen himſelf. *Unleſs*, ſays he, *you thought that* Brutus *had none of the Applauſe of the* Roman *People, but the whole was paid to* Accius, *as if he had appeared again on the Stage after an Interval of ſixty Years. Niſi forte Accio tum plaudi & ſexageſimo poſt anno palmam dari putabatis, non Bruto.* Thus we ſee St. *Jerom* and *Cicero* agree, as to the Epocha of the Birth of *Accius*. So that there is no Reaſon why we may not ſay, That the Poet was born in the Year of *Rome* 583; and That he lived above eighty Years; and conſequently, That *Cicero* had time enough to know him, and converſe frequently with him. But when *Val. Maximus* ſays, that one *Accius* refuſed one day to riſe up in honour to the Preſence of *Julius Cæſar*, when he was entering into an Aſſembly of men of Letters; this Fact is too diſtant to relate to the Poet *Accius*: Unleſs we ſay, that this was not the great *Julius Cæſar*, but one of his Anceſtors, who lived nearer to the time of which we are treating.

Accius lived at the ſame time as *Pacuvius*. But the latter had almoſt finiſhed his Courſe, when the young Poet began to ſhew himſelf in the World. They were both highly eſteemed by the *Romans*, tho' their Excellencies in the Dramatick way, were different. *Pacuvius*, ſays *Horace*, was *more learned*, the other *more ſublime*.

Ambigitur quoties uter utro ſit prior, auſert
Pacuvius docti famam Senis, Accius alti.

Epiſt. 1. L. 2.

This Judgment of *Horace* is confirmed by that of *Quintilian*. *Pacuvius* had indeed improved his Underſtanding by reading the *Greek* Authors, whoſe Beauties he had treaſured up, in order to tranſplant them into his own Pieces. Inſomuch that *Aulus Gellius*, B. 7. ch. 14. ſupported by *Varro*'s Authority, propoſes him as a Model for Poets, with reſpect to the Plenty and Variety of his Thoughts and Expreſſions. Whilſt *Accius*, according to the Ancients, had that Force and Energy which *Pacuvius* wanted. In ſhort, they both excelled in noble Sentiments, and a judicious choice of Characters. But *Quintilian*, though an Admirer of both, wiſhes that their Diction had been more elegant and polite; and to excuſe them, makes the roughneſs of Stile which is objected to them, not ſo much the Fault of the two Poets themſelves, as of the Age in which they lived. Whereas *Cicero* judges very differently of them in his *Brutus*. He ſays that neither *Pacuvius* nor *Cæcilius* had a graceful Stile, tho' they lived in an Age which he calls the glorious *Æra* of *Roman* Probity, and of the *Latin* Tongue. This happy Time was that of *Lælius* and *The ſecond Scipio*; who, among other excellent Qualities, which raiſed them above the vulgar, had the Faculty of expreſſing themſelves with great Purity and Delicacy, both in their Writings and in common Converſation. And indeed, before the time of *Pacuvius* and *Accius*, *Terence* and *Plautus* had diſperſed in their Writings all the Beauties of the *Latin* Tongue. So that *Quintilian* unjuſtly condemns the Age in which they lived, as barbarous, in order to excuſe their incorrect and obſolete Language.

Philip. 1. §. 36. *Ed. Vereburg. Joh. Amſtol.* 1724.

Aulus Gellius tells us, that *Accius*, intending to go into *Aſia*, took his Road through *Tarentum*, and there viſited *Pacuvius*, to whom he read his Tragedy of *Atreus*. The old Man highly commended the Piece; but did not conceal its Defects from the Author. He thought the Expreſſions harſh, the Characters extravagant, and the Incidents too ſuddenly and haſtily introduced, without due Preparation. *Accius* not only had great Deference for *Pacuvius*'s Advice, but turned it to his Honour, and made Advantages of his Criticiſms. *Your Cenſures*, replied he, *give me Aſſurance that I ſhall at laſt ſucceed in my Labours. The Mind is much like an Apple; at firſt hard and ſour; but when come to maturity, ſweet, and agreeable to the Palate.* And probably, Experience and Reflection made him a perfect Maſter of theſe Leſſons, which *Pacuvius* had firſt taught him: For he dedicated himſelf entirely to the Drama. With the Talents he had for Dramatick Poetry, he might juſtly have entertained Hopes of becoming an eminent Orator. But that was not his Inclination. *Quintilian* ſays, That ſome Perſon would have engaged him to turn his Thoughts that way, and That he replied he would by no means do it: becauſe upon the Stage, he could have the ſatisfaction of making his Actors ſay what they would; whereas at the Bar, he ſhould have the Mortification to hear what he ſhould not like. *Macrobius*, *Priſcianus*, *Feſtus*, and *Nonnius Marcellus*, aſcribe to him ſome hiſtorical Annals in Verſe, and a Treatiſe of Poetry divided into ſeveral Books, and entitled *Didaſcalica*. Whether *Cicero* means him, when he ſays of one *Accius*, (*De Legibus*, *L.* 1.) who had written ſome hiſtorical Annals, That he was a trifling Author, who had compoſed ſome *Latin* Pieces, without ever having applied himſelf to the *Greek* Writers; That the Trifles

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ple, named *Memmius* [98], took great Pains to put a Stop to thoſe Swarms of Informers, who indiſcriminately accuſed the moſt virtuous *Citizens* of the greateſt Crimes; and took Advantage of the Abſence of thoſe who had Employments in the *Provinces*, to wound their Reputation. To this end, he prepared a Law which conſiſted of theſe two Articles. 1. It forbad the bringing any criminal Proceſs againſt thoſe who were employed in the publick Affairs in the *Provinces*. And 2dly, It enacted, That every Informer who was convicted of a falſe Accuſation ſhould be marked in the Forehead with the Letter K, which was the firſt Letter of the Word *Kalumniator*. This mark was to be made, either with a hot Iron, or with the Point of a Needle; and it was ſo infamous, that no one who was thus ſtigmatized, was ever after ſuffered to be a Witneſs. This was the famous *Memmian* [99] *Law*, which was now paſſed by the *Comitia*, and continued long in force; till the Emperor *Trajan* ſubſtituted in the room of it, the *Lex Talionis*, or *Law of Retaliation* [100]. *Plin. Jun. in Panegyr.*

But after all, the Overflowings of Vice were not very general in *Rome*. There were ſtill ſome of thoſe great Minds left which retained the Innocence and the Steddineſs of antient Times. Of this we have an Inſtance, in the juſt Severity of a Father to his own Son. *T. Manlius Torquatus* had tranſlated his Son *D. Junius Manlianus* into the *Junian* Family by Adoption; and *Junius*, when *Prætor* in *Macedon*, had governed it with inſatiable Avarice. His Oppreſſions had been ſo crying, that the Province was obliged to ſend a Deputation to complain to the Senate; and when the Proceſs was already begun againſt the oppreſſive *Prætor*, *Manlius*, his Father, offered the Senators and the *Macedonian* Envoys to be his Son's Judge, and to puniſh him with rigour, if he found him guilty. *Manlius* had the Character of a learned Civilian, a Man of great Integrity, and a very rigid and inflexible Father. Beſides, the Law which gave Fathers a Right to be the firſt Judges of their own Children was not yet entirely aboliſhed. The Senate and Proſecutors therefore agreed to refer the Deciſion of the Affair to the Father of the Accuſed; and this grave Senator, after he had ſpent two Days in the Trial, pronounced Sentence againſt his own Son in theſe Words: *Let the guilty* Junius *be for ever baniſhed from his Father's Houſe, and from all the Lands of the Republick.* This was the ſevereſt Puniſhment that could then be inflicted for robbing the Publick; and the Son was ſo ſtruck with Grief at it, that he ſtrangled himſelf the next Night. But the Father was ſo little affected with the Death of his Son, that he would not deign to aſſiſt at his Obſequies. When the Corps was carrying to the Funeral Pile, he gave Audience to his Clients as uſual; and diſcovered not the leaſt ſigns of Grief in his Countenance. This manly Rigour ſeems to have been hereditary in his Family. In his Porch, he daily ſaw the Buſt of that Anceſtor, who cauſed his Son to be be- *Val. Max. B. 5. c. 8. Cic. de. Finib. B. 1.*

with which he ſwelled his Hiſtory, were inſupportable; and That if he ſometimes ſoared a little higher, it was with a nauſeous Oſtentation: is uncertain. It is not eaſy to believe, he could ſpeak ſo contemptibly of a Man, whom he commends in ſeveral other Places. To which we may add, as a farther Proof of this, That the *Roman* Orator here makes his Remarks on ſome Annals which were in proſe: whereas *Accius* wrote his, in verſe.

Among the chief Pieces of this Poet are reckoned the Tragedies of *Tereus*, *The Thebais*, *Philoctetes*, *Andromache*, *Medæa*, *Meleager*, *Atreus*, *Clytemneſtra*, and *The Trojans*; all Subjects borrowed from the *Greeks*. He made the expulſion of the laſt *Tarquin*, the Subject of the Tragedy which he called *Brutus*; and *Manucius* thinks without Reaſon, that this was played in the *Games* that were celebrated after the Murder of *Julius Cæſar*. It is plain, from the 2d and 5th Letters to *Atticus*, *B.* 16. that the Tragedy of *Tereus* was then performed, as we ſhall have occaſion to prove hereafter. It is obvious, that the Fury of *Tereus*, and the Misfortunes of *Progne* and *Philomela*, which were the Subjects of the latter, gave room for the ſevereſt Reflections againſt Tyranny. Some make him the Author of two Comedies, one of which is entitled *The Nuptials*, and the other *The Merchant*. *Pliny* ſays, *B.* 34. ch. 5. that this Poet, though a very little Man, made himſelf a very great Statue in the Temple of the *Muſes*. According to St. *Jerome's Chronicon*, he was one of thoſe whom the *Romans* ſent to *Piſaurum*, a City of *Umbria*, to plant a *Colony* there. To which the Holy Father adds, that he acquired an Eſtate in the neighbouring Country, which from him was called *Fundus Accianus*. This City gave Birth to another *Accius*, an able Orator, againſt whom *Cicero* defended *Cluentius*; and who poſſibly might be related to the Tragick Poet.

98 There were ſeveral *Plebeian Ædiles* and *Tribunes of the People* of the *Memmian* Family, which ſhews it to have been originally *Plebeian*. Nevertheleſs, *Virgil*, through exceſſive Flattery, derives it from *Mneſtheus*, one of *Æneas*'s Companions. A pardonable Fiction in Poets, who have long aſſumed a Licence of ennobling their Patrons.

99 Several modern Civilians have quibbled on the Name of *Memmian*, which we have given this Law; and pretend that the Law here ſpoken of is *The Remmian*. In proof of this, they quote *The Pandects of Florentius*, and ſeveral Codes of Civil Law, where we read *Lex Remmia* inſtead of *Lex Memmia*. Whether it was promulged in the Year of *Rome* 613, is not certain. We have no poſitive Proof of it. We only know, that it was in force in *Cicero*'s Time, and had long before him protected the *Roman Citizens* againſt the Impudence of Informers. We have therefore thought proper to follow *Pighius*, who in his *Annals* places the making of the *Memmian Law* under the Year 613.

100 See Vol. I. p. 452. N. 64.

headed for disobeying the Orders of his General; and the more heinous Crime of *Junius* deserved much less Compassion from a Father who thought himself dishonoured by it.

Year of *ROME* DCXIV. L. Calpurnius Piso, & M. Popillius Lænas, Consuls.

§. XXXIII. The War in *Spain*, or rather in *Celtiberia*, had lasted fifteen Years, when the Republick chose *Lucius* [101] *Calpurnius Piso*, and *M. Popillius* [102] *Lænas*, *Consuls*. The first resided at *Rome*, and had the Affairs of *Italy* under his Care. The other was allotted to supply *Pompey*'s Place, and repair his Faults in *The Hither Province*. As for *The Further*, the same *Cæpio* who had just ended the War there by the base Assassination of *Viriatus*, was confirmed in the Government of it in Quality of *Pro-Consul*. To the eternal Reproach of the *Romans*, they no longer valued Men for their Probity, but for the Advantages they gained the Republick, by any Methods, how odious soever. In the Ages of *Roman* Virtue, this *Consul* would doubtless have been recalled, and perhaps have found an Accuser, who would have got him condemned to Banishment. But now, the Magistrates exercised all their Severity against Strangers, especially those from the Eastern Countries. The *European* and *Asiatick Greeks* had several times endeavoured to introduce into the Capital of the World the Worship and Ceremonies of the Gods they adored in their own Countries. A new *Jupiter*, under the Name of *Sabazius* [103], had already been brought into Credit. The more absurd and infamous the Rites used in the Mysteries of the new God were, the more agreeable were they to the Taste of the superstitious and corrupted *Romans*. But the *Prætor* who had the care

101 *Pighius* and *Cassiodorus* give *Calpurnius Piso* the *Forename* of *Cneius*. But this appears to be a Mistake, both from *Maccabees*, *B.* 1. *ch.* 15. and from *Valerius Maximus*. The *Consul* for this Year is there called *Lucius* and not *Cneius*.

102. See Vol. 4; and Vol. 2. p. 98. Note 43.

103 This is another of those imaginary Gods whom the ancient *Greeks* honoured with their Worship. The little the Pagan Writers have told us of him, is buried in a Heap of Fables, Contradictions, and Absurdities. Impiety and Libertinism realized this Phantom of a Deity. Afterwards the Eastern Nations, which erected Altars to him, disguised him according to their Humours, and formed Ideas of him agreeable to their own Prejudices, or to the fabulous Traditions, which received their Sanction from Superstition. Hence the Uncertainty and Dreams of the Mythologists, in order to fix the Origin of a God, whose Attributes were not settled by the Pagans themselves. *Aristophanes*, *Diodorus of Sicily*, *Lucian*, *Harpocration*, *Hesychius*, and *Eustathius*, make *Sabazius* and *Bacchus* the same God; and the *Thracians*, according to *Stephin of Byzantium* and *The Scholiast of Aristophanes*, gave the God of Wine no other Name. The Worship of *Sabazius*, called also *Sabadius*, and *Sebadius*, is said to have been transmitted to them by *Orpheus*, who took it from the *Egyptians* and *Syrians*. And in order to come at even the Etymology of the Word *Sabazius*, a Nation of *Sabes* in *Thrace*, have been invented, among whom *Bacchus* was worshipped. But *Eustathius*, *Hesychius* and *Suidas* are not of this Opinion. They place the *Sabes* in *Phrygia*; and there find the first Worshippers of *Bacchus*. And they appeal to the Authority of *Strabo*, who says, the *Phrygians* were originally a Colony of *Thracians*. But if these People did ever exist, is it not more natural to say, that they derived their Name from their God than he from them? Others have recourse to the two Terms of *Evoé*, *Saboé*, the usual Cry of the *Bacchantes* in their Fury when celebrating their nocturnal *Orgia*. Then, armed with Torches, and their Heads heated with the Fumes of Wine, they ran about with their Hair dishevel'd, and mixed with Men, without keeping any settled Course; and in their Phrenzy continually uttered, with terrible Howlings, the Word Εὐοῖ: Which is a Composition of the two Monosylables Ἰὺ αἴ, which express the passionate wishes of Lovers for the Persons tenderly beloved. The fabulists make *Jupiter* speak these two Words at the Sight of his Son *Bacchus*, who had transformed himself into a Lion, to defend himself against the Giants. Ἰὺ αἴ, cried the Father, out of tenderness, and in transport of Joy; that is, *Bene sit illi! May he prosper!* or *May his Attempt be successful!* Or if you will, *Evoé Bacche* was an Exclamation of Triumph, which recalled to mind the Conquests of *Bacchus*. *Arnobius*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Theophilus*, *Strabo*, and the Authors abovenamed, observe, that the *Phrygians* and *Thracians* pronounced the Word *Saboi*, or σαβοῖ, in their *Bacchanals*; which in their Language signified the same thing as the former. The *Greeks* had adopted both in their Feasts of *Bacchus*. This appears from *Demosthenes's Oration against Eschines*. He casts this Reproach on the latter, that in the Talent of bawling at the Celebration of the *Orgia*, he might boast of being the first Man in *Attica*. You bawl out, says he, with a marvellous Strength of Lungs, *Evoé*, *Saboé*. *Suidas* observes, that the Barbarians used the Word σαβάζειν in the same Sense as the *Greeks* did Εὐάζειν, to signify the Clamours and Fanaticism of the *Bacchantes*. Thus, in *Thrace* and *Phrygia*, the Priests of *Bacchus*, and those who were initiated in his Mysteries, were called *Saboi*. This is observed by several Writers, both ancient and modern, and among the rest by *Harpocration*.

Among the five *Bacchus's* which the Mythologists rank among the Gods, it is asked, which it is that was surnamed *Sabazius*? And if we consult *Cicero*, in his last Book *Of the nature of the Gods*, he tells us, it was the third; who was the Son of *Cassius*, and gave Laws in *Asia*. *The Scholiast of Aristophanes* in his Comedy of *The Birds* seems likewise to have thought as *Cicero* did, when he says, that *Bacchus* was a King of *Phrygia*, to whom the People of the Country erected Altars after his Death. But *Diodorus Siculus* says, he understands by the Name of *Sabazius*, another *Bacchus*, the Son of *Jupiter* and *Proserpine*, who first taught the Art of putting Oxen to a Plough, and ploughing the Earth; for which reason he was drawn with Horns on his Head. Whilst *Clemens Alexandrinus* insists, that the *Sabazius* sought for is the same as *Jupiter* himself, the *Coryphæus* of the Pagan Gods. He discovers this by the terrible *Sabazian* Mysteries, which were instituted to his Honour. In them, says he, were represented to those who assisted at them, the infamous acts of this God, who, in the Form of a Serpent, dared pollute his own Daughter *Proserpine*. This horrible Act of Violence was represented to them by

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Care of Foreign Affairs, purged *Rome* of a Worſhip, introduced contrary to Law, and deſtructive of good Manners. Afterwards indeed, the Times changed, the Corruption became more general, and the God *Sabazius* had his Temples and his ſacred Banquets at *Rome*. But *Hiſpallus* had the Honour to exterminate them during his *Prætorſhip*. And by his Orders, a Company of *Aſſyrians*, chiefly from the Neighbourhood of *Babylon*, were ſent back into their own Country. They were Aſtrologers, called [104] *Chaldæans*, from their native Country, who had infatuated the whole City with their Impoſtures. By their bold and uncertain Predictions, they raiſed the Ambition of the Great, fomented the Paſſions of the Women, filled ſome with ſenſeleſs Fears, others with raſh Preſumptions, and corrupted the Hearts of all. *Hiſpallus* therefore ordered theſe publick Peſts to leave *Italy* in two Days. There have ever been Impoſtors in all Ages, who have undertaken to foretell future Events; and the *Romans* were always very curious to know their good or bad Fortune. But theſe are Secrets which belong only to God, which He ſeldom reveals, and which can never be known with Certainty, but from Him. The wiſeſt of the Heathen themſelves, acknowledged the Vanity of Aſtrological Predictions, and thought them pernicious to Government.

§. XXXIV. *Gabinius* likewiſe, *a Tribune of the People*, was reſolved to reform what he thought an Abuſe in the Practice of the *Comitia*, both thoſe *by Tribes*, and thoſe *by Centuries*. The Cuſtom had hitherto been, to vote *viva voce*, and to pronounce their Votes aloud, in order to their being entered in a publick Regiſter. But the *Tribune*, who was a Man of mean Birth, thought this ſome Infringement on the Liberty of Elections. He there-

by ſhewing them the Figure of this Reptile. Nor was this all. It was neceſſary for thoſe who would obtain the Favour of *Jupiter*, to take the myſterious Animal into their Boſoms. This was the Proof, and the Symbol, of the *Sabazian* Initiations. *Julius Firmicus*, in his Treatiſe of Idolatry, and *Arnobius*, *B.* 5. *Againſt the Gentiles*, agree exactly in this Point. The latter expreſſes himſelf thus, concerning this mad kind of Worſhip. *Ipſa ſacra & ritus initiationis ipſius, quibus Sebadius nomen eſt, teſtimonio eſſe poterunt veritati, in quibus aureus coluber in ſinum demittitur conſecratis, & eximitur rurſus ab inferioribus partibus.* And this Opinion of *Clemens Alexandrinus* is favoured by an Inſcription in *Gruter*, which ſays, That one *Quintus Nunnius* made a Preſent to *Jupiter Sabazius*. Q. NUNNIUS ALEXANDER DONUM DEDIT JOVI SABAZIO. Whilſt, on the other hand, *Mneſeas*, an ancient Author quoted by *Heſychius*, contends, That *Sabazius* was nothing leſs than *Jupiter*. He was, according to him, the Son of *Bacchus*, who ſhared with his Father, the Worſhip of *Thrace*, *Phrygia*, and *Greece*. And laſtly, *Macrobius*, *Saturnal. B.* 1, acknowledges with moſt Authors, That *Sabazius*, and *Liber*, or the God of Wine, were the ſame Deity; and he makes them both the ſame as the Sun. This, he ſays, was the prevailing Opinion of the *Thracians*; who worſhipping this Planet, in *Bacchus*, or *Sabazius*, had erected to him, on Mount *Gyrmiſſus*, a round Temple which had no Light but what it received from a Cupola, in order thereby to repreſent the ſpherical Figure of the Sun. And indeed, the greateſt Number of the *Greek* and *Latin* Authors agree pretty well in making *Sabazius* and *Bacchus* but one God; which they infer from the Ceremonies of the *Sabazian* Feſtivals, which were only an Imitation of the *Bacchanals*.

As to the Surname of *Jupiter* which is given to *Sabazius*, this was only a Title of Honour which the Pagans often liberally beſtowed on the favourite Gods of every Country. A Nation which was fond of magnifying the Power and Protection of its tutelary Gods, could no way give the People an high Idea of their Grandeur, better than by equalling them to him, whom they worſhipped as the Arbiter of Heaven and Earth.

In order to proſcribe this new Deity, the *Romans* revived the wiſe Regulation, which was made in the Year 567, againſt the nocturnal Aſſemblies which had been introduced into *Rome* under the Name of *Bacchanals*; and which *Cicero* applauds in his *Third Book of Laws*. *We have*, ſays he, *a fine Inſtance of the Severity of our Anceſtors, in the Search made after thoſe who aſſiſted at the abominable Myſteries of the Bacchanals, and in the Puniſhments the Magiſtrates inflicted on thoſe who entered into this monſtrous Aſſociation.* To which he adds. *Before our Days*, Diagondas, *a Law-giver at* Thebes, *ſuppreſſed, by a general Law, all nocturnal Sacrifices, even in the midſt of* Greece *it ſelf, which gave riſe to this Society of debauched People. Whilſt* Ariſtophanes *gives ſo little Quarter to theſe new Gods, and the nocturnal Solemnities inſtituted to their Honour, as to repreſent* Sabazius *and ſome other ſtrange Gods, as obliged to pack up and be gone from* Rome, *like ſo many baniſhed Wretches.*

Some Moderns have in vain ſought for the Name of *Sabazius*, in the Term *Sabaoth*, as if the *Greeks* thought, that the God of Armies, *Deus Sabaoth*, and the God of Wine, had had ſomething common to them both. And *Plutarch* has been as unfortunate in his Conjectures, when he ſays, That the turbulent Agitations uſed in the *Bacchanals* reſembled much the *Jewiſh Sabbath*, which the *Levites* had conſecrated to the Worſhip of *Bacchus*; and That theſe Prieſts, (who were dedicated to the Service of the True God,) took their Name from that of *Evius*, which was given to *Bacchus*. So groſs a Blunder is ſurprizing in ſo judicious a Writer as *Plutarch*. The Compariſon of two Things ſo contrary to each other, as the *Sabbath* and the *Orgia* of the *Bacchantes*, implies an utter Ignorance of the *Jewiſh* Religion in him that made it.

104 By *Chaldæans*, we underſtand a Sect of Philoſophers which was form'd in *Chaldæa*, before the Days of *Abraham*. This Country is thought the firſt which gave Birth to Aſtronomy. *Herodotus* ſays, That the *Egyptians* learnt of the People of *Aſſyria* and of the *Babylonians*, the Art of knowing the different Elevations of the Pole, the Uſe of the Quadrant, and the Diviſion of the Day into twelve Parts. *Cicero*, *De Divinat. L.* 1, turns into Ridicule the fooliſh Vanity of theſe Philoſophers, who boaſted that they could produce a Series of Aſtronomical Obſervations, which they carried back above 470000 Years. They ventured to maintain this ſtrange Paradox, in the Preſence of *Calliſthenes*, who was come to *Babylon*, at the Inſtance of *Ariſtotle* his Couſin, in order to conſult their ancient Memoirs concerning the Origin and Progreſs of Aſtronomy. In proceſs of Time, they made an ill Uſe of this Knowlege, in order to impoſe on the Credulity of the

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Cic. de Legib. B. 3.

therefore drew up a new [105] Law, and got it paſſed; whereby it was enacted, That for the future, every one ſhould give his [106] Vote, in *Tablets*, or little Boards, on which were written the Names of the Candidates. This Innovation had the Appearance of a publick Good; but it was in reality only a Cover, to conceal the unjuſt Preference which the common People gave to unworthy Men. Whilſt they declared their Votes *viva voce*, their Reſpect and Fear of the great Men kept them in awe, and they ſeldom voted againſt Men of Worth. But the taking off this Reſtraint, encouraged the Populace to attempt whatever they pleaſed: And we ſhall ſoon ſee this Uſage of Voting by *Tablets* introduced, in all Caſes in general, which were brought before the People.

Another *Tribune*, of the ſame Rank with *Gabinius*, undertook to revenge the Affront he had received from *Scipio*, *The Second Africanus*. We have before obſerved, That this Great Man had, in his *Cenſorſhip*, which was not yet expired, juſtly diſgraced a bad *Citizen*, named *Claudius Aſellus*. But this Man, tho' degraded by *Scipio* from the Rank of a *Roman Knight*, had found ſo much Favour with his Collegue, as to be

the Simple. Several Swarms of theſe Impoſtors diſperſed themſelves in the different Countries of *Aſia* and *Europe*; and the People were eaſily perſuaded to believe, on their Words, That the Stars, the different Motions of the Planets, and their retrograde Motions, formed ſo many myſterious Characters, which diſcovered the Secrets of Futurity. They repreſented the Heavens as a great Book, filled with enigmatical Cyphers, of which they boaſted they had the Key; and pretended, that every Man's Fortune is there diſcloſed, by the different Situations of the Stars at the Time of his Nativity.

105 *The Gabinian Law* is the firſt of thoſe which were called *Tabellariæ Leges*, from the *Tabellæ* or *Tablets*, by which the People gave their Suffrages.

106 The Order obſerved, in the manner of giving Suffrages, or Voting, whether in *The Comitia by Tribes*, or thoſe *by Centuries*, after the Publication of *The Gabinian Law*, was this. All the Claſſes of *Citizens*, ſummoned every one according to its Rank, by the publick Criers, were brought over very narrow Bridges, to a kind of Encloſure ſurrounded with Barricades, not unlike our common Sheepfold; and therefore the *Romans* called it *ſeptum* and *ovile*, as we have obſerved in the firſt and ſecond Volumes. At the Gate, or Door, of each Bridge, were poſted the *Diſtributores*, that is Perſons appointed by the Preſident to diſtribute to all that entered, as many *Tablets*, which were a kind of Tickets, as there were Candidates. On each of theſe *Tablets* were written the initial Letters of the Name, Surname, and Forename of one of the Competitors. The writing theſe belonged to the publick Scribes, who never failed to prepare theſe *Tablets*, and put them into the Hands of thoſe who were to diſtribute them. At that end of the Bridge which was next to the Encloſure, every *Roman* in his turn, preſented his *Tablets*, in which were written the Names of the Candidates for whom he voted. Theſe Suffrages were collected in Baskets, or Urns, by Men appointed to that Office by the Preſident of the Aſſembly and called *Rogatores*; and theſe put the Baskets into the Hands of thoſe who were ſtiled *Cuſtodes*, and whoſe Office it was, to count the Suffrages by Points, in the Preſident's Preſence, and to inform the Aſſembly how they ſtood, by the publick Crier.

The Candidate who had the greateſt Number of *Tablets* or *Points*, was elected. To which *Horace* alludes in the following Line which afterwards became a Proverbial Saying,

Omne tulit PUNCTUM *qui miſcuit utile dulci.* Art. Poet.

And laſtly, the Preſident ſolemnly proclaimed him whom the *Centuries*, or *Tribes* had choſen by a Majority of Votes. He declared him either *Conſul*, or *Cenſor*, or *Prætor*, or *Ædile*, as occaſion required. The Proclamation was made in theſe Terms. QUOD BONUM, FAUSTUM, FORTUNATUMQE SIT, MIHI MAGISTRATUIQUE MEO, POPULO, PLEBIQUE ROMANÆ, *Titium*, CONSULEM, *vel* PRÆTOREM RENUNCIO. That is, *I declare ſuch a one Conſul*, or *Prætor*, &c. *May it pleaſe the Gods to make his Election turn to my Advantage and that of the* Roman *People*. And hereafter we ſhall ſee this Method of Proceeding take place, in paſſing Laws, and in giving Judgment in thoſe Criminal Cauſes, which were tried at the Tribunal of the *Comitia*.

Without doubt, the Heads of the Republick could not take too much Care to ſecure the Fidelity of thoſe, whoſe Buſineſs it was to diſtribute, collect, and count theſe *Tablets*. And therefore an Office of this Importance, was rarely entruſted with any, but Perſons of experienced Probity. Sometimes, the chief Members of the Senate voluntarily undertook it; as appears by *Cicero*, in his *Oration againſt Piſo*. *Hoc certe video*, ſays he to the Senators, *quod indicant tabellæ publicæ, vos Rogatores, vos Diſtributores, vos Cuſtodes fuiſſe Tabularum, & quod in honoribus veſtrorum propinquorum non facitis, vel ætatis excuſatione, vel honoris, id in ſalute mea, nullo rogante, vos veſtra ſponte faciatis.* He had himſelf taken the Trouble to count the Suffrages in the *Comitia by Centuries*, wherein *Piſo* was choſen *Conſul*. Nevertheleſs, he plainly enough informs us, That ordinarily ſpeaking, the Choice fell indeed upon Perſons who were valuable for their Probity, but ſuch as had never before been promoted to any Dignity in the Republick.

For the greater Security, every Candidate had his own *Cuſtos*, a Friend zealous in his Intereſt, and not to be corrupted, whom he named to count up the Votes that were for him. And there were likewiſe a kind of Inſpectors, to take care that the *Diſtributores* acted faithfully, and to prevent any Fraud when the Suffrages were collected.

Nevertheleſs, all theſe Cautions, tho' ſo prudent and well judged, were not a ſufficient guard againſt the Violences of oppoſite Factions. It ſometimes happened, that Perſons ſucceeded by private Practices, Intrigues, Surprize, Fraud, open Force, or Treachery, in ſpight of the Vigilance of the Magiſtrates and Senate. The following Parts of this Hiſtory will furniſh us with ſome Inſtances of it. Such Diſorders were inevitable in a democratical State, where every thing was done at the Will of a confuſed Multitude whoſe Inclinations, Sentiments, and Intereſts were generally oppoſite. This crowd of People who met in the *Comitia*, to determine abſolutely concerning the Lot, or Fortune of a *Citizen*, were many of them mercenary Wretches, who ſold their Votes, or gave them as their Fancies, or Intereſts led them. The Officers themſelves, who collected the Tickets, were not all proof againſt Corruption. They ſometimes had an underſtanding with the Preſident, who appointed them, and ſerved his own Deſigns, by promoting the Intereſt of thoſe Candidates whom he favoured, tho' to the Injury of the Publick.

restored by him: and by his Intrigues, he had obtained one of the ten Places in the formidable College of *The Tribunes of the People*. The Power of these *Plebeian* Magistrates is well known; they were formidable to the *Consuls* themselves; and had Credit enough to make even the *Censors* stand in fear of them. *Asellus* therefore, when thus exalted, thought it in his Power to oblige the *Censor* to give him Satisfaction for the blot he had cast upon his Reputation; and to this end he cited him to appear before the People. But the illustrious *Roman*, during the seven Days between the Citation and the Day of Appearance, shewed no Concern at the Prosecution. He neither put on Mourning, nor let his Beard grow, nor shut himself up in his House, as was usual with those who were accused before the People. The same firmness of Soul which he had all along shewn in so many Battles, he still retained in a criminal Prosecution, wherein his Honour was concerned. He affected more than ever to appear in Publick, to harangue the [107] People in the *Comitium*, and to throw out satyrical Reflections on his Adversary. And, in short, *Scipio*'s Confidence gained him that Favour from the Commons, which other accused Persons sought to obtain by many Humiliations. When the decisive Day came, *Asellus*, in a studied Harangue, took great pains to magnify his Merit, in order thereby to aggravate the Injury done him by the *Censor*. *I have borne Arms*, said he, *in all the Places where the Republick has any Generals. In your most distant Provinces I have fought in your Troops.* Here *Scipio* interrupted the Orator in the most shining Part of his Discourse; and with one proverbial Saying, which alluded to the Name of *Asellus*, he both turned his Adversary into Ridicule, and put an end to the Tryal with a Jest. *True, Asellus*, said he, *You have travelled almost every where. But if an Ass was to make the Tour of the whole World, he would never become a good Courser.* And indeed, it is not at all surprizing, that the Conqueror of *Carthage* should not sink under an unjust Accusation. But it may seem strange, that any one should dare to accuse him before the People. Tho', after all, this Policy in a Republican State was good. The People's preserving to themselves a Right of calling into Judgment even the triumphant Victors was keeping them in Subjection, and preventing the ill Uses they might have made of their Grandeur and Glory.

Year of ROME DCXIV. L. Calpurnius Piso, & M. Popillius Lænas, Consuls.

Cic. in Lælio, & de Orat. B. 2. Vell. Paterc. B. 2. A. Gell. B. 3.

§. XXXV. And now, the Republick might have settled the whole World in as secure a Peace as *Italy* it self enjoyed. She had at present no War but in *Celtiberia*; and this the Senate might have ended with Advantage, and shut up the Temple of *Janus*. *Pompey*, whether right or wrong, had actually brought the *Numantini* to make an hasty Peace with him. He had entirely humbled these proud *Spaniards*; and had the *Conscript Fathers* confirmed his Act, all the *Roman Provinces* had been in Tranquillity. But these crafty Politicians had very different Views. They were determined at all Events to employ the *Legions* abroad, in order thereby, to preserve Order and Tranquillity in the Capital; and they ordered the *Consul, Popillius Lænas*, who was to embark with a new Reinforcement for *The Hither Province*, to examine into the Treaty his Predecessor had made, and disannul it. It had not passed through the necessary Forms, neither had the Republick confirmed it. So that it was not in so good a State, as that which *Fabius Servilianus* had formerly concluded with the unfortunate *Viriatus*; and which the *Romans* afterwards broke, even tho' it had been ratified at *Rome*. *Popillius* therefore set out with a Resolution to continue the War with the *Numantini*: And as soon as he arrived, and had taken the Command of the Troops upon him, he made it his first Business to examine into the Nature of this pretended Peace, against which the Senate were so strongly prejudiced at *Rome*. The *Numantini* appeared, and deposed that *Pompey* had made a Treaty with them, and had received the Deserters, Hostages, and Money, which they had obliged themselves to pay him; and in the *Roman* Army, the Officers and Soldiers all confirmed their Depositions. So that here was a Cloud of Witnesses against the Old *Pro-Consul*; and his only Evasion was, That he had treated only by Word of Mouth, and had been cautious enough to deliver nothing in Writing. But was it necessary that an Agreement with a General of an Army, should have been drawn up in the same Forms, as Contracts in Civil Matters? In short, *Pompey* gave the *Numantini* the Lye, and denied that he had concluded a Peace with them. And here we cannot but again ask, What is become of the ancient Probity of the *Romans*? The new *Consul* thought it too perplexed an Affair for him alone to determine. He sent both *Pompey* and his Accusers

App. in Iber. Vell. Paterc. B. 2. Val. Max. B. 8. c. 5.

[107] *Scipio* must have harangued the People more than once, on the Subject on which *Asellus* had accused him. At least *Aulus Gellius. B. 2. ch. 20*, speaks of a fifth Oration which this great Man made before *The Tribes*, against his Accuser.

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sers to *Rome*, on board the same Vessel in which he himself came; and there, tho' *Pompey* did all he could to darken the Affair with Chicanery, the Senate could not but think it an extraordinary Case. Here was on one side an Army of Witnesses; and on the other, no defect, but the want of something in Writing, which was merely Matter of Form, and very excusable in a Nation, who understood nothing but War, and were too little upon their guard against Frauds. But the Interest of the Republick determined it. The Judgment of the Senate was, That *Pompey* had not made a valid Treaty with the *Numantini*; but had only endeavoured to amuse them with Negotiations. Nevertheless, the few Men of Virtue that were left at *Rome*, would not allow this to be an equitable Decree. They thought it necessary that the Affair should be brought before the People; and that *Pompey* ought, at least, to have been condemned to be delivered up to the *Numantini*, in expiation of the Reproaches his Conduct had cast on the Religion of the *Romans*. But the artful *Pro-Consul* found Means to divert this Storm likewise, and to prevail on the Commons to declare in his Favour. They voted that he had never treated with the *Numantini* in Form, and acquitted him. A Judgment notoriously unjust in it self; but who could resist the Faction of a mad and prepossessed Multitude? The *Numantini* were sacrificed to the Interests of *Rome*; and the War was continued even with more Injustice than it had been begun. Thus, the first *Consul* of the *Pompeian* Family, which had never yet been considerable, did not signalize himself so much by his Probity or his Valour, as by his Artifices and Intrigues.

Cic. de Offic. B. 3.

Whilst the Affair of the Peace was undecided, *Popillius* suspended Hostilities in *Hither Spain*; and *Numantia* had a whole Year's Time to breathe, and prepare for the worst. The *Roman Consul* continued in a manner [108] idle in his Camp, waiting for new Orders from the Republick. Whilst *Cæpio* restored that Order and Regularity in *The Further Province*, which the Wars with *Viriatus* had destroyed. He took Possession of the Rebellious Cities, forced the Husbandmen to return to their Lands and cultivate them, renewed the Commerce which had been interrupted, revived the ancient Laws and Customs, and put this Country in a Condition to be soon able to pay to *Rome* the old Contributions. In short, had his Victory been as honourable as it was compleat, few Generals would have better deserved the Honours of *a Triumph*. But the manner in which *Viriatus* had been assassinated, and the Clamours of the Publick on that Account, were invincible Obstacles in the way to that Honour, which the Senate and People might otherwise have done him. He peaceably waited for his Successor, who came to him from *Rome*, after his two Years of Government were expired.

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Pub. Scipio Nasica, & D. Junius Brutus, Consuls.

§. XXXVI. In *The Field of Mars*, two *Patricians* were chosen *Consuls*, whose Provinces were allotted them as usual. The Government of the Affairs of *Italy* fell to *Publius Scipio Nasica*, that of *The Further Province* to *D. Junius Brutus*. And as to *The Hither Province*, the Administration of Affairs there, was continued in the Hands of *Popillius Lænas*, with the Title of *Pro-Consul*. It was therefore his Lot to renew the War with the *Numantini*; and what Success he had in this Expedition against a People who were justly enraged at the fraudulent Proceedings of a General, whose Republick had suffered him to escape unpunished, will soon appear. In the mean time, we must attend to the Disturbances which were raised at *Rome* by *The Tribunes of the People*, before *Brutus* embarked. It was necessary to make new Levies in the City, to recruit the Troops in *Spain*. Many of those *Legionaries* whom *Pompey* had so ill governed in his Province, had dispersed themselves, and several of them had ventured to return to *Rome*, before they had obtained leave to quit the Army. The Desertions were become intolerable, and it was necessary to make some Examples. The People therefore treated one *Caius Mutianus*, who was the greatest Criminal, with great Severity. He was doubtless an Officer, if not a *Centurion*, or even a *Military Tribune*; and his Punishment was both infamous and painful. After he had been beaten with Rods for a great while, under the *Furcæ Patibulares*, he was reduced to the State of a Slave, and for the greater Ignominy, was sold for one single *Sesterce*; and some others of his Accomplices underwent the same Punishment.

Epit. Livian. Frontin. Strat. B. 4. c. 1.

This Judgment in a military Cause, had been given at the Motion of *The Tribunes of the People*; who had taken the Cognizance of it from the *Consuls*, contrary to rule and ancient Custom; and this increased the Confidence of the *Plebeian* College. They usurped

[108] All *Popillius's* Campaign, says *Appian*, was only a fruitless Expedition against the *Lusones*, a People near *Numantia*, whom *Strabo* places towards the Springs of *The Tagus*, and *Orvelius*, near the Banks of *The Ebro*.

new Rights, tho' the *Conſuls* were both *Patricians*. They inſiſted on it as their Right, that for the future each *Tribune* ſhould have the Power, whenever new Levies were made, to excuſe any ten Perſons whom he pleaſed from military Service. This was a very extraordinary Claim, though not a new one. The *Tribunes* had endeavoured to uſurp this Privilege thirteen Years ago, in the *Conſulſhip* of *L. Lucullus*, and *A. Poſtumius*; but now, they carried every thing with Violence. One *Caius Curatius*, the hotteſt and moſt ſeditious of them, cited the *Conſuls* to appear before the People, accuſed them of making their Levies with an intolerable Rigour; and by that means gained the *Tribunes* their Point. The latter repreſented to the People, That in order to reſtrain the Severity of the former, who little regarded the Intereſts of the Commons, it was neceſſary that each *Tribune* ſhould have the Privilege before-mentioned. The Commons thought they ſhould find their Account in it, and the Law was ready to paſs. But ſtill the *Conſuls* oppoſed it with a noble Steddineſs worthy of their Birth and Station: And then they were treated with the utmoſt Indignity and Contempt. The inſolent *Curatius*, a Man equally deſpicable on account of his Perſon and his Birth, ordered them to be carried to Priſon; and added Inſults to this ill Treatment. As the Officers were baſely dragging the illuſtrious *Naſica* thro' the Streets of *Rome*, *Curatius* gave him a Nick-name, which he could never get rid of. From his ſomewhat reſembling one *Serapio*, a vile Pig-Seller, who furniſhed Pigs for the publick Sacrifices, the *Tribune* called him *Serapio*. All Men of Honour murmured at the Inſolences of the *Tribunes*; but the ten Collegues were ſo united, that not one of them could be prevailed on to withſtand the Violence of the Body; and the two *Conſuls* choſe rather to give way to their Fury, than to raiſe a Sedition. It was thus that this ſacred Power of *The Tribunes* increaſed, in proportion as Probity decreaſed in the State. We ſhall ſoon ſee greater Storms raiſed by this College; and theſe Beginnings will inſenſibly bring on the Ruin of the Republick.

Year of *ROME* DCXV.

PUB. SCIPIO NASICA, & D. JUNIUS BRUTUS, Conſuls.

Cic. de Legib. B. 3. Epit. Livian. Plin. B. 7.

§. XXXVII. When *Naſica* and *Brutus* came out of Priſon, their Confinement only made them the bolder in ſuppreſſing the Inſolence of the *Tribunes*. The ſame *Curatius*, who had reſolved to humble the *Conſuls*, had inſtigated the People to cry out, *Famine*, in full *Comitia*. Under Pretence that Things were growing very dear, the deſpicable *Tribune* would have compelled the *Conſuls* to have propoſed to the Senate the ſending a Deputation into the Provinces, to get Corn tranſported to the City. But there was no real want of it; and the two Heads of the Republick plainly ſaw, that *Curatius* ſtirred up theſe Complaints, only in order to gain an Aſcendant over the Senate it ſelf. *Naſica* therefore, notwithſtanding his Impriſonment, and the ridiculous Surname which had been given him, reſolved to maintain his Dignity; and when the People were murmuring round *The Tribune of Harangues*, on which he ſtood, the *Conſul*, with an Air of Authority, and majeſtic Tone of Voice, ſpake theſe few Words. *Silence, Romans. Pay due Reſpect to the Preſence of the Heads of the Republick.* Immediately all were ſilent, and not a Murmur heard. And then the *Conſul* added, *Tho' you may pretend to be Judges of the Neceſſities of the Publick, I underſtand much better what thoſe Neceſſities are, than any mutinous Rabble.* This from ſo venerable a Man, ſtruck them with awe, and they diſperſed. The Famine was forgot, and greater Reſpect than ever was paid to the *Conſuls*; whom nothing had moved to give way to *The Tribunes*, but the Fear of publick Confuſions.

Val. Max. B. 3. c. 7.

The Senate ſhewed them an extraordinary Regard, in referring a Trial to them, which regularly was under the Cognizance of the *Prætor*, and removeable from them to the People in the laſt Reſort. All capital Caſes devolved at laſt upon them, and this was a Caſe of Murder. The Foreſt called *Scantia* [109], which belonged to the Republick, had been for ſome Time a Retreat for Robbers and Aſſaſſines. A Company

109 The Paſſage in *Cicero's Brutus*, which informs us of this Fact, is differently repreſented. In ſeveral Editions we read *in Sila Sylva*, as if the Murder had been committed in the Foreſt of *Sila*, and not in that which was called *Scantia*. The latter, according to *Cicero* himſelf, was in *Campania*. He mentions it more than once in his *Firſt Oration on the Agrarian Law*. *Pliny Hiſt. B. 2*, ſpeaks of two *Scantian Waters*, which emitted flames; and which probably took their Name from the neighbouring Foreſt. There now remain no Traces of it. As to the Foreſt of *Sila*, *Strabo* places it in *Bruttium*, on the ſide of *The Apennines*; and makes it 700 *Stadia*, or 87 *Roman* Miles long, which make 29 *French* Leagues. A Part of it is ſtill remaining in the Neighbourhood of *Coſenza*, towards the Springs of *The Crathi*, *The Nicthe*, and *The Triunti*, Rivers of *Calabria*. *Coſenza* is reckoned to be near 80 Miles from *Rheggio*. So that it is paſt Diſpute, that the Foreſt of *Sila* reached beyond the Neighbourhood of *Rhegium* and of the Country of the *Locri*. *Dioſcorides*, *Strabo*, *Pliny*, and *Columella* tell us, That it ſupplied the *Romans* with Plenty of Pitch, which they uſed chiefly in their Shipping.

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of Men who had farmed the Paſtures of that Foreſt, of the laſt *Cenſors*, *Publius Cornelius Scipio*, and *Lucius* [110] *Mummius*, were ſuſpected of theſe Murders; and their Children and Domeſticks were charged with the Robberies of which the Publick complained. The accuſed choſe *C. Lælius* to defend them, whoſe Eloquence was ſmooth and inſinuating, as his Manners: But all he could gain by his firſt Defence was, to have the Affair ſuſpended. He therefore pleaded a ſecond Time with his uſual Politeneſs and Moderation; but theſe are not Qualities which make very ſtrong Impreſſions. However the Cauſe was adjourned; and then the Orator did Juſtice on himſelf. He adviſed his Clients to chooſe another Defender; and told them *Galba* [111], who was a vehement Speaker, would better ſuit their Cauſe. The Clients took the Advice, and *Galba*, after making ſome Difficulties about engaging in a Cauſe, which a famous Orator had ſo well begun, at *Lælius*'s Requeſt, undertook it. The Adjournment was only to the third Day from that Time; ſo that he had ſcarce more than one Day to conſider the Caſe, and prepare his Speech. But he came from his Study, full of that Fire, which ſeemed to have tranſported him during the Compoſition; and never was Speech ſpoken with more Ardour, or heard with more Attention. The Applauſe was general, and the accuſed were acquitted by the *Conſuls*.

Cicero de Bruto.

§. XXXVIII. Whilſt *Brutus*, who was appointed to bring the People of *Further Spain* to their Duty by Force of Arms, was thus detained in the City, by a Train of Civil Affairs; the *Pro-Conſul Popillius* was preparing to march towards *Numantia*. The Orders for renewing the War were received; and their Rage made the *Numantini* little inferior in Strength to the *Roman Legions*. Nevertheleſs, the Deſpair to which the Perfidy of *Rome* had reduced them, did not make them raſh. Their General kept them within their Walls, waiting for the firſt Hoſtilities of the *Pro-Conſul*. Their Army was much ſmaller than the *Roman*; and it was therefore neceſſary to ſupply the want of Numbers by Stratagem; which was attempted thus. The *Numantini* had formerly poſted ſeveral Bodies of Men on their Frontiers, to harraſs the *Romans* as ſoon as they had entered them; but now, they did not ſend one ſingle Detachment into the Field. The nearer *Popillius* came to the City, the more deſolate he found the Country: Nor did one Squadron of the Enemy oppoſe his March. And when he came within reach of the City itſelf, it appeared to be defenceleſs, no Soldiers being to be ſeen on the Ramparts. Theſe Appearances made the *Romans* believe, that *Numantia* was abandoned by its Inhabitants; and the *Legionaries* were very impatient to make themſelves Maſters of it by Aſſault. Their General therefore conſented they ſhould make one, though he was ſtill ſuſpicious of ſome Ambuſcade; and afterwards finding that the whole *Numantian* Army was drawn up in Battalia within the Place, and waited only for the Entrance of ſome of the Aſſailants, to cut them in Pieces, he immediately countermanded his Orders. But as ſoon as the Retreat was ſounded, it was made in ſo tumultuous a manner by Men who were either loaded with Scaling-Ladders, or perhaps returning down them, that *Mageras*, who probably commanded in *Numantia*, made a Sally in ſo good Order, and ſo very ſeaſonably, that he immediately put the Rear-Guard of the *Romans* to the Rout; and then falling furiouſly on the reſt of their Army, he entirely defeated it, and diſabled it from fighting the whole Campaign.

Front. Stratag. B. 3. c. 17.

Epit. Livian.

110 The Text of *Cicero* varies here again. In ſome Editions we read *Picuariis*, which ſignifies, that theſe Farmers had farmed of the *Cenſors* all the *Pitch* which the Foreſt produced. In others we read *Pecuarias*, which ſignifies the *Paſtures* in which the Cattle were fed. We adhere to the latter Reading, which is ſupported by the beſt Authorities.

111 This is the ſame *Servius Sulpicius Galba*, whom we have ſeen exerciſing the moſt horrible Cruelties againſt the *Luſitanians*, in the 4th Volume. *Cicero*'s Character of him, in his *Brutus*, is this. *No Orator of his Age; even Lælius and Scipio not excepted, diſputed the Prize of Eloquence with him.* His Genius, an Enemy to all Reſtraint, could not be confined within the narrow Bounds of a regular ſtrict Method. Hurried away with the Fire of his Imagination, he abruptly broke off the Thread of his Diſcourſe, in order to give it all the Graces and Ornaments of Rhetoric, to embelliſh it with thoſe ſublime Strokes which make ſo lively Impreſſions on the Mind as to ſhake all the Powers of the Soul, and to make his Advantage of every Topick which naturally aroſe from his Subject. It was then he diſplayed the wonderful Talent which he had, of pleaſing, affecting, and intereſting his Auditors in his Quarrel, or of raiſing their Compaſſion if his Subject required it, and in ſhort, of infuſing into them the ſame Paſſions which warmed his own Breaſt. Nevertheleſs *Cicero* acknowledges, that the Orations which remained of his were of a very different Character; that they were dry and tedious, their Style obſolete, and made more in the taſte of the Ancients, than thoſe of *Scipio*, or *Lælius*, or even of *Cato* himſelf. Such has been the Fate of many Orations which have been tranſmitted down to us from the Ancients. When written on Paper, they are only, if I may ſo ſpeak, a ſort of dead Carcaſes, which are no longer animated by that Geſture, Action, and Fire, that Energy, thoſe lively Motions, thoſe luminous Sallies, that Vehemence, and that pathetick Elocution, which are the Soul of true Eloquence.

Indeed,

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Indeed, Fable has not invented any thing more wonderful, than what Hiſtory aſſures us of the inconceivable Exploits of a handful of Men got together in a little paultry Town. But as ſtrange as it may appear, the Fact is indiſputable, that *Numantia* alone coſt the *Romans* more than the Conqueſt of *Macedon*, and of all *Greece* together. Hitherto we ſee, no General has been able to reduce it. All have either loſt their Characters as Generals, or their Reputations as Men of Veracity, before it; and it will hereafter appear, that what we have yet to relate of theſe brave *Spaniards*, will be more prodigious, than all their paſt Exploits.

§. XXXIX. As to *The Further Province*, the *Conſul Brutus* governed it, and made War there, with much more Succeſs and Glory than *Popillius*. He happily executed the Orders he had received from the Senate, when he left *Rome*; which were to make the following Uſe of the great Levies which were made in the City for his Province. 1. *That he ſhould fill up the Places of all the Veterans in the Army with the Youth he carried with him.* 2. *That he ſhould procure an honourable Retreat in* Spain *for the Veterans he ſhould disband, aſſign them Lands for their own Properties, build them a City in a wholeſome and agreeable Situation, ſettle them upon the Foot of other* Roman Colonies; *and to make this the more populous, ſettle with them ſuch of* Viriatus's *Soldiers, as had ſurrendered to* Cœpio. And, 3*dly*, *That he ſhould complete the Reduction of* Luſitania, *and ſubdue the Remains of the Rebels by Force of Arms.* *Brutus* faithfully put theſe Inſtructions in execution; and made it his firſt Buſineſs to disband the Veterans. Then he choſe them a fruitful and convenient Soil, at a little Diſtance from the Sea, and near the Mouth of *The Turia*[112]. There he built a City, peopled it with *Romans* and ſuch *Spaniards* as had ſurrendered themſelves to them, and called his new Colony *Valentia*[113]; which was afterwards a famous Place, and in length of Time became the Capital of the Kingdom of that Name.

Epit. Liv.

App. in Iberic.

After theſe Works of Peace, he betook himſelf to War. *Luſitania* then comprehended within a vaſt Compaſs of Ground, a great Number of different Nations; and from among theſe reſtleſs and warlike People, there were continually ſtarting up Companies of Robbers, who choſe themſelves Leaders, diſperſed themſelves over the Country, and filled it with Rapines and Murders. The firſt Succeſſes of *Viriatus* had emboldened ſome of theſe Leaders of *Banditti*; and they all promiſed themſelves a more happy Fate than that of this famous *Luſitanian*. Their Cuſtom was, to fall furiouſly and ſuddenly on a defenceleſs City, or open Town, or a Detachment of the *Romans*; and when they had killed and ſacked all they could, to retire with inconceivable Swiftneſs to the Rocks and high Mountains, and there divide the Spoil. It being therefore difficult, if not impoſſible, either to overtake them in their Flight, or to

112 This is the Name *Saluſt* and *Plutarch* give to that River of *Spain*, which is now *The Guadalquivir*. *Pliny* calls it *Turium*. In *Pomponius Mela*, and *Cicero's Oration for Balbus*, it is called *Duria*. It diſcharges itſelf into *The Mediterranean*, half a League from *Valencia*. *Hermolaus Barbarus* and *Molet* think, with Reaſon, that it is the ſame River as *The Turulis* of *Ptolomy*. This we judge, by the Situation *Ptolomy* gives it.

113 Such was the *Æra* of the Foundation of *Valentia*, according to the Epitome of *Livy*. *Annius of Viterbo*, an Author infamous for his Lyes and Dreams, which he palms on us for ſo many Truths, took it into his Head, That one *Romus*, a King of the Country, founded this City, and called it *Rome* from his own Name, 300 Years before the Capital of *Italy* was founded by *Romulus*. But ſuch a Fable built only on the Credit of ſo contemptible a Writer, can impoſe upon no body. This City is called by *Pliny*, *Valentia Conteſtanorum*. *Ptolomy* calls it *Valentia Edetanorum*. It is now the Capital of the Kingdom of *Valencia*, and is called *La Hermoſa*, or *La Belle*, by the *Spaniards*. *Jerom Surita* thinks the City here ſpoken of, was another City of *Valentia*, ſituated on the Banks of *The Tagus*. But no ancient Hiſtorian mentions this City which never exiſted but in Imagination. Some think that the new City built by *Brutus* was the ſame which is now called *Valencia of Alcantara*, which is about four Leagues diſtant from *Portalegre*, on the Confines of *Portugal*, and is watered by the River of *Savar*. And ſome conjecture, that the Place here meant is another City of *Valencia*, ſituated in *Upper Luſitania*, over againſt *Tuy*, near the Banks of *The Minho*. In proof that both the two laſt-named Cities were founded by the *Romans*, they obſerve; 1. That they belonged to *Further Spain* which the *Conſul Brutus* had for his Province: whereas the former of them belonged to *Hither Spain*. 2*dly*, That the City here ſpoken of belonged to, and bordered upon, the Country where *Viriatus* had made War; and that *Luſitania* and its Neighbourhood, were the Centre of the *Spaniſh* General's Exploits. But beſides that, we are not ſure that any other City beſides the Capital of the Kingdom of *Valencia*, was anciently called *Valentia*, the Reader may have obſerved, that *Viriatus* carried his Excurſions far beyond *Celtiberia*. So that it may be preſumed, that this City was as it were a Bulwark, to guard the Neighbouring Provinces againſt the *Luſitanians*. Add to this, that the City, of which *Livy* ſpeaks, is that which ſerved for a Retreat for *Viriatus's* old Soldiers, after they had ſurrendered to the *Romans*: And by an ancient Inſcription dug up in the firſt of the three Cities beforementioned, it appears that the Inhabitants called themſelves *Veterani* and *Veteres*; doubtleſs to ſhew that the City was originally inhabited by Soldiers. And laſtly, *Valencia* had afterwards the Title of *a Roman Colony*. *Pliny* agrees in this particular with the Inſcription.

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come to a regular Engagement with them, they never fighting pitched Battles; the *Conſul* took the only Reſolution that was proper for the Occaſion, which was to enter their own Country. All the fine Provinces which lay between *The* [114] *Tagus*, *The Durius*, *The Bætis*, and *The River of Forgetfulneſs* [115], were a Prey to theſe Rebels; which made the Diverſion very neceſſary: and *Brutus* imagined, that the Love of their Wives, Children, and in a word, of their Country, would bring them back to defend their Lands and domeſtick Gods. The *Roman* Army therefore marched towards the City where theſe Pillagers were born; and the *Conſul*, upon his firſt coming, met with much more Reſiſtance than he had expected. The whole Country took up Arms with a Fury not to be deſcribed. Men, Women, and Children turned Soldiers; and fought with the Courage peculiar to the *Spaniſh* Nation, and which *Rome* had experienced to be ſuperior to that of any Nation in the World. As to the Women in particular, *Brutus*, who firſt experienced their Valour, was aſtoniſhed at it. They were intermixed in the ſame Bodies of Foot and Horſe with their Huſbands, killed their Enemies without Fear, and were killed themſelves without a ſhriek. Nevertheleſs, theſe unfortunate People, who were more brave than ſkilful in the Art of War, were forced at laſt to give way to ſuperior Force. They retired into the Mountains, and carried all the Effects they could with them; and the *Conſul* purſued them thither. In ſhort, he at laſt ſurrounded them, and when he had them in his Power, ſhewed a Regard to their Valour, accepted of their Submiſſion, gave them their Lives, and divided their Spoils amongſt them and his own Soldiers.

App. in Iberic.

Such was the *Conſul*'s firſt Expedition againſt the Nations on this ſide *The Durius*. After this, the *Roman Legions* paſſed that River, and ranged all the Country to *The River of Forgetfulneſs*, or *Lethe*. And here we meet with a very extraordinary Inſtance of the Superſtition of the *Romans*. Becauſe the Poets [116] had given the ſame Name of *Lethe*, to a River in Hell, the whole Army refuſed to paſs this. They thought it was going down alive into the Regions of the Dead, without hopes of Return. And when they ſaw that the Waters of the River were muddy, the *Legionaries* grew ſtill more obſtinate. They thought they were at the Gate of *Tænarus* [117]. But their General was better inſtructed,

114 The *Phœnicians* who formerly poſſeſſed *Luſitania*, gave *The Tagus* the Name of *Tag* or *Dag*, which in their Language ſignified a Fiſh. And indeed this River now abounds with all Sorts of Fiſh, and is reckoned one of the largeſt in all *Spain*. Inſomuch, that the *Portugueſe* call it the King of Rivers. It runs about 110 Leagues in length; riſes in *New Caſtille*, near the Confines of *Arragon*, 3 or 4 Leagues from *Albaraxin*, in a Mountain, in which riſe likewiſe two other pretty conſiderable Rivers, *The Xucar* and *The Guadalaviar*; and after it has croſſed all *Caſtille* from Eaſt to Weſt, it runs into *Portugal*, and falls into *The Atlantick Ocean*, two Leagues below *Lisbon*. *The Tagus* was formerly famous for the Gold Duſt it brought down with its Sand.

115 The ancient Geographers, among the reſt *Strabo*, *Mela*, *Antoninus*, and *Ptolomy*, give *The River of Forgetfulneſs* the ſeveral Names of *Limias*, *Limæa*, *Limium*, *Belio*, and *Oblivio*, which has the ſame Signification in *Latin*, as *Lethe* has in *Greek*. The Natives now call it *The Lima*. This River, which is the moſt Northern one that waters *Portugal*, riſes in a marſhy Part of *Galicia*, between the Cities of *Orenſe*, and *Monte-Rei*. It paſſes by *Soïao* and *Puente de Lima*, and falls into *The Ocean* at *Viana*. The Name of *Lethe* or *Forgetfulneſs*, which the Ancients gave it, was founded on a Fact related by *Strabo*. He ſays, that ſome People who lived on the Banks of *The Guadiana* were forced to abandon their old Habitations by a Sedition which aroſe among the People of the Country, paſſed *The Lima*, ſettled themſelves for good near this River, after they had loſt their Head, and being content with their new Dwellings, FORGOT their Native Country. *Mariana* and *Alvarez de Colmenar* ſpeak alſo of a River of *Lethe* in *Andaluſia*, which is the River now called *Guadalete*. It runs to *Burnos*, *Arcos*, *Xeres de la Frontera*, and *Port St. Mary*; and diſcharges it ſelf into the *Ocean*, to the South-Eaſt of the Mouth of *The Guadalquivir*, and to the North of *The Bay of Cadiz*. There are likewiſe five other Rivers reckoned up which had the Name of *Lethe*. The firſt in *Ionia*, the ſecond in the Iſle of *Crete*, the third and fourth in *Macedon*, and the fifth in *Lybia*, which riſes near *The Great Syrtis*, and after a pretty long courſe, ſinks under ground for the Space of four Miles, and then appears again near the City of *Berenice*. Hence the Poets have taken occaſion to ſay, that it was one of the Rivers of Hell.

116 The Poets formed their Notions of the River *Lethe* from the *Pythagorean* Doctrine concerning the Pre-exiſtence and Tranſmigration of Souls. Agreeably to this Doctrine, they invented a River, which had the Quality of making People forget all things paſt, without leaving the leaſt Trace of them in the Mind; and ſaid, that every Soul was indiſpenſably obliged to drink of the Water of this River before it entered into a new Body. On the other hand, the Advocates for the Tranſmigration, made uſe of this Fiction to explain how the Soul could paſs from one organiſed Body into another, without remembring any thing of its former State, no not even its pre-exiſtence. They contended, that all the ancient Traces which external objects had raiſed in the Mind before its change, vaniſhed, and gave place to new ones. So that, according to their Opinion, the Soul was in effect as much born again, if I may ſo ſpeak, every time it aſſumed a new Body, whether that of a man or Beaſt, as if it had never before exiſted.

117 *Tænarus* is a Promontory of *Laconia*, now known by the Name of *Cape Matapan*, or *Cape Maina*. In the Brow of this Promontory, there is ſo dark and deep a Cavern, that the Poets took it for an Air-Hole, or Gate of Hell. It was through this Place, according to the Fabuliſts, that *Hercules* took his Route,

ed, and less credulous. In order to encourage his Soldiers to follow him, he first snatched a *Roman Eagle* out of an Ensign's Hands, and threw it to the opposite Bank; and then he went over himself and said, *Let who will follow me. It shall, at least, be said, that your General has passed the* Lethe *without dying.* This Example of an esteemed Leader, and the Shame of leaving him alone in an unknown Country, encouraged the *Legions*; and then they passed this formidable *Lethe*, and came into those fine Plains which reach to *The Minius*. However, *Brutus* did not extend his Conquests further in his first Year; and he spent his Winter between *The* [118] *Minius* and *The Lethe*. But we shall see him penetrate into the furthest Corners of *Spain*, the next Year; and carry the *Roman* Name into Countries where it had never before been known.

Epit. Livian.

App. in Iber.

§. XL. The *Comitia* assembled in *The Field of Mars*, conferred the *Consular Fasces* on *M. Æmilius* [119] *Lepidus Porcina*, and *C. Hostilius Mancinus*. And in the mean time the War with the *Numantini* seemed to be grown more furious than ever. Since *Popillius Lænas* had attempted the Siege of *Numantia* with so little Success as has been related, an experienced General was wanted to command the *Roman* Armies in *The Hither Province*. But it unfortunately fell to the Lot of *Hostilius Mancinus* to succeed *Popillius*. The other *Consul* continued in *Italy*: And *Junius Brutus*, after his Success the last Year, was continued in his Government of *Further Spain*. Of the *Prætors* who went to their Provinces, only two are come to our Knowledge. One was *Publius Manilius*, who governed *Sicily*; the other, one *Marcus Claudius Marcellus*, whose Province was *Africa*; and with whom the Misfortunes which seemed to threaten the Republick for the ensuing Year, began. He went with great Gaiety to embark at the Port of *Terracina*, in order to go and take Possession of a wealthy Province. But he was scarce on board, when a Storm arose, the Lightning fell upon his Ship, and burnt it to Ashes. And this first unfortunate Presage was followed by many others. When the *Consuls* went to *Lavinium* as usual, to take the Augury of the Chickens; they were so far from falling greedily to their Meat, that they flew away, and were lost in the Forest of *Laurentum*. This Omen of the sacred Birds, which were never after found, was thought very unlucky by the *Romans*. To which were added, the other Prodigies which were thought to have happened at *Rome*, or were reported there from several Parts of *Italy*. It was said, That Blood was seen to run down at the Palace of the Foreign Ambassadors, and in *The Comitium*; That, on *The Esquiline Hill*, a Colt was foaled with five Legs; That, at *Prænestе*, a long Stream of Flames had been seen in the Air, and Lightning had fallen when the Sky was not overcast; and that the Lake *Fucinus* had overflowed 5000 Paces. All these pretended Presages alarmed *Rome*; unless perhaps the Historians collected them together *ex post facto*, after they had seen the Misfortunes which befell her in the course of this Year. At least, it's certain, that we are not told that the Republick did any thing to expiate them, or prevent the ill Consequences of them.

Jul. Obsequ. c. 83.

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M. Æmilius Lepidus, & C. Hostilius Mancinus, Consuls.

So that Civil Affairs took their usual Course. The Assemblies of the People met as usual in *The Comitium*, and the *Tribunes*, according to Custom, presided in them. And now, *L. Cassius* [120] *Longinus*, one of their Body, undertook to extend the Law

Route, to go and brave *Pluto* in his own Kingdom after he had chained *Cerberus*, which guarded the Mouth of the Cavern. It was said, that the Cave was a Retreat for a sort of Dragon which terrified the whole Neighbourhood. And the Inhabitants of the neighbouring Country imagine to this Day, that the Devil comes out of this Hole every Day, and hunts for Prey round about it, in the Shape of an Hound.

118 *The Minius*, now *The Minho*, rises in *Galicia*, near a Town called *Castro del Rey*; runs from the North-East to the South-East; crosses *Galicia*, and falls into *The Atlantick Ocean*, near the Confines of *Portugal*. Near this River Vermilion is found in great Plenty; and from thence the Ancients gave it the Name of *Minius*.

119 It is conjectured, that *Marcus Æmilius Lepidus Porcina*, was the Son of him, who according to *Livy*, *B.* 39. conducted a *Colony* to *Modena* and *Parma*, in quality of *Triumvir*. Some few Years after, the Senate had sent him on a Deputation into *Transalpine Gaul*, with *Caius Lælius*, in the Year of *Rome* 583. But be that as it will, it is certain, that he who was raised to the *Consulate* in the Year 616, made himself famous for his Eloquence. He was the first of the *Latins*, who knew how to give his Stile that Sweetness and Harmony, which was in a manner become natural to the *Greek* Writers. So that this great Man was so much admired at the Bar, that *Scævola*, one of the Speakers in the *First Book De Oratore*, puts him upon a Level with *Servius Galba*: Though Nature had given the latter so wonderful a Talent for speaking in publick, that *Scævola* himself never speaks of him, but with Ecstacy. *He was*, says he, *a Divine Orator. Equidem & Servium Galbam memoria teneo, divinum hominem in dicendo.* The Famous Orators, *Caius Carbo* and *Tiberius Gracchus* were constant Auditors of *Æmilius*, and formed themselves to Eloquence by this excellent Pattern. These Testimonies which are so much to the Honour of *Marcus Æmilius*'s Memory, are taken from *Cicero*'s *Brutus*. In *Cicero*'s Time, *Æmilius*'s Writings were in every body's Hands, and supported the Reputation he had acquired.

120 The *Cassian* Family was divided into two Branches. The first, which was that of the *Viscellini*, was

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Gabinius had got paſſed, two Years before. It may be remembered, that this *Tribune* had at length got it enacted, That, in the Election of Magiſtrates, the Votes ſhould not be given *viva voce*, but by *Tablets*, or in Writing. But in the Tryals of Criminals it was not ſo; the old Cuſtom ſtill prevailed, and the *Tablets* were not in Uſe. So that *Caſſius*'s preſent Innovation [121] was, That he would have them introduced in theſe Caſes likewiſe. An Alteration, which muſt be allowed to have been good in it ſelf; but it was a new wound to the Power of the *Patricians*; who by their Intereſt with the People, had often ſcreened many Criminals from a juſt Condemnation. However, *Caſſius* drew up his Law, propoſed it to the People, and repreſented the Neceſſity of it. And tho' it was oppoſed by the whole Body of the Nobility except himſelf, *The Second Africanus* promoted it. This Great Man, tho' the Diſpute was carried on with great Warmth on both Sides, was wholly influenced by the Welfare of the Republick; and his Abhorrence of Crimes, made him zealous againſt Criminals, whom the Protection of the Great

was *Patrician*, and gave the Republick ſeveral chief Magiſtrates; among the reſt, *Spurius Caſſius*, ſurnamed *Viſcellinus*, who after he had been honoured with three *Triumphs* and three *Conſulſhips*, was condemned to die, as an Enemy to the *Roman* Senate and People, in the Year of *Rome* 268. The ſecond Branch was that of the *Longi*, and *Longini*; of which were ſome *Tribunes of the People*, and ſeveral Magiſtrates of the firſt Order, whom we ſhall make known in the courſe of this Hiſtory. *Frontinus*, in his Book *Of Aqueducts*, gives *Lucius Caſſius*, the *Tribune of the People* here ſpoken of, the Surname of *Ravula*; probably, becauſe the Colour of his Eyes was reddiſh. *Ravula*, ſays *Feſtus*, *a ravulis oculis*.

[121] *Cicero* ſpeaks of *The Caſſian Law*, in his *Oration for Plancus*, and his *Second Oration for the Agrarian Law*, in the moſt pompous Terms. *It is*, ſays he, *the ſtrongeſt Defence and Support of the publick Liberty. Under the Protection of this ſalutary Law, the Judges can give Judgment in all caſes with Confidence. They have nothing to fear, either from the Artifices of Seducers, or the Violence of Factions, or the Attempts of Men in Power.* Thus ſpake *Cicero* then, as he was led by the Difference of the Times, and the Cauſes which he was to defend. But in his *Third Book of Laws*, he ſpeaks a very different Language. He had here nothing in view but Truth, and the publick Good. Beſides, *Quintus*, his Brother, and *Atticus* his old Friend, were the only Witneſſes of his Diſcourſe; ſo that he could have no Motive to diſſemble, before two Perſons, who had the greateſt Share of his Affection and Confidence: And therefore, he declares his Sentiments with that Openneſs of Heart, upon which he piqued himſelf in his private Converſations. *The Laws concerning Scrutinies*, ſays he, *were made by Men whoſe Probity was not unſuſpected. The Firſt, which related to the Election of Magiſtrates, was made by one* Gabinius, *a very mean Fellow. The ſecond, which ſettled the Method of Voting in criminal Cauſes, was the Work of* Caſſius; *a Man indeed of an honourable Family: But his Family will pardon me, if I ſay, that in declaring himſelf againſt all good Men on this Occaſion, he had nothing in view, but to gain himſelf popularity, which he ſought for by baſe Compliances. The third, which ordered, that the Suffrages ſhould be given in Writing, in paſſing or rejecting Laws, was made by* Carbo, *a ſeditious and a wicked Man. Yet ſtill the Suffrages were given* viva voce, *in Cauſes of High-Treaſon againſt the State, which were the only Caſes* Caſſius *had excepted; and* Cælius *ſoon put theſe on a Level with the reſt.* We ſhall have occaſion to enquire into theſe two Laws hereafter.

§. *See Plate* 4. No. 1.

After the paſſing of *The Caſſian Law*, when any criminal Cauſe was to be tried, either by *The Comitia by Tribes*, or in the *Prætor's* Court, each of the judges had three *Tablets* [or Tickets] given him. On the firſt was written the Letter A, which ſtood for the Word Absolvo, *I acquit*, and by this the accuſed was diſcharged. The ſecond declared him Guilty, by the Letter C, which ſtood for Condemno, *I condemn* him. And by the two Letters on the third, N. L. which ſtood for the Words Non Liquet, the Judge declared, that the Fact in Queſtion did not appear clear to him, and put off the Determination of the Cauſe to another Time. Before Sentence was pronounced, the Opinions were taken. Every Judge privately declared his, by one of the three Tickets or *Tablets*, which he put into a Box appointed to receive them. Then the Opinions were counted, and the Preſident, according to the Majority of them, condemned or acquitted the Accuſed. If the Tickets were marked with the two Initial Letters, N. L, Judgment was ſuſpended, till the Court was better informed; and then the Judge ordered the Suſpenſion of the Cauſe by the Word Amplius. This manner of Voting in ſecret, in criminal Cauſes, was in Uſe among the *Athenians*. Nevertheleſs, it was not approved of by *Plato*, who in his *Third Book of Laws*, declares for Voting *viva voce*, ἵνα φανῇ ὁ νικῶν. And *Ariſtotle* condemns it, in his Book *Of Politicks*, when he ſays, it was the Invention of one *Hippodamus*, who had introduced it, in the Republick of *Miletum*, his native Country. But indeed, after theſe Scrutinies came into uſe, the Judges were no longer expoſed as before, to the Vengeance of thoſe, who were attached, either by Duty or Affection to the Accuſed. It prevented dangerous Animoſities, which aroſe from the Knowledge of Judgments which were openly given; and which raiſed up mutual Hatred in Families which were perpetuated from Father to Son.

But notwithſtanding all theſe Precautions, the new Law gave riſe to new Abuſes, at the ſame that it prevented the Old. The Suffrages were often not ſo ſecretly given, but it was eaſy to diſcover, which of the Judges were for, and which againſt the Queſtion. This was done by giving to each *Tablets* of a particular Colour, or known by ſome particular Mark.

Nevertheleſs, the *Caſſian* Family gloried in being the Authors of this Law, and tranſmitted the Fact to Poſterity on ſeveral Medals. On one §, the Freedom of Voting is repreſented by the Figure of the Goddeſs *Liberty*, which is on the Face of the Medal, with theſe Words round her, Libertas Q. Cassius. This *Q. Caſſius* was doubtleſs the Maſter of the Mint, and one of *Longinus's* Deſcendants. The Urn, and the two Leters A. C, on the Reverſe, are the moſt natural Symbols of *The Caſſian Law*; and the oblong Square which contains the two initial Letters, give us a ſenſible Idea of the *Tablets* or Tickets, on which the Suffrages were given. The round Edifice repreſents the Temple of *Veſta*, as we have obſerved in the firſt Volume. This Temple alludes to the ſevere Judgments *Caſſius* had paſſed in his *Prætorſhip*, againſt the *Veſtals* who had prophaned the Altars of the Goddeſs by their Incontinence. The *Curule* Chair placed in the Porch of the Temple, repreſents the Tribunal from which he gave theſe Sentences;

LIBERTAS Q·CASSIVS
1
AC
2
S
L·ONGINIVS
A
3
ΘΕΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ
4
ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ
ΡΟΔ
ΣΙΔ
5
ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ
ΤΡΥΦΩΝΟΣ
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ
6
ΑΥΤΟΚ·Κ·Μ ΙΟΥΛΙΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ ΣΕΒ
ΘΕΑΣΣΥ · ΡΙΑΣΙΕΡΟΠΟ
ΛΙΤΩΝ
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ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ
ΠΥΛΑΙΜΕΝΟΥ
ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ
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ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ
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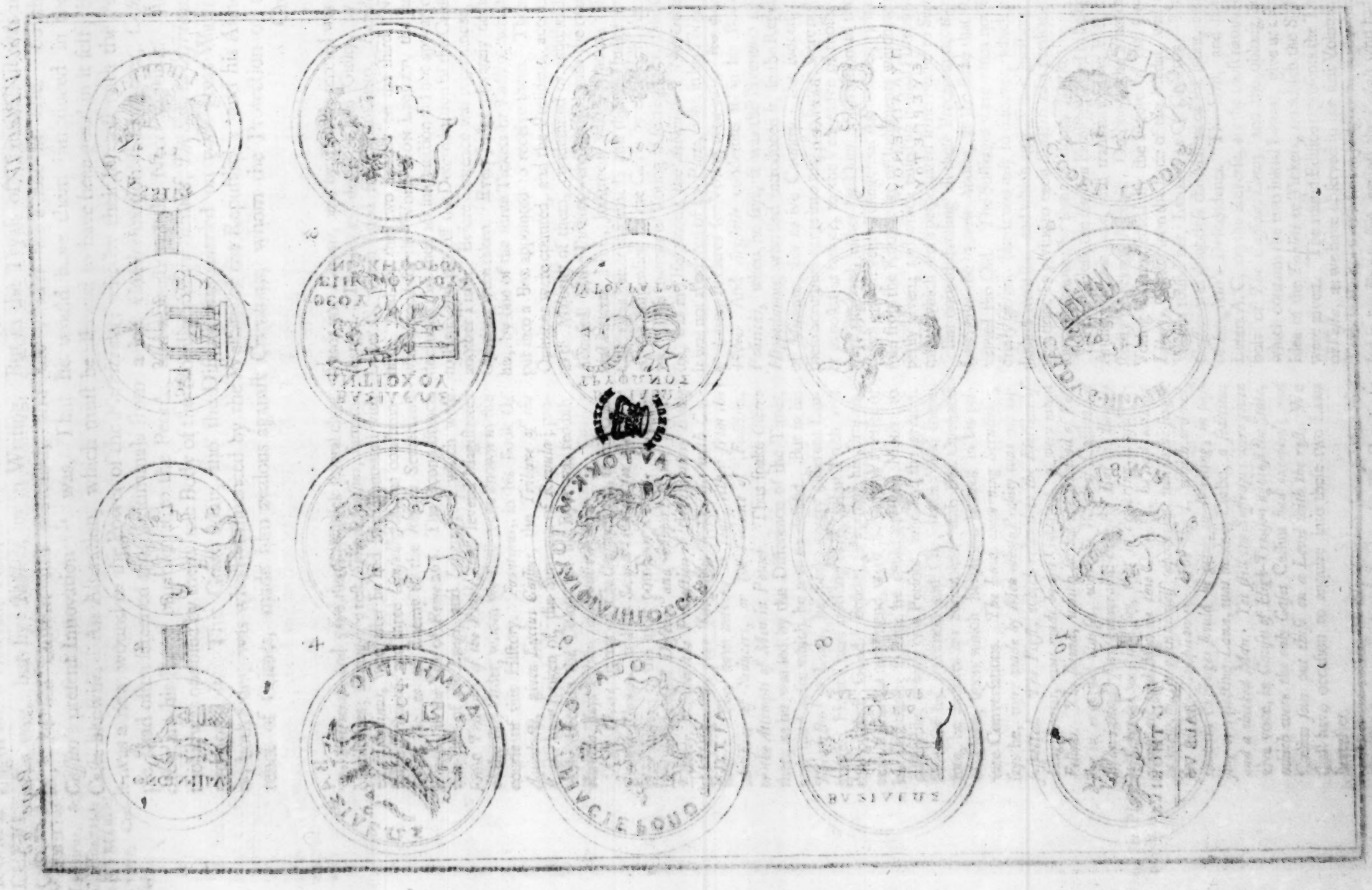

Year of ROME DCXVI.
M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS, & C. HOSTILIUS MANCINUS, Conſuls.

Great too often ſcreened from Puniſhment. In vain then did the *Conſul* [122] *Æmilius* ſpeak againſt the new Law: In vain did the Nobility procure one of *The Tribunes of the People*, named *Antius*, to proteſt loudly againſt this Innovation. *Scipio* made *Antius* deſiſt from his Oppoſition; and at *Caſſius*'s Motion, a *Plebiſcitum* was paſſed, and afterwards obſerved, which ran thus. *Except in the Caſe of Treaſon againſt the State, Judgment ſhall be given* by Tablets *in all criminal Cauſes, which are brought by Appeal before the People.* The *Romans* were doubtleſs perſuaded, that Traytors to their Country were too odious to the *Citizens*, for any of them to be ſo far influenced by any Fears, as not to vote openly for their Puniſhment.

However, its certain, *Scipio Æmilianus* incurred the Diſpleaſure of the Nobility and Senate, by thus having appeared too Zealous for *The Caſſian Law.* And ſince, *The firſt Africanus*, who was his Grandſon's Paſtern, had formerly retired from *Rome* at a Time when his Credit there was diminiſhed; why may we not conjecture, That *The Second Africanus* took the like Reſolution, in the like Circumſtances? This was the only Motive, that could make him conſent to take a Voyage to *Aſia*, in quality of an Ambaſſador.

rences; a part of which will be ſpoken of hereafter. The Reverſe of another Medal * alluding to this Law, needs not to be explained. In the *Citizen* who throws down a *Tablet* marked A, we ſee the Obſervation of *The Caſſian Law*; and the Name of *Longinus* III. V. points out one of the *Triumviri Monetales*, who was of the Family of *Caſſius Longinus*. Indeed, it is ſurprizing, that *Cicero* ſhould ſeem to ſuſpect the Virtue of a Man, who made Criminals tremble, and whoſe Tribunal was thought very fatal to all Offenders. But he judges otherwiſe of him in other Parts of his Works, and makes him abundant amends for the Injury he ſeems here to do him on account of his new Law. In order to juſtify *Cicero*, we muſt diſtinguiſh *The Tribune of the People*, from him before whom the *Veſtals* were tried; but whether there is Reaſon ſo to do, will be examined into hereafter.

122 The Steps the *Conſul Æmilius Lepidus* took, to oppoſe the new Law, exaſperated *Lucius Caſſius*, who did not loſe time in revenging himſelf. This *Tribune of the People*, accuſed him as a Criminal, for having built too high a Country-Houſe, at a great Expence, in the Territory of *Alſium*, a City of *Hetruria*, ſituated near the Mouth of *Tyber*, and already mentioned, Vol. 3. This publick Expence was deemed an open Breach of the ancient Laws, which tended to ſuppreſs the Luxury of the *Citizens*. *Caſſius* brought his Accuſation before *The Tribunal of the People*, and had Intereſt enough to gain his Point. The Majority of the Suffrages were againſt the accuſed, and *Lepidus* had the Mortification to ſee himſelf condemned to pay a large Fine.

* See *Pl.* 4. *N.* 2.

THE
Roman Hiſtory.
BOOK L.

Year of *ROME* DCXVI.

M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS, & C. HOSTILIUS MANCINUS, Conſuls.

§. 1. WHILST the Arms of *Rome* were thus employed in the Weſt, the Eaſt, which ſhe had too much neglected, ſeemed to have little more to do with her. The ſeveral Kingdoms of *Aſia*, and chiefly *Egypt*, had in a manner thrown off all Dependance upon her: A Stop having been put to thoſe frequent Embaſſies from *The Levant* to *Italy*, which brought thither the Complaints of the Eaſtern Monarchs, and both honoured and enriched the *Roman* Senate. The Capital of the World was no longer filled, as formerly, with *Aſiaticks*. Nevertheleſs, almoſt all the States in *Aſia* were in a Flame. They now diſputed their Quarrels among themſelves; without the Conſent, and often contrary to the Intentions, of *Rome*. But at length, the Senate applied themſelves afreſh to their true Intereſt; reſolved to revive the old Correſpondence between the *Aſiaticks* and the Republick; and very prudently pitched on very proper Perſons to be ſent on an Embaſſy to all the Courts of *The Levant*. *Scipio Æmilianus* and *Mummius*, whoſe *Cenſorſhip* [1] was juſt expired, were appointed to make a general Viſit, both to the Countries ſubject to *Rome*, as *Macedon* and *Greece*; and to the Monarchies which were only in Alliance with her, as thoſe of *Pergamus*, *Bithynia*, *Syria*, *Judæa* and *Egypt*. And it is highly probable, that *Lælius*, that faithful Friend of *Scipio*, got himſelf nominated for the third Ambaſſador; ſince it is very unlikely, that a Man of his conſequence ſhould undertake ſo long a Journey purely to accompany his Friend. But be that as it will, *Scipio* took no Attendants with him but one Man of Letters, named *Panætius* [2], a Philoſopher by Profeſſion, and of an eſtabliſhed Reputation; nor any Guard or Equipage, more than five [3], or at moſt ſeven, Slaves. This great Man founded not his Hopes of Succeſs in his Negotiations on a ſplendid Train, ſo much as on the Renown of his Name, which was ſpread throughout all the World.

Strabo, B. 14.

Val. Max. B. 4. c. 3. *Cicero, in Somnio Scipionis.*

Athenæus, B. 6.

When the Ambaſſadors came to *Macedon*, they found its Peace diſturbed by a new Uſurper, named *Perſes*, who pretended to be a King's Son, and laid Claim to the Crown. *Greece* only was in Tranquillity. The *Achæans* ſtill enjoyed that profound Peace which was procured for them by this very *Mummius*, whoſe Preſence could not

Juſtin, B. 38.

1 Authors differ about the Year of *Scipio Æmilianus*'s Departure. *Valerius Maximus* ſays, it was after he had twice enjoyed the Honours of a *Conſulſhip*, and of a *Triumph*: And *Cicero*, in his ſecond Book *Of Academical Queſtions*, ſeems to have been of the ſame Opinion. But, in his *Somnium Scipionis*, he places *Æmilianus*'s Embaſſy, between his *Cenſorſhip* and his ſecond *Conſulſhip*; and we have choſen this laſt Period, as moſt agreeable with the whole Courſe of his Life.

2 *Suidas* mentions two Philoſophers, who bore the Name of *Panætius*, the older, and the younger. The Perſon here ſpoken of is the latter, who according to *Strabo*, was born in the Year of *Rome* 581, about the 152 *Olympiad*. Beſides the Friendſhips he contracted with *Scipio Æmilianus*, *Lælius*, and *Fannius*, the Son-in-Law of *Lælius*, he had the Honour to have the famous Hiſtorian *Polybius* for his Diſciple. Tho' a *Stoick* by Profeſſion, he did not approve of either the extravagant Maxims, or the Sophiſms, of his Sect. He was a great Admirer of *Plato*, *Ariſtotle*, and *Theophraſtus*. *Cicero* and *Diogenes Laertius* commend him in ſeveral places of their Works, and give him the firſt Rank among the *Stoick* Philoſophers. He died at *Athens*, in the Year of *Rome* 650. Several Writings are aſcribed to him; among the reſt, *A Treatiſe on Politicks*, another *On Conſtancy in Grief*, and a third *Of the Tranquillity of the Soul*. *Porphyry* tells us likewiſe that he wrote a Book on Geometry and Muſick; and St. *Ambroſe* and *Cicero* particularly extol thoſe he wrote on the Duties of Civil Life. *Athenæus* ſpeaks of a Society of Philoſophers called *Panætiaſts*, perhaps ſo called, becauſe they followed the Principles and Doctrine of *Panætius*.

3 *Athenæus* mentions only five Slaves in *Scipio*'s Train; one of which died on the Road: But his place was ſupplied by another, whom the Ambaſſador deſired his Friends to buy for him.

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but be agreeable to them. In *Egypt*, *Phyſcon*, a Monſter, rather than a King, poſſeſſed alone the Throne [4], which had been left him by his Brother *Philometor*. The Mind of the new Monarch was leſs ſupportable than his Body, though he was frightfully deformed; and he too plainly diſcovered his Temper, the Moment he took Poſſeſſion of the Crown. *Philometor*, according to the Cuſtom of the Kings of *Egypt*, had married his Siſter *Cleopatra*, who had borne him a Son, whoſe Birthright the Throne was. *Phyſcon* therefore, as ſoon as he ſaw the Power in his Hands, not only married his Brother's Widow, thereby the better to ſecure his Authority; but even during the Nuptial-Feaſt murdered

4. *Ptolomy Euergetes* then reigned in *Cyrenaica*, which had fallen to him for his Share. According to *Juſtin*, the Grandees of the late King's Court, ſent Ambaſſadors to him to offer him the vacant Throne, and a Marriage with *Cleopatra*, his own Siſter, the Widow of his Brother *Philometor*, and the Guardian to his Nephew. Soon after he entered *Alexandria*, he cut the Throats of all thoſe who were attached in Duty and Fidelity to his Ward, as lawful Heir of the Crown of *Egypt*. And as he could not but look with Jealouſy on the young Prince, whoſe Birth entitled him to the Monarchy, the Traitor ſoon got rid of him. The Infant, yet very young, was in the Arms of his Mother, juſt married to *Euergetes*, when this barbarous Prince murdered him, in the midſt of the Rejoicings of the Nuptial Feaſt.

But if we may believe *Joſephus*, in his *Second Book againſt Appion*, the Uſurper did not wait for an Embaſſy from *Alexandria*. As ſoon as informed of the Death of his Brother, he left *Cyrene*, and repaired to the Capital. Then he immediately formed the Deſign of driving from the Palace the Princes his Nephews, and their Mother *Cleopatra*; and *Onias*, the laſt *Jewiſh* High-Prieſt of that Name, took up Arms, according to his Hiſtorian, in defence of the Queen. The new King, tranſported with Rage at this News, immediately made the *Jews* of *Alexandria* feel the Effects of his Vengeance. He inſtantly condemned them all to be trod to Death by Elephants. But by the miraculous Interpoſal of Omnipotence in their Favour, all thoſe unhappy People eſcaped the Fury of theſe formidable Animals. But it is eaſy to ſhew by the Hiſtory of the *Maccabees*, That all this Story is an Invention of *Joſephus*; and That to do the more Honour to his own Nation, he has related a Fact here, which had paſſed in the Reign of *Ptolomy Philopator*. Can any Man believe that *Onias*, who was then a Fugitive in *Egypt*, could raiſe in a Foreign Country an Army ſtrong enough to reſiſt a powerful King? However, it is certain, That this wicked Prince made himſelf the Curſe of his People by unparallelled Cruelties. They who had the greateſt Share in the Confidence of his Brother *Philometor*, were firſt ſtripped of all they had, and then either executed, or baniſhed. Others were ſacrificed to his Suſpicions, and died in Tortures. So that the *Alexandrians*, tired out with his Tyranny, waited only for an Opportunity to ſhake off the Yoke; and *Ptolomy*, to get rid of his Fears of a People ready to revolt, and to provide for his ſafety, reſolved on a general Maſſacre of all the Strangers and Citizens in *Alexandria*. He ordered them to aſſemble in the *Gymnaſium*, the place appointed for bodily Exerciſes; and both Men and Women ran thither in Crowds. The poor Creatures knew not that he called them together only to deſtroy them; and when he ſaw the Multitude of People aſſembled there, he ordered fire to be ſet to the *Gymnaſium*. Then great Numbers of theſe Perſons, who were brought from all parts of *Alexandria*, either by the Commands of their Prince, or their Curioſity, periſhed in the Flames; and they that eſcaped the Fire, could not avoid the Swords of the armed Battalions, which the Tyrant had placed at all the Avenues. Theſe bloody Scenes therefore made the reſt of the Inhabitants of the Capital tremble, and fearing the ſame Fate themſelves, they determined to prevent the Blow with which they were threatened. They aſſembled tumultuouſly, without following any guide, but their Rage and Deſpair; and running to *Ptolomy's* Palace, ſet Fire to it, and reduced it to Aſhes. The wicked King, to eſcape the ſearch of theſe furious Men, had fled, and retired to the Iſland of *Cyprus*, which then belonged to the Crown of *Egypt*. And fearing leſt the People of *Alexandria* ſhould take his Son by *Philometor's* Queen, who was brought up at *Cyrene*, and place him on the Throne, he took care to have him privately conveyed to *Cyprus*. He was followed to his Retreat by *Cleopatra*, his Niece, now his Wife, ſince he had put away the Queen her Mother; and he had the Mortification to hear there, that the *Egyptians*, after they had thrown down his Images and Statues, had juſt given the Sceptre to *Cleopatra*, his Siſter, and former Wife. At this News, his Rage ſtifled all natural Affection in him; and the unnatural Father, conſidering his Son *Memphis* only as *Cleopatra's* Child, reſolved to revenge the Mother's Quarrel upon him. The Beaſt had not Paternal Tenderneſs enough to give him Horror at ſpilling the Blood of a young Prince, his own Son, and amiable for his Beauty and riſing Vertues. He cauſed his Throat to be cut in his own Sight, and then ſent his Limbs, after he had been cut in Pieces, ſhut up in a faſtened Cheſt to *Alexandria*. The Meſſenger, who had the care of this melancholy Charge, took care to convey it privately to the Gate of the Queen's Palace, on her Birth-Day, which the People were then celebrating. But when the Cheſt was opened, this terrible Sight changed the publick Joy into a general Mourning; and Grief, rather than the Ambition of Reigning, armed the Queen againſt *Ptolomy*. She applied her ſelf to her Son-in-Law *Demetrius Nicanor*, to whom the King of the *Parthians* had lately given leave to return into *Syria*; and promiſed him to put him in poſſeſſion of the Crown of *Egypt*, if he would join his Forces to hers, to oppoſe a Brother whom ſhe deteſted. And indeed *Ptolomy* was come out of the Iſland of *Cyprus*, at the Head of a numerous Army; and the total Defeat of *Cleopatra's* Troops, and the taking *Marſias* their General, opened him an Entrance into his Dominions. To the great Surprize of all the World, he pardoned his Priſoner; and this ſingle Act of Clemency appeaſed the Fury of his Subjects. So that he entered *Alexandria*; whilſt *Cleopatra* eſcaped into *Syria*. She had no other Refuge in her Misfortunes. She could no longer depend on *Demetrius Nicanor*, whom the new Troubles in *Antioch* had forced to abandon the Siege of *Peluſium*, in order to ſecure his own Dominions.

Thus *Ptolomy* remounted the Throne; and kept the Name and Authority of King, till the 29th Year of his Reign, and the 67th of his Life, which ended about the Year of *Rome* 636.

It is hard to believe, that a Prince who is repreſented as ſuch a Monſter by the Hiſtorians, ſhould have deſerved the Reputation of being the Reſtorer of Letters in *Egypt*. But this Fact is atteſted by *Athenæus* in ſeveral places. He ſays that *Ptolomy*, in the ſhort Intervals which were between his Debaucheries, applied himſelf, of his own accord, to the Study of the

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murdered the Child who was born to the Crown, even in his Mother's Arms. And notwithſtanding this barbarous Act of Cruelty, the inhuman King took the Name of *Euergetes*, that is, *The Beneficent:* But the People of *Alexandria* ſoon changed it into that of *Chacergetes*, that is, *The Miſchievous*. And indeed, his Reign was nothing but one continued Series of Baniſhments, Murders, and Oppreſſions, with reſpect to his People; and of Brutality and Debauchery, with reſpect to himſelf. His Guards were compoſed of only *Greek* and *Aſiatick* Soldiers, all Mercenaries; and their whole Employment was to murder the rich Inhabitants of *Alexandria*, and plunder their Houſes. So that, this City which was the largeſt, and moſt populous of any in the World, was ſoon deſerted by its old Citizens; and *Phyſcon*, in order to get himſelf Subjects, gathered together all the Rogues and Banditti he could, from foreign Countries. It was juſt at the Time of theſe Tranſmigrations, that [5] *Scipio*, and the Ambaſſadors his Collegues, landed at the Port of *Alexandria*; and the more conſcious the King of *Egypt* was of his Crimes, the more Reſpect and Submiſſion he affected to ſhew to the *Roman* Deputies. He went to meet them; but made ſuch an Appearance, as gave them a great Contempt of him. Nothing could be more frightful than his Perſon. He had a great Head and a broad Face ſhockingly ugly, upon a ſhort, fat, ſquat Body, with a Belly enormouſly prominent. And his Dreſs was agreeable to his vitious Diſpoſitions. He wore only a fine Stuff, which was ſo tranſparent, as to leave thoſe Parts viſible, which Modeſty obliges us to conceal. The chaſt *Scipio* and his Collegues, were extreamly offended at theſe Indecencies, but they had no right to reform them. At leaſt, they kept themſelves upon the Reſerve, till they came to repreſent to the Senate after their Return, the extravagant Scenes, of which they had been Eye-witneſſes in *Egypt*.

Juſtin, B. 36. §. II. From *Alexandria*, the three Ambaſſadors ſailed for *Pergamus*, where *Attalus* then reigned. He was the Son of the famous *Eumenes*, of whom we have ſaid ſo much, and whoſe Attachment to *Rome* had not always been equal. When *Eumenes* died, he left this Son very young, under the Guardianſhip of Prince *Attalus* his Brother, who governed the Kingdom 20 Years, in a faithful and conſtant Correſpondence with *Rome*, to whom he was an invariable Friend. And when this virtuous Prince reſtored the Crown to his Nephew, the latter was as well affected to the Republick as himſelf. But, with all his Care, and the beſt Education he could give him, he could not ſubdue the cruel Temper of his Ward. However, young *Attalus* ſtill loved his Mother *Stratonice*, and his Wife *Berenice*, with the Affection of a good Child, and the Tenderneſs of a fond Huſband. But when they died, he ſet no Bounds to his Grief. Being perſuaded, that the Princes of the Blood, and the Chief Lords of his Court had procured their Deaths, he cauſed them all to be maſſacred, and filled their Palaces with Blood and Slaughter. However, he at laſt alleviated his Sorrow as well as he could, by erecting a ſtately Mauſoleum in Honour to his Mother; and by this Act of filial Piety, procured the Surname of *Philometor*. Nevertheleſs, being conſcious of the many Murders he had committed, and imagining that the *Shades* of his Relations were perpetually haunting him, this threw him into a deep Melancholy; and he at firſt confined himſelf to his Palace, and would ſee no body. He let his Hair and Beard grow, and never appeared in Publick; not even at the great Banquets, which the *Aſiatick* Monarchs frequently made with unparallelled

the Sciences and polite Arts. Nay, according to this *Greek* Author, he had ſo extenſive a Knowledge, and ſo happy a Facility in diſcourſing on all kinds of Literature, that he thereby acquired the Surname of *The Philologiſt*. To which he adds, That he had written 24 Books of Hiſtory, and a ſort of Commentary on *Homer*. He enriched his Library, with the moſt valuable Manuſcripts, which he ſought for, and bought at a great Expence, in all Parts of the World: The *Athenians* ſold him the Works of *Æſchylus*, *Sophocles*, and *Euripides*, for 15 *Talents*, which make 15000 *French* Crowns.

l. s. d. 2906 5 0 *Arbuth.*

His Bounty to Men of Letters and Ingenuity, drew into *Egypt*, Grammarians, Geometricians, Muſicians, Painters, Men ſkilled in all kinds of Manufactures, and Maſters of great Learning and Experience for the forming of Youth. And he moſt ſignally ſhewed his Liberality in favour of one *Panaretus*, a Diſciple of *Arceſilas* the *Academick Philoſopher*, by giving him a Penſion of 12 *Talents*, that is 36000 *Livres*, for Life.

l. s. d. 2325 0 0 *Arbuth.*

[5] The Report of *Scipio*'s coming had reached *Egypt* before him; and upon the News of the Arrival of this great Man, ſays *Plutarch* in his *Apophthegms*, the Inhabitants repaired to the Port, with King *Ptolomy* at their Head. Every one preſſed to ſee a Man, who had filled the whole World with the Fame of his Exploits. Whilſt he was landing, amidſt the Acclamations of a Crowd of People, he had wrapped up his Head in one Lappet of his Robe; but he was forced to comply with the Deſires of the *Alexandrians*, that he would ſhew himſelf openly to them. Then *Scipio* ſaid pleaſantly, with a very low Voice, Theſe People are obliged to us for our coming; it has given them, at leaſt, the Pleaſure of ſeeing their King; alluding to the Cuſtom of the Kings of *Egypt*, and eſpecially the *Ptolomies*, who generally ſhut themſelves up in their Palaces, and ſeldom appeared in Publick. But it is after all uncertain, whether this was not ſaid by *Scipio* when he was on another Embaſſy to the Kingdoms of the Eaſt, about the Year 623.

Splendour

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Splendour. Afterwards, he withdrew himſelf entirely from Buſineſs, and ſhut himſelf up in a Garden which he cultivated with his own Hands. There he planted and cultivated ſome venomous Herbs, which he mixed with wholeſome Pulſe; and in his mad Fits, ſent Packets of them to thoſe, whom his gloomy Diſpoſition led him to ſuſpect: And at laſt, he employed himſelf wholly in the Art of melting Metals. He made Moulds, and caſt Braſs and Wax in them, for Buſts and Statues. In theſe Employments, ſo much beneath the Regal Dignity, *Scipio* and the other *Roman* Ambaſſadors ſurprized him; and found him to retain his Senſes only in this Particular; that his Attachment to the Republick had not been diminiſhed, by that Myſanthropy into which he was fallen. On the contrary, his Affection for her remained even to his Death, and it will hereafter appear to what lengths he carried it.

§. III. *Scipio* ſoon left the Court of a mad King, where nothing but melancholy Objects appeared; and took his Route towards *Syria*. There *Demetrius Nicanor*, the ſecond of the *Seleucidæ* who had aſſumed that pompous Surname, had now reigned eight Years. This Prince, after the Death of *Alexander Bala*, whom he had defeated and put to flight on the Banks of *The*[6] *OEnoparas*, had ſettled himſelf on the Throne; and had made it his firſt Care to remit the Tributes which the *Jews* had long payed to his Predeceſſors. By this means he had perfectly reconciled himſelf to *Jonathan*[7] the High-Prieſt; and his Reign would have been more peaceable, if he had not been ſo imprudent as to diſband his *Syrian*[8] Troops, in order to take Foreigners only, into his pay. *Tryphon*[9], one of the Generals of the preceding King, took occaſion from thence, to raiſe great

Strabo. B. 16.

6 The *OEnoparas*, according to *Strabo*, waters the Territories of *Antioch*.

7 *Jonathan*, according to the Hiſtory of the *Maccabees*, had taken Advantage of the Diſſentions which divided *Syria* between *Alexander Bala* and *Demetrius Nicanor*, to make himſelf Maſter of the Citadel of *Sion*, which kept *Jeruſalem* in ſubjection to the Tyranny of the *Syrians*, and ſerved for a Retreat for the Apoſtates from the Religion of *Abraham*. At laſt *Nicanor* became peaceable Poſſeſſor of the Throne, by the Defeat and Death of his Rival; and the new King was in great Wrath, when he heard that the Fortreſs was beſieged by the *Jews*. He immediately wrote to *Jonathan*, forbidding him to continue the Siege, and commanding him at the ſame time, to meet him at *Ptolemais*. Nevertheleſs, the Holy High-Prieſt did not think himſelf obliged to diſcontinue the Attacks; but he with great Confidence, began his Journey to meet *Demetrius*, attended by the chief Inhabitants of *Jeruſalem*, and loaded with the richeſt Preſents for him. When the King ſaw this venerable Man, his Anger ſoon expired, and he gave him Teſtimonies of a moſt ſincere Friendſhip, in the Preſence of the Lords of his Court. To theſe external Appearances, he likewiſe added more ſolid Advantages. *Jonathan* was confirmed in all his Dignities; and the King of *Syria* for ever diſcharged the *Jews* from all Tributes, upon paying the Sum of 300 *Talents*. So that nothing remained to perfect theſe Favours, except to withdraw the *Syrian* Troops from the Citadel of *Sion*. But the Monarch was inflexible in this Point. He only promiſed, That for the future, *Jeruſalem* ſhould receive no Inſults from the Garriſon. However, this Promiſe was immediately executed; and *Jonathan*, under the Protection of the King of *Syria*, governed his People in Peace. For it is not improper to remark here, that the *Jews*, ſince their return from Captivity, were become a popular State, of which the High-Prieſt was Head, and had the chief Authority. But it is certain, That they were ſucceſſively dependent on the Kings of *Babylon* and *Perſia*, and afterwards, on thoſe of *Syria*, whom after the Conqueſts of *Alexander the Great*, they always acknowledged to be their lawful Maſters. Yet ſtill, they had all along kept Poſſeſſion of a Right, of governing themſelves by their own Laws, of chooſing their own Magiſtrates and Governours of Places, of raiſing Troops for the Defence of their Country, and of diſpoſing of the Finances of the State as they pleaſed.

8 The Hiſtory of the *Maccabees* aſſigns no other Cauſe of the Troubles in *Syria*, but the Obſtinacy of *Demetrius Nicanor*, in diſbanding his old *Syrian* Troops. Theſe brave Men, who were obliged to diſperſe themſelves in the Provinces, ſpread murmurs and diſcontent wherever they came; and *Tryphon*, who wanted only a favourable Opportunity to declare openly againſt *Demetrius*, took Advantage of the general Diſcontent of the Soldiers. We ought not therefore to ſay with *Juſtin*, That the ſole Motive that led the *Syrians* to a Revolt, was their Contempt for a Prince, who gave himſelf up to Effeminacy and the moſt ſcandalous Debaucheries; as he is repreſented by *Athenæus* when he ſays of him *B.* 13, upon the Authority of *Nicolas of Damaſcus*, That he gave up the Government of his Kingdom to the Caprice of *Myrina*, a Courteſan of *Samos*, with whom he was deſperately in Love. Neither had *Livy* any better Authority for ſaying, *Epit. B.* 52. That the unparalleled Cruelties of *Demetrius*, forced *Tryphon* to take up Arms in defiance of the oppreſſed People.

9 *Tryphon*, before his Revolt, was called *Diodotus*. According to *Strabo*, he was born and brought up in the neighbouring City of *Apamea* in *Syria*. As he was eſteemed one of the greateſt Zealots for *Alexander Bala*, *Demetrius Nicanor* admitted him to a ſhare of his Confidence. But an obſcure and private Life did not ſuit the Taſte of a Man of vaſt Ambition. He very early formed vaſt Schemes, and propoſed nothing leſs, than depoſing his lawful Sovereign, and placing himſelf in his Throne. And *Strabo* ſays, That after he had formed this Deſign, he ſeized the Fortreſs of *Coræſtum* in *Cilicia*, and made it his Magazine of Arms. From thence he ſpread the Fire of Sedition in all the Country. He then aſſembled together a Company of Pyrates, who ſcoured the Seas with Impunity, and ſtole the Inhabitants of the Coaſts, to carry them to *Delos*, where they ſold them to the *Romans*, who ſince the taking of *Carthage* and *Corinth*, piqued themſelves upon having a great Number of Slaves in their Service. The Indolence of *Demetrius Nicanor*, adds the ſame Author, the Avarice of the Governours who had their Share of the Profits of this infamous Trade, and the Connivance of the King of *Egypt*, a declared Enemy to the King of *Syria*, encouraged theſe Robberies. Theſe Diſorders, and the other Troubles in the Eaſt, determined the *Roman* Senate to ſend *Scipio Æmilianus*, to inform himſelf upon the Spot, of the State of the Provinces of *The Levant*; in order, ſays *Strabo*, not

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great Diſturbances. He knew that the Son of *Alexander Bala*, named *Antiochus* [10], lay hid in *Arabia*, with a Lord named *Emalchuel*; and he with great Difficulty prevailed to have the young Prince committed to his Care, upon an Aſſurance that he would ſeat him on his Father's Throne. As ſoon as young *Antiochus* [11] appeared in *Syria*, all the Troops of the diſbanded Army aſſembled to him; and *Tryphon* put himſelf at their Head. In the mean time, a more imminent Danger threatened *Demetrius*. The whole City of *Antioch* declared againſt him, and his foreign Guards. To prevent therefore a general Revolt, the King of *Syria* had recourſe to *Jonathan* the High-Prieſt, who ſent him 3000 brave *Iſraelites*, whoſe Religion, the only true one, made them faithful: And theſe Succours came very ſeaſonably. *Antioch* had raiſed 120000 Men within her ſelf, to deſtroy her King. But the 3000 *Jews* relieved him in a wonderful manner. They aſſembled round him, aſſiſted him in making his Retreat to his Palace, then diſperſed themſelves in the City, ſet fire to it, killed 100000 of the Mutineers, and enriched themſelves with the Spoils they found in their Houſes. Who then does not here ſee the Finger of the living God, who was pleaſed to ſhew the viſible Protection he gave his true Adorers, in the midſt of the *Gentile* World? Nothing remained for *Demetrius*, but to make the beſt Uſe of it; and after he had obliged his Subjects to ſue to him for a Pardon, he ſent back the *Jews*, his Deliverers, to *Jeruſalem*, loaded with Spoils and Preſents.

1 *Mac.* 11.

He had likewiſe promiſed *Jonathan* to take out of the Citadel [12] of *Jeruſalem* the uncircumciſed Troops, which had been long in Poſſeſſion of it. This Gratitude required at his Hands; and *Jonathan* had ſtipulated for it, as the Reward he was to have for the Troops he had ſent to *Antioch*. But the Danger was no ſooner over, than *Demetrius* forgot his Promiſes. He was ſo far from withdrawing the *Syrian* Garriſon from that Fortreſs, where they had the Temple of the true God in their Power, that he even levied upon the *Jews* their ancient Tributes; and threatned the holy People with a new War. God therefore puniſhed his Ingratitude. *Tryphon*, at the Head of an Army formed out of the Troops which had been fooliſhly diſbanded, led young *Antiochus*, now about ſeven [13] or eight Years old, into *Syria*; gained a compleat [14] Victory over *Demetrius*, under the Auſpices of the young Prince; And this *Nicanor*, who was no longer *a Conqueror* but in Name, fled firſt into *Cilicia*, and from thence to *Meſopotamia*, and the other moſt Eaſtern Provinces of the Kingdom [15] of *Syria*.

10 *Appian* calls this Prince *Alexander*, and not *Antiochus*, contrary to the expreſs Teſtimony of the Holy Scripture, and *Joſephus*. He was the Son of *Alexander Bala* and *Cleopatra*, who left her firſt Huſband to marry *Demetrius Nicanor*. *The Maccabees.*

11 Young *Antiochus* ſeems to have been about ſeven Years of Age, when *Tryphon* drew him from his Retreat, to cauſe him to be acknowledged King of *Syria*: Tho' *Livy* makes him but two Years old. This Hiſtorian herein contradicts himſelf; ſince he owns, *Epit. B.* 55. That *Antiochus* was ten Years of Age when he loſt his Throne and his Life. He had reigned but two whole Years, under the Guardianſhip of *Tryphon*, when he died; and conſequently, according to *Livy*'s other Account, could at moſt, be only entered into the fifth Year of his Age.

12 *Antiochus Epiphanes* had built this famous Citadel, in a Quarter of *Jeruſalem*, called *The City of David*; thereby to ſecure *Jeruſalem* to him, and to make the *Jews* feel the Yoke of Slavery to which he had reduced them. *Apollonius*, the King of *Syria*'s General, immediately gathered into this Forreſs, all the Apoſtate *Jews*, and added them to the Idolatrous Soldiers which compoſed his numerous Garriſon. The new Citadel became the Retreat of all the Rogues and Robbers in *Judæa*; and the Inhabitants of *Jeruſalem* greatly ſuffered long by it, through the Cruelties and Inſults committed there by this inſolent Rabble. See 1 *Maccab.*

13 *Alexander Bala* no ſooner became King of *Syria*, but he married *Cleopatra*, the Daughter of *Ptolemy Philometor*, in the Year of the *Greek Æra* 162, according to the Chronologiſts, which anſwers to the Year of *Rome* 603. Suppoſing then that ſhe bore *Antiochus* nine Months after her Marriage with *Alexander*, the young Prince muſt have been at leaſt ſeven Years old, in the ſecond Year of the Reign of *Demetrius Nicanor*, and the 169th of the *Greek Æra*, when *Tryphon* cauſed himſelf to be crowned King of *Syria*, in the City of *Apamia*.

14 *Athenæus* ſays. *B.* 5, That *Demetrius*'s Army was commanded by General *Sarpedon*; and That the Battle was fought in the Plains of *Ptolemais*.

15 The Kingdom of *Syria*, when it fell to the Share of the firſt *Seleucus*, after the Death of *Alexander the Great*, contained, to the South, *Paleſtine*, *Phœnicia*, and *Cœloſyria*; to the Eaſt, *Adiabene*, *Meſopotamia*, and *Babylon*; to the Weſt, *Cilicia*, *Cappadocia*, and ſome other Provinces; and to the North, *Syria properly ſo called*, and *Comagena*. So that this extenſive Country made one of the moſt powerful Monarchies in the World. The Maſters of theſe vaſt Dominions gave themſelves the Title of Kings of *Aſia*, becauſe the moſt conſiderable and fineſt Part of that great Country was ſubject to their Dominion. Nevertheleſs, in the Reigns of *Seleucus*'s Succeſſors, ſeveral Parts of this great Kingdom diſmembered themſelves from it, either in order to give themſelves Sovereigns of their own, or to recover their Liberty, under the Protection of the *Romans*. In the Time of *Demetrius Soter*, *Syria* was incloſed between *Egypt*, *Babylon*, *The Mediterranean Sea*, *Natolia*, *Pontus*, and the other Provinces which reach from the Coaſts of *The Archipelago* to the Springs of *The Euphrates*.

to appeaſe the Fury of theſe Diviſions, but to make their own Uſe of them. But *Athenæus* is of a different Opinion, when he ſays, That the Deſign of this Embaſſy, was to reſtore Peace to theſe divided Kingdoms, and to the Sufferers all the Spoils of which they had been unjuſtly robbed by theſe Pyrates.

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§. IV. The Son of *Alexander Bala* was therefore now in Poſſeſſion of *Antioch*, and of the Throne, under the Guardianſhip of *Tryphon*, who made it his firſt Buſineſs to gain over *Jonathan*, and the *Jewiſh* Nation. He wrote pacifick [16] Letters to this Pontifical King, ſent him ſome Gold Plate for his Table, permitted him to cloath himſelf in Purple, and gave his Brother *Simon* the Command of all the Coaſt, from *Phœnicia* to *Egypt*. This made *Jonathan* a Friend to young *Antiochus*, and an Enemy to the ungrateful *Demetrius*; and at this Time, this wiſe Conductor of the People of God, renewed his Alliance [17] with *Rome* and with *Lacedæmon*; for the *Lacedæmonians* were likewiſe thought to be deſcended from [18] *Abraham*. Then, under the Protection of the new King of *Antioch*, and the *Roman* Republick, he undertook to cut off all Communication between the City of *Jeruſalem* and the Citadel, (of which the *Syrians* had been Maſters, ever ſince the Time of *Antiochus Epiphanes*) gained his Point, and promiſed himſelf a laſting Peace. But the Ambition of *Tryphon* ſoon troubled his Repoſe. This Guardian of young *Antiochus* advanced towards *Judæa*, with all the Forces of *Syria*. His Point then in view was, to wreſt the Crown out of the Hands of his Ward; and he thought the Faithful *Jonathan* would obſtruct the Execution of his Treachery. And indeed the bold High-Prieſt had penetrated into his Deſigns, and in order to prevent him, went to meet the *Syrian* General at the Head of 40000 *Iſraelites*, and came up with him at *Bethſan* [19] a City of *The Tribe of Manaſſeh*. At the ſight of ſo many Troops, *Tryphon* was intimidated, and had recourſe to Artifice inſtead of Force. No Declaration of War had been made; and the *Syrian* found it eaſy to deceive the *Jew*, with good Words. *To what end*, ſaid he to *Jonathan*, *are all theſe Preparations? Our Hearts are united. Why then theſe Arms and hoſtile Proceedings among Friends? Diſmiſs this uſeleſs Train, and let us go together to* Ptolemais [20]. *I will put you in Poſſeſſion of that City, as a Reward for the Services you have done young* Antiochus. Credulity is too often the Fault of good Men. *Jonathan* truſted to the Fidelity of a Deceiver; diſmiſſed his Army, keeping only 3000 Men with him; and afterwards ſent 2000 of them to *Galilee*. So that he entered *Ptolemais* with a Guard of only 1000 Men, who were all

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1 *Mac.* 12.

16 In the Letter *Tryphon*'s Ward wrote to *Jonathan*, he granted him the Privilege of drinking in a Gold Cup, and of wearing a Gold Claſp, as the Princes of his Blood did; and likewiſe gave him, according to the ſacred Hiſtorian, the Government of four Cities.

17 It was with an intent to ſtrengthen the Alliance already made between the two Republicks, that *Jonathan* ſent *Numenius* and *Antipater* to *Rome*, as is related in the *Firſt Book of Maccabees*. The Ambaſſadors were introduced into the Senate; and had the Pleaſure to find the Senators well diſpoſed towards the *Jewiſh* Nation. After they had aſſured the two Envoys of their Good-will and Protection, they ordered Letters of Recommendation to be expedited for them, addreſſed to all the Princes and Governours of the Countries through which *Antipater* and *Numenius* were to paſs in their return. From *Rome* they went to *Lacedæmon*, where they received the ſame Demonſtrations of Friendſhip.

18 *Arius* King of the *Spartans* or *Lacedæmonians*, in his Letter to the High-Prieſt *Onias*, acknowledges, that the *Lacedæmonians* were deſcended in a direct Line from *Abraham*, as well as the *Hebrews*; and the ſacred Hiſtory is ſo clear in it, as to leave no room for Doubt. The difficulty is, to trace out this Deſcent, which is loſt in the Obſcurity of thoſe ancient Times. The Interpreters who attempt this, give us nothing but Conjectures. Some go back to the Children of *Abraham* by *Keturah*, and are inclined to believe that ſome of them, or their Deſcendants, led a Colony into *Peloponeſus*, and divided themſelves in the different Quarters of that great Province. They ſupport this Opinion on the Authority of *Joſephus*. According to him, *Abraham* perſuaded the Children and Grand-Children he had by *Keturah*, to make new Settlements. Others, as the Jeſuit *Serrarius*, have recourſe to the *Old Scholiaſt* of *Pindar*, who ſays, That *Laconia* was firſt inhabited by the *Achæans*, and then by the *Dorians*; and the latter appear to *Serrarius*, to have been Natives of the City of *Dora* in *Paleſtine*, and conſequently the Deſcendants of *Abraham*. And if theſe Conjectures are not ſufficient, he borrows the Teſtimony of *Stephen of Byzantium*, who ſpeaks of one *Sparton*, a *Jew*, and a Man of *Sparta*, who founded the City of *Azotus* in *Judæa*, and gave it his Son's Name. Whence the Jeſuit concludes, That anciently the *Spartans* and *Jews* were in a manner but one People.

19 The City called *Bethſan* by the *Hebrews*, *Methora* by *Zonaras*, and *Bazan* by *Cedrenus*, ſtood on the Confines of *Galilee*. It is the ſame that is mentioned in the firſt Chapter of *Joſhua*. The *Canaanites* kept Poſſeſſion of this City, which was the moſt Conſiderable one in *Decapolis*, after the *Iſraelites* had conquered *Paleſtine*. It ſtood in the middle of a great Plain, near the Mountains of *Gilboa*, one Mile on this ſide *Jordan*, and 120 *Stadia* from *The Lake of Genneſareth*, according to *Joſephus*; who computes, that *Bethſan* was 600 *Stadia*, or 25 *French Leagues* from *Jeruſalem*. The *Greeks* gave it the Name of *Scythopolis*, as it is called 2 *Mac.* xii; becauſe anciently inhabited by *Scythians*. Theſe People, according to *Herodotus*, had extended their Conqueſts as far as to *Syria* and *Paleſtine*, in the Reigns of *Pſammitichus* King of *Egypt*, and *Cyaxares* King of the *Medes*. *Pliny* pretends, upon the Credit of an ancient Tradition, That *Bethſan* was anciently called *Nyſa*, from the Name of *Bacchus*'s Nurſe, whom the *Scythians* buried near that Place. The Eaſtern Nations now call it *Elbeyzan*. It was on the Walls of this City, ſays *Joſephus*, *Antiqu. B.* 6, That the *Philiſtines* hung up the dead Bodies of *Saul* and *Jonathan*. *Ptolomy* places it, by miſtake, in *Cæloſyria*. The *Talmudiſts* ſay, That before the *Babyloniſh* Captivity, it was ſubject to the *Iſraelites*, who had at laſt driven the *Canaanites* out of it. But, afterwards the *Aſſyrians* made themſelves Maſters of it, and continued ſo, long after the Return of the *Jews*.

20 See Vol. 4. p. 562. Note 57. This City is now known by the Name of *St. John D'Acre*.

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slain by the Inhabitants; and *Jonathan* alone was kept alive, in order to be exposed to more cruel Treatment.

In the mean time all *Jerusalem* thought him dead. His Brother *Simon*, who thought himself the only surviving Son of the five his Father *Mattathias* had had, took upon him the Command of the Troops of his Country; and made haste to revenge the Cause of God, and the Death of his Brother. The *Syrian* Army, on the other hand, left *Ptolemais*, advanced towards the Land of *Judah*, and encamped near *Addus* [21] in *The Tribe of Ephraim*. *Jonathan*, loaded with Chains, and narrowly watched, followed *Tryphon* to his new Camp. The *Israelitish* Army marched towards *Addus*, and *Simon* posted himself near the *Syrian* Camp. And then the artful *Tryphon* invented a new Stratagem to rob the *Jews* of their Wealth, and *Jonathan* of his Children. He sent a Deputation to the *Jewish* Camp, to inform *Simon*, That his Brother was alive; That he had detained him Prisoner only on account of the Money he owed to the King of *Syria*; and That he would set him at Liberty, if the *Jews* sent him 100 *Talents* of Silver, and *Jonathan*'s two Sons for Hostages. This the Ambassadors insisted was a necessary Precaution; because *Jonathan* was so much exasperated, that unless he gave them security for his Fidelity, they should always have reason to suspect his joining with the *Egyptians* and *Romans*, to make War upon the *Syrians*. *Simon* had a very good Understanding, and had always preserved that Character among his Brethren; and he was not without his Suspicions of some hidden Treachery concealed under these artful Speeches. But he was afraid of the Censures of his People. He concluded, That, upon his Refusal, *Tryphon* would put *Jonathan* to Death; and the People ascribe that Death to him as the Author of it, by refusing to send the 100 *Talents*, and the two Hostages. He therefore resolved to comply, perhaps at the Request of the People; the Money was sent, and *Jonathan*'s two Sons went into Confinement to their Father. And then *Tryphon* pulled off the Mask; and openly declared himself an Enemy to the *Jewish* Nation. His Army marched towards *Jerusalem*; and after some Digressions, drew near to [22] *Bascama*, the place which the cruel *Syrian* chose for the Execution of *Jonathan* [23] and his two Sons. But whether he destroyed them by Poison or the Sword, no Historian is exact enough to inform us. Thus perished that virtuous *Jonathan*, that Restorer of the Holy City, and that brave Leader of his People, whom Victory always attended; and in whom, in a Word, Heaven seemed to have revived the great *Judas Maccabeus*. *Simon* succeeded both, and in his turn became the Commander of the People of God; at first indeed with less Authority, but afterwards with a truly regal Power.

After the Death of *Jonathan*, the way was open for *Tryphon* to pursue his Ambition to his utmost Wishes; and the Traitor then turned his Rage against the young King, his Ward, whom he had established on the Throne. This Son of *Alexander Bala* was troubled with the Stone; his Guardian caused him to be cut for it; and ordered the Surgeons to kill him [24] in the Operation. By this means, *Tryphon* made himself Master of a great Part of the Kingdom; and immediately after his Elevation, the Usurper made the *Syrians* feel all the Weight of a Tyrannical Government. Then *Simon* fore-

Joseph, B. 13, *Liv. Epit.*

21 *Addus*, which *Josephus* calls *Addida*, was a City situated on a Mountain, which commanded *The Plains of Judah*, and was not far from *Jerusalem*.

22 The Author of the History of the *Maccabees* says, That the Snow which covered the Ground hindered *Tryphon* from entring into the Country of *Gilead*, and that he therefore stopped near *Bascama*. This City could not therefore stand in *Gileaditis*, as *Josephus* and some Geographers after him have pretended.

23 *Josephus* does not agree with the History of the *Maccabees*, when he says, That *Tryphon* did not form his Design of killing *Jonathan* the High-Priest, and young *Antiochus*, till after *Demetrius* had been vanquished and taken Prisoner, by *Arsaces*, the King of the *Parthians*. At the same time that the sacred Text places the Defeat and Captivity of the King of *Syria*, in the 172d Year of the *Greek Æra*, it tells us, That *Jonathan* and young *Antiochus* had been dead ever since the 170th Year of that *Æra*.

24 As soon as the Traitor *Tryphon* had got rid of his Ward, by assassinating him, he made all haste to secure himself the Protection of the *Romans*. He sent Ambassadors to *Rome*, according to *Diodorus Siculus*, to notify his Accession to the Crown of *Syria* to the Republick; with Instructions to present the *Roman* Senate with the Statue of a *Victory* of solid Gold in his Name, and prevail on them to confirm him in his Title of King. The Statue, according to the same Historian, weighed 1000† of those Pieces of Gold, which were called *Aurei*; each of which was worth 25 *Attick Drachma*, that is, about 12 *Livres*, 10 *Sols*, *French*; as we have observed Vol. 4. p. 488. Note 17. But the Senate were not surprized by the artful *Tryphon*. They received the Present, and ordered the Name of the young King *Antiochus* to be inscribed on the Pedestal. A very notorious Proof that the *Romans* were not inclined to favour the unjust Designs of a Parricide and a Tyrant.

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Add to this, that tho' young *Antiochus* had only the Shadow of a Regal Power, without the thing, he is honoured with the Title of a King in a Medal *. The

* *Pl.* 4. N. 3.

foreſeeing that ſo violent a Reign could not laſt long, no longer kept any Correſpondence but with *Demetrius* [25] *Nicanor*, who was then confined to *Upper Syria*. *Judæa* acknowledged only this Prince to be King, obtained of him a Diſcharge from all Tributes, and recovered a perfect Liberty. Under *Simon*'s Government, the City of *Gaza* [26], which had revolted after the Death of *Jonathan*, was retaken: And to complete the Happineſs of the *Jews*, the Citadel of *Jeruſalem*, of which a *Syrian* Garriſon had now kept Poſſeſſion for ſeven and twenty Years, was forced by [27] Famine to ſurrender. A happy Year! which the holy Nation have ever ſince commemorated with Joy; and which became an [28] *Æra*, by which they dated their publick Acts.

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1 *Mac.* xiii.

§. V. In the mean time, the Kingdom of *Syria* was ſtill divided between *Tryphon*, who ruled in *Antioch*, and *Demetrius Nicanor*, who had fled for [29] Refuge to the *Upper Provinces*, round about *Babylon*. The latter made haſte to aſſemble ſome Troops to go and drive out the Uſurper; and, in order to make [30] new Levies, entered into a Canton of *Media*, which *Arſaces* [31], King of the *Parthians*, claimed as a part of his Territories,

Pl. 4. No. 4.

Lineaments of Youth appear in his Face; and the Reverſe is charged with a *Jupiter*, who holds in his Hand the Image of *Victory*, to point out the Advantages he gained over *Demetrius Nicanor*, the lawful King of *Syria*. The Inſcription of the Medal gives *Antiochus*, beſides the Title of *King*, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, thoſe of GOD, THE ILLUSTRIOUS, and THE VICTORIOUS, ΘΕΟΥ, ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ, ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ. We have elſewhere obſerved, that the Kings of the Eaſt were fond of theſe pompous Titles.

25 *Simon* had ſent Ambaſſadors to *Demetrius* to offer him all the Forces of *Judæa* againſt the Uſurper; but at the ſame Time inſiſted, That the King ſhould engage to obſerve the antient Treaties, and leave the *Jews* in the full Enjoyment of all their Privileges. *Demetrius* having no better Reſource, in the melancholy ſituation of his Affairs, granted all, and received from the Envoys, the Golden Palm-Tree and Crown, which the High-Prieſt ſent him, by way of Homage.

26 *Gaza*, called alſo *Gazara*, was formerly one of the five chief Cities of the Country of the *Philiſtines*. After it had been conquered by the *Iſraelites*, it became a part of *The Tribe of Simeon*. *Alexander the Great* deſtroyed it. In its neighbourhood was built another City of the ſame Name, at a little Diſtance from the Mouth of the River *Bezor*, and from *Aſcalon*. It had a Port, 20 *Stadia*, or a little League, beyond its Walls. This City is famous for the Exploits and Death of *Samſon*. We muſt take care not to confound it with another *Gaza*, near the Confines of *Egypt*. The latter was under the Dominion of the *Ptolomies*. We ought alſo to diſtinguiſh it from another City, called *Gazer*, and *Gazara*, which belonged to *The Tribe of Ephraim*.

27 *Joſephus* had no Reaſon to ſay, That *Simon* cauſed the Citadel of *Sion* to be razed, and the hill on which it was built to be levelled. *The Hiſtory of the Maccabees* tells us in expreſs Terms, that it ſubſiſted, after *Simon* had made himſelf Maſter of it. Beſides, *Joſephus* contradicts himſelf. In his Deſcription of *Jeruſalem*, *B.* 6. of *The Wars of the Jews*, he ſays that the Citadel of *David* then ſtood in the higheſt Quarter of the City.

28 This famous *Epocha* anſwers to the 170th Year of the Empire of the *Greeks*, to the 611th Year of *Rome*, and to the firſt Year of the High-Prieſthood of *Simon Maccabæus*. The *Jews* afterwards annually commemorated this happy time, which put an end to their Slavery.

29 After the Victory gained by the perfidious *Tryphon* over the Army of *Demetrius*, this dethroned King was, for above two Years, a Vagrant and Fugitive in his own Dominions. At length, according to *Joſephus*, the *Greeks* and *Macedonians* ſettled in *Meſopotamia*, ſent a Deputation to invite him to come into their Country, which the Kings of *Parthia* had taken from *Syria*, in the Reign of *Demetrius Soter*, as we are informed by *Appian*. The Deputies aſſured him, That he needed only to appear at the head of an Army to reduce this great Province to his obedience, and That the People waited only for his Preſence to ſhake off the Yoke, and follow his Standards. After which, they promiſed him to carry him back triumphantly into *Syria*, and join their Arms with his againſt the Uſurper of his Dominions. And it is certain, by *The Hiſtory of the Maccabees*, that in the 172d Year of *The Greek Æra*, and the 613th of *Rome*, *Demetrius*, ſeduced by theſe great Hopes, raiſed an Army of *Syrians*, who had continued faithful to him, and marched towards the Country of the *Medes*. His Deſign was to draw Auxiliaries from thence, thereby to enable himſelf to reduce the Rebel *Tryphon*, whom he had already vanquiſhed, and perhaps forced to abandon the Capital. At leaſt, there appears in proof of this a Medal of *Demetrius Nicanor*, ſtruck at *Sidon*, as the capital Letters ΣΙΔΩ ſhew, in the Year of *The Greek Æra* ΡΟ, that is 170. On the Reverſe, is an Eagle with a Palm-Branch behind him, the Symbol of Victory. But be that as it will, the Succeſs of *Demetrius*'s Expedition did not anſwer his Expectations. *Arſaces*, King of the *Parthians*, whoſe Kingdom contained *Perſia* and *Media*, as well as *Aſſyria*, would not ſuffer *Demetrius* to paſs through his Frontiers in Arms. He ordered his Officers to do their utmoſt to take this Prince Priſoner, and bring him to him under a good Guard. Accordingly a Battle was fought; and *Demetrius*, not able to eſcape from the Conqueror, was taken, carried to *Arſaces*, and impriſoned.

30 *Juſtin* had no grounds for ſaying, That *Demetrius* undertook the War with the King of the *Parthians*, to efface the ill Impreſſions he had given his People by his Indolence and Voluptuouſneſs; or That, he encreaſed his Army with a conſiderable Reinforcement of *Perſians*, *Elymæans*, and *Bactrians*, who joined him, and with theſe numerous Troops entered into the States of the King of the *Parthians*, and gained ſome ſignal Victories over him; or That, being at laſt deceived by the falſe Appearances of a Treaty of Peace, he inadvertently ſurrendered himſelf up at Diſcretion to a perfidious General who ſeized him, carried him in deriſion as a Captive through all the Cities of *Media*, and brought him to the Capital, where *Arſaces* gave him a favourable Reception, and ſoftened the Rigour of his Captivity, by honouring him with many Works of Diſtinction. All theſe Facts are either unknown to, or contradicted by, the ſacred Author of *The Hiſtory of the Maccabees*.

31 *Appian*, *Oroſius*, *Juſtin*, and the greateſt part both of ancient and modern Authors, give *Arſaces* the Name of *Mithridates*, and make him the ſixth King of the *Parthians*, from the firſt *Arſaces*, the Founder of the Empire, from whom the Kings of *Parthia* are commonly

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ritories, and there fought a Battle, in which he was made Priſoner [32] of War. *Tryphon* took Advantage of the Misfortunes of his Rival, and maintained himſelf on the Throne. But it happened, that *Demetrius*, though a Captive, found means to obtain, not only the Favour, but the Friendſhip of *Arſaces*, and married his Daughter *Rodogune*. He had, by his Flight, abandoned *Cleopatra* his other Wife, by whom he had had two Children. The brave Queen had retired to *Seleucia* [33] with her Sons; had already aſſembled a great Army of *Syrians* about her; and only wanted a General to lead it againſt *Tryphon*. To ſupply this want, *Cleopatra* caſt her Eyes on the younger Brother of her Husband; invited him from *Rhodes*, whither he had retired to eſcape the Searches of *Tryphon*; and promiſed to marry him in the room of *Demetrius*, who had deſerted her in her Diſtreſs, and to put him at the head of the Army which had declared for her. This Prince, named *Antiochus*, and ſurnamed [34] *Sidetes*, complied with the Sollicitations of *Cleopatra*; and took ſuch Meaſures as he thought proper to diſpoſſeſs *Tryphon*, and ſeat himſelf in the Throne of his Fathers. The moſt important of theſe was, to gain over to him the High-Prieſt, the Leader of the *Jews*. To this end, he wrote to *Simon*, making him ſuch Offers as were moſt likely to affect him. He freed the *Jews* from paying any of the Tributes which they had formerly paid to the Kings of *Syria*: And as the Right of coining Money was the only Regal Prerogative which the Heads of the *Jewiſh* Nation wanted to make them to all Intents and Purpoſes *Kings*, he likewiſe granted them this Privilege [35]; which in all Probability had been taken from them, ever ſince the fatal Overthrow they had received from *Nabuchodonoſor*. The wiſe High-Prieſt therefore would not reject ſuch great Advantages, whereby he was inveſted in the Rights of Royalty, and made a free, independent, and ſovereign Arbiter of the Religion, Revenues, and Government of his Country; but adhered to his Benefactor *Sidetes*, and aſſiſted him in mounting the Throne of his Anceſtors, and driving out *Tryphon*.

Juſtin, B. 38. *App. in Syriac. Joſeph. B.* 13. *App. in Syriac.*

1 *Mac.* xv.

Young *Antiochus* then, depending on the Friendſhip of the *Jews*, left *Rhodes*, came to *Seleucia*, there married his captive Brother's Wife, took upon him the Command of her Army which he led againſt the Uſurper, and he found it no difficult matter to overcome him. *Tryphon* was become the Curſe of *Syria*; all his Troops diſbanded themſelves at the Sight of a Prince of the Blood of the *Seleucidæ*; and the Tyrant had no Reſource but in Flight. He therefore retired to the City of *Dora* [36] near *Joppa*, where *Antiochus Sidetes*, who cloſely purſued him, beſieged him both by Sea and Land: And during this Siege, the High-Prieſt *Simon* ſignalized his Zeal for the new King. He ſent him 2000 of his beſt Troops, with conſiderable Preſents in Gold, coined Silver, and precious Vaſes. But Proſperity had changed the Heart of *Antiochus*. He ſent back to *Simon* his Preſents and Soldiers, and by an Ambaſſador threatened *Judæa* with a new War. In the mean time, Heaven juſtly puniſhed him for his Incon-

commonly called *Arſacidæ*. This *Mithridates*, the firſt of that Name, was the Son of *Priapatius*, who gave Law to this Nation fifteen Years. We ſhall hereafter ſpeak of the Country of the *Parthians* and *Medes*, and will then relate the Origin and Succeſſion of the Princes called *Arſacidæ*.

32 *Juſtin, B.* 38. ſays, That *Demetrius* was carried to *Hyrcania*; and That *Arſaces* gave his Priſoner his Daughter *Rodogune* in Marriage, and cauſed all the Honours due to Royalty to be paid him: And adds, That the King of the *Parthians* engaged to carry back *Demetrius* into *Syria*, at the head of a powerful Army, and join with him againſt the Uſurper *Tryphon*. But the Death of *Arſaces* fruſtrated all theſe fine Expectations. *Phraates* oppoſed the King of *Syria*'s Return, with a Deſign to ſeize his Dominions. According to *The Hiſtory of the Maccabees*, *Demetrius*'s Expedition into *Parthia*, was in the 172d Year of the Empire of the *Greeks*, and the 613th of *Rome*; and if ſo, the firſt Year of his Captivity can fall only in the 174th Year of the *Greek Æra*. Nevertheleſs, that *Demetrius* was not yet a Priſoner in the beginning of this Year, appears certain by a Medal* ſtruck at *Zidon* in honour to him. The *Greek* Year ΡΟΑ, or 174, is expreſly marked on the Reverſe; and we here ſee likewiſe a Palm-Branch, the Symbol of Victory, which ill ſuits with the State of a King already in Captivity.

33 The City of *Seleucia* here ſpoken of was ſituated at the Mouth of *The Orontes*, near Mount *Pierius*. It was alſo called *Pieria*, to diſtinguiſh it from the other Cities of the ſame Name.

34 Beſides the Interpretation before given of the Surname of *Sidetes*, ſome have conjectured, That it expreſſed the Love *Antiochus* had for the Chaſe; which the *Phœnician* Word *Sid* ſignifies. *Euſebius* and the Medals add to his other Titles that of ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΣ, or *The Beneficent*, and *Joſephus*, that of ΕΥΣΕΒΗΣ, or *The Religious*.

35 Till the Reign of *Antiochus*, the Sovereigns of *Aſia* had conſtantly refuſed the *Jews* the Privilege of coining Money. Nevertheleſs *Simon* had not waited for the new Monarch's granting him a Power which the Kings of *Syria* were no longer in a Condition to diſpute with him. He had three Years before ſtruck Medals, whereon his own Name was inſcribed, with the Year which reſtored the *Jews* to their full Liberty, by the taking of the Citadel of *Sion*. This Event was repreſented on the Reverſe, by the Figure of a Palm-Tree, or Bunch of Grapes, the Symbol of *Judæa*.

36 *Dora* was a maritime City of *Phœnicia*, ſituated at the Foot of Mount *Carmel*.

* *N. B.* The Authors have not given us this Medal in the original Plates; unleſs they mean one and the ſame Medal, here and before, in Note 29. At leaſt there is but one to anſwer both References, which is in *Pl.* 4. No. 4. and which partly agrees with both Deſcriptions.

ſtancy.

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ſtancy. *Tryphon* eſcaped from *Dora*, and found Refuge in *Orthozias*[37], a ſtrong Place ſituated on the Coaſt of *Phœnicia*. It is pretended, that he artfully threw Money in the Road, in order to keep the Purſuers employed on the Shore, whilſt he got to his Ship; and that by this means the Troops of *Antiochus* were retarded. Nevertheleſs, young *Sidetes*, who found his Army great, divided it, and ſent a Detachment, under the Command of *Cendebæus*, to begin Hoſtilities with the *Jews*. The *Syrian* General rebuilt the City of *Gedor*[38] near *Gaza*; and from thence made Incurſions, and ravaged the Land of *Judæa*. *Antiochus*, with the reſt of his Army, purſued the Uſurper; forced him to ſhut himſelf up within the Walls of *Orthozias*; and there the miſerable *Tryphon*[39] periſhed, either by his own Hands, or by the Orders of his Conqueror, after he had troubled *Syria*, dethroned one of her Kings, put his Ward to Death, got Poſſeſſion of the Crown, and much abuſed his[40] uſurped Power. He was abandoned by the very People who had crowned him, and became a ſignal Inſtance of the Vengeance of Heaven on Traitors and Uſurpers.

Strabo, B. 14. *Front. in Strateg.* B. 2. *ch.* 13. 1 *Mac.* xv.

Such, in all probability, was the State of Affairs in *Syria* and *Judæa*, when *Scipio Æmilianus*, and the two other *Roman* Ambaſſadors arrived there. They found the *Syrian* Monarchy divided between two Kings, the Throne contended for by two Brothers, the ſame Queen married at the ſame time to two Husbands who were both the Sons of one Man, the People divided into different Factions, ſome for the elder Brother, others for the younger; and laſtly, *Demetrius Nicanor* confined to the Eaſtern Provinces, whilſt *Antiochus Sidetes* was Maſter of the Weſtern. And if we may judge of *Scipio*'s Sentiments by the uſual Policy of his Republick, he could not but be pleaſed to ſee *Syria* thus divided.

As to the holy Nation, He found there a Governor, full of Years, and of great Virtues, who was become a Sovereign in his State, and had very lately been victorious over *Cendebæus* the *Syrian*, one of *Antiochus*'s Officers, by the Succeſs which Heaven had given to the Arms of his two Sons, *John* and *Judas*. But what moſt endeared *Simon* to the three Ambaſſadors was his invariable Attachment to their Republick. After the Death of *Jonathan*, he had ſent a Deputation[41] to the *Roman* Senate, to obtain their Approbation of his Promotion to the High-Prieſthood; and *Rome* had taken the *Jews* in a particular manner under their Protection. The Senate had written[42] to all the Kings and Nations of *The Levant* in their favour, and forbad them to give any Diſturbance to the victorious *Simon*. So that the Viſit *Scipio* paid the High-Prieſt could not but be ageeeable to both.

37 We can't ſay, with *Joſephus*, That *Tryphon* eſcaped with his Fleet to *Apamea*. This City of *Syria*, which ſtood on the Banks of *The Orontes*, was too far diſtant from the Sea.

38 The City of *Gedor* is ſpoken of in the Book of *Joſhua*. According to St. *Jerome*, it was a Town of *The Tribe of Judah*. Whereas *Adrochimius* makes *Gedor* and *Cedron* the ſame City, and places it in *The Tribe of Dan*, near *Modin*. And it is no eaſy matter to determine which is right. Nevertheleſs, it appears by the 15th Chapter of *The firſt Book of Maccabees*, That the City of *Gedor* was pretty near *Azotus* and *Jamnia*.

39 *Joſephus* allows but three Years to the Reign of *Tryphon*. Nevertheleſs it is certain, That he begun his Reign immediately after the Death of *Jonathan* and killing *Antiochus*; and from thence to the laſt Year of his Life, which was the 7th of *Simon*'s High-Prieſthood, are reckoned ſix Years compleat. So that he died about the *Greek* Year 176, which was the 617th of *Rome*. The fabulous Account *Athenæus* gives of his Death, has not the leaſt Appearance of Truth. According to him, *Tryphon* having vanquiſhed the General *Sarpedon*, who commanded *Demetrius*'s Troops, marched his own along the Shore of the *Mediterranean* Sea. And during his march, a prodigious Wave roſe to ſuch an extraordinary height, that falling on the victorious Army, it drowned the General and all his Soldiers, not one eſcaping. *Sarpedon*, informed of this wonderful Event, came to the Shore, there found thouſands of dead Bodies, and Fiſh without Number, which the Wave had brought thither; and cauſed a great part of them to be picked up, and ſacrificed to *Neptune*, as the Avenger of Tyranny. But a Story of this kind can only be deemed a Fable.

40 There yet remain ſome Footſteps of the Reign of *Tryphon* on ſome Medals. On that in Plate 4. No. 5. we ſee him crowned. The Reverſe is charged with an Helmet, the Symbol of War, which the Traitor had declared againſt his lawful Prince; and he is honoured with the Titles of KING and SOVEREIGN. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΤΡΙΦΩΝΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ. *Pl.* 4. No. 5.

41 *Numenius* and *Antipater* were the two Deputies that *Simon* ſent to *Rome*, to renew the old Alliance. They had already been charged with the ſame Commiſſion, in the High-Prieſthood of *Jonathan*. They preſented the *Roman* Senate with a Buckler of Gold, which weighed 1000 *Minæ*, or 1000 *Attick* Pounds; and delivered to the *Conſcript Fathers* a Copy of the Act paſſed in the Aſſembly of the *Jews*, wherein *Simon* was declared ſupreme Governor of *Judæa*, in conſideration of the important Services he and his Brothers had done their Country, in order to deliver it from Oppreſſion. The Senate ratified afreſh the ancient Treaties, and acknowledged the *Jews* to be a free and independent People. This Act was engraven on Tables of Braſs, and placed, at the Return of the Ambaſſadors, among the publick Records of *Judæa* on the Hill of *Sion*. *The Hiſtory of the Maccabees* has perpetuated the Memory of this Embaſſy.

l.	*s.*	*d.*
3229	3	4

Arbuth.

42 In 1 *Mac.* xv. we find the Letter which was written in favour of the *Jews*, by *Lucius Calpurnius Piſo*, one of the *Conſuls* for the Year 613.

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The Time the *Roman* Ambaſſadors ſpent in viſiting all the Kingdoms, Nations, free Cities, and principal Iſlands in the Eaſt, could not probably be leſs than about two Years; ſo that ſeveral Elections of *Conſuls* were made at *Rome* during their Abſence: And we muſt now return to the Capital of the World, after this long, but as we imagine, neceſſary Digreſſion.

§. VI. The *Conſul Mancinus* prepared for his Departure for *Spain*, where the Valour of the *Numantini* diſconcerted all the Meaſures of the *Romans*, and rendered the Efforts of their Generals fruitleſs; and after he had enrolled as many *Legionaries* as were neceſſary to ſupply the Loſſes *Popillius* had had, he left *Rome*, croſſed *Latium* and *Hetruria*, and entered *Liguria*, in order to embark at the Port of *Hercules* [43] *Monœcus*. But, as the *Roman Conſuls* often took Trifles for Preſages when they were ſetting out on great Expeditions, the General was now alarmed with an unknown Voice, which cried out to him as he was entering his Ship, *Stop*, Mancinus, *ſtop*; and upon this frivolous Motive, he ordered his Galleys to proceed to *Genoa*, and himſelf went by Land to embark there. By this means he thought to have avoided all the Ill which was foretold by this firſt Preſage; but we are told, he ought to have been confirmed in his Fears by the ſecond. When he was got into the Boat of the Ship, with *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus*, who was to attend him as his *Quæſtor*, a Serpent appeared in it all on a ſudden; and though the Seamen endeavoured to take it, eſcaped from them. Whereas *Mancinus*, ſay the Hiſtorians, neglected the Prognoſtick, and ſet ſail: And we ſhall ſoon ſee what Misfortunes befel him after his Arrival in his Province. He made a Campaign there, which might have ruined the Affairs of *Rome* in *Spain*; if the *Pro-Conſul Brutus* had not ſupported him, by his Victories and Conqueſts in *The Further Province*.

Jul. Obſequens, c. 83.

We left *Brutus* with his Army paſſing the Winter beyond *The Lethe*, on the Banks of *The Minius*. After ſome Months of inaction, he croſſed *The Minius* in the Spring without any Obſtruction; and led his Troops into the Diſtrict of *Bracara* [44], on the Banks of *The Aleſtei* [45]. During the *Pro-Conſul*'s ſtay above *The Minius*, the *Bracarini*, a Nation of Barbarians, who had never yet had any Commerce with the *Romans*, had incommoded his Army. They had not only refuſed him Proviſions, but had intercepted and plundered his Convoys. *Brutus* made no other Declaration of War with them, than by committing Acts of Hoſtility; and he found that there were none of the *Spaniſh* Nations, either more fierce, or more jealous of their Liberty. Their Women marched out to the War, as thoſe did in the moſt diſtant Regions of *Luſitania*; but the *Bracarian* Women excelled in one particular all the other female Warriors in their Country. They agreed together to fight to the laſt Extremity, to die rather than retreat, and not to ſuffer one Word to eſcape them, which ſhould teſtify either Weakneſs or Fear. Inſomuch that nothing was more common among them, than to prefer Death to Captivity. When they were taken in War, they cut their Children's Throats, and killed themſelves; and gloried in delivering themſelves from Slavery in this manner.

App. in Iberic.

A Nation ſo fierce and ſo brave, found the *Pro-Conſul* much Employment. Nevertheleſs ſome of their Cities ſurrendered at Diſcretion. But this was only a Feint. As ſoon as the *Roman* Army diſappeared, they ſhook off the Yoke, and took Arms again; and no Place in the Country ſhewed more Inconſtancy than *Talabriga* [46]. This City having ſeveral times ſurrendered, and ſeveral times revolted, was become guilty of repeated Breaches of ſeveral Treaties. *Brutus* came therefore to puniſh the Perfidiouſneſs, or rather Levity of the *Talabrigians*; and after he had obliged them to ſue again for a Peace, which they had ſo often broken, he impoſed harder Terms upon them. He forced them to diſarm themſelves, to deliver up all their Deſerters to the *Romans*, to give them Hoſtages for their Fidelity, and to march out of their City, in order to go and ſettle elſewhere. Nay, he made them fear a ſtill more rigorous Treatment. After he had aſſembled them in a Plain near the City, he reproached them with their Unfaithfulneſs in a very bitter Speech, and ordered his Troops to

43 Now *Monaco*. See Vol. 2.

44 *Bracara*, now *Braga*, is one of the moſt conſiderable Cities in *Portugal*; and ſtands five Miles from the Sea.

45 The *Portugueſe* now call it *Rio di Braga*, or *The River of Braga*; and ſome *Cavado*.

46 It is commonly thought that the ancient *Talabriga* ſtood where now ſtands *Talaga*, a Village belonging to the Kingdom of *Portugal*, at a little Diſtance from the River *Vauga*. Some indeed pretend, That it is now called *Talavera*; but they don't conſider, that the latter belongs to *New-Caſtile*, whereas the City here ſpoken of was in *Luſitania*.

ſurround

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1 *Mac.* xv. *App. in Iber.*

ſurround them. They therefore expected to be all inſtantly deſtroyed: But there appeared great Serenity in the Countenance of *Brutus*, and he ſaid, *You are now ſenſible how very great your Faults have been; and yet the Clemency of the* Romans *is greater. Go; Return to your Houſes; and acknowledge, that you are indebted to* Rome *for your Lives, and your domeſtick Gods.* By this generous Act he pacified the Country better, than any Force or Violence would have done.

§. VII. During theſe Expeditions of *Brutus* in *The Further Province*, the *Conſul Mancinus* took Poſſeſſion of the Army *Popillius* put into his Hands in *Hither Spain*. But the *Roman Legions* had been diſcouraged by the ill Succeſs of his Predeceſſor; and the little Eſteem they had had for their General, had induced them to take many Liberties which it was neceſſary to reform. He therefore continued in the ſame Camp which *Popillius* had poſſeſſed, but with expreſs Orders to his Men, not to diſperſe themſelves in the Fields, or join in Companies to fall on the Parties of the *Numantini*. Nevertheleſs, the *Romans* were poſted ſo near *Numantia*, that it was difficult to avoid, or prevent, Rencounters; and in them, the *Romans* were continually worſted, and their Army gradually diminiſhed, more than it might have been by general Engagements or pitched Battles. *Mancinus* therefore thought it neceſſary to draw his Men farther off from the City, and fortify their dejected Minds againſt their continual Apprehenſions of the Enemy; which were ſo very great, that theſe brave *Legionaries*, who were the Terrour of the whole World, trembled at the very Sight, nay, even at the Shadow, of the *Numantini*. A dark Night was choſen, in which the *Roman* Army were to decamp without noiſe, and retire to a ſolitary and inacceſſible Place. This was indeed a kind of Flight unworthy of the *Romans*; and yet it would have been very happy for them, if they could have concealed the Time of it from the Enemy. But it was diſcovered by the following Accident.

The *Numantini* obſerved a Cuſtom, which almoſt univerſally prevailed among the *Spaniſh* Nations. Marriages were never celebrated among them but at a certain ſtated Time; and ſuperiour Valour was the only Merit which gave a Man a ſuperiour Claim to a Woman of diſtinguiſhed Worth. At this time Addreſſes were made to a young Woman of extraordinary Beauty, by two ſuch illuſtrious Warriors, that it was not eaſy to determine, which was the braveſt; and therefore the Parents of the Girl reſolved to give her to him of the two Rivals, who firſt brought them the Right Hand of a *Roman*. And as theſe two were ſallying out, inſtead of meeting with one or two Enemies, as they expected, they perceived that the whole *Roman* Army had left their Camp, and were marching in ſome Confuſion, in the dark. They therefore made all haſte to inform their Countrymen of it, raiſed the whole City in Arms, and at the Head of their Troops killed many more than one *Roman*. The *Conſular* Army conſiſted of at leaſt 20000 Men, whereas the *Numantini* did not exceed 4000 at moſt. Nevertheleſs, their late Experience had given theſe brave *Spaniards* ſo much Confidence, that they thought they could with this ſmall Body, put to rout all the fugitive *Legions*, and immediately diſperſed them by a ſudden Attack; and the Attempt ſucceeded even beyond their Expectations. They firſt ſeized the Camp which the *Romans* had abandoned; and then being well acquainted with the Roads, they attacked the Enemy, (almoſt in confuſion already by a precipitate march) in ſeveral Places at the ſame time. Fear and Darkneſs magnified the Number of the Aggreſſors in the Imagination of the *Romans*; they made but a feint Reſiſtance, becauſe they knew not the Weakneſs of the Enemy; and in ſhort, as ſtrange as it may appear, the 4000 *Numantini* killed 20000 of the *Romans*. At the return of the Light, the *Conſul* ſaw himſelf ſurrounded with Dead, and incompaſſed on all ſides by the Enemy, in the midſt of Rocks, and in a rough Country. Beſides, the Victory of the *Numantini* made them more formidable than before; and in theſe Circumſtances, inſtead of giving himſelf up to Raſhneſs and Deſpair, he acted as Prudence and the preſent Neceſſity ſeemed to require. He made the firſt advances, and ſent to offer the Enemy Peace. This was the Point the *Numantini* had long deſired; Peace with *Rome*, and Independence, was what they had moſt at heart. Nevertheleſs, they ſtarted Difficulties, and refuſed to treat with *Mancinus*. The ill Succeſs of their Agreement with the *Conſul Pompeius*, made them afraid of entering into any other Treaty with a *Roman* General. But at length they conſented to treat, provided it ſhould be only with *Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus*, a young Officer whom they reſpected and eſteemed for his Probity and Worth. He was then *Quæſtor* in the *Conſular* Army; and with him, by the *Conſul*'s Conſent, the Conferences were begun. Few *Romans* then excelled young *Gracchus* in Eloquence. Beſides, his Father had formerly ſettled *Spain*, and both his Victories

Liv. Epit.

Author. de Vir. Illuſtr.

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and his Benefactions were ſtill remembred there. The *Numantini* had therefore a value for the Son; and his Negotiation ſucceeded. It was agreed, That both the *Romans* and *Numantini* ſhould withdraw from the Plain, and continue good Friends. By this means, the Lives of at leaſt 10000 Men were ſaved to the Republick, beſides thoſe of the Servants and Suttlers which uſually follow Armies. So that the *Quæſtor* hoped to make a Merit of his Negotiation with the *Roman* People. However, it was neceſſary that ſomething more ſhould be done, for the Confirmation of the Treaty, and to remove the Suſpicions of the *Numantini*. They inſiſted, That the *Conſul* and *Quæſtor*, and chief Officers of the Army, ſhould confirm their Promiſes by an Oath; and by their Promiſes and Oaths, the poor Remains of the *Roman* Army ſaved both their Lives, and their Liberty. In the mean time, the *Roman* Camp was plundered by the Conquerors, and among other Spoils, they found the *Quæſtor*'s Books of Accompts. In the ſudden departure of the Army, which was little leſs than a flight, he had left them by miſtake, with ſome Things of ſmall value. When returned to *Numantia*, *Gracchus* demanded the Books, to enable him to defend himſelf againſt Detraction. The *Numantini* received him with great Politeneſs, reſtored them, and offered him all the Booty they had taken in the Camp. But the *Quæſtor*, charmed with the great Civilities of the Enemy, would accept of none of the offered Spoils, except only a Box full of that Incenſe which he uſed to burn in honour to his Gods.

Plut. in Grac.

In the mean time, the *Conſul* was ſinking into Deſpair in his new Camp, and had indeed no Comforter but the amiable *Gracchus*. His own Reflections diſtracted him; and the more he conſidered the Conſequences of this ſhameful Peace, the more he dreaded the Judgments of the People and Senate. The Misfortune of *The Caudian Forks* was ever uppermoſt in his Thoughts; and the Puniſhment inflicted on the *Conſuls T. Veturius* and *Sp. Poſthumius*, filled him with Terror. His Caſe was a parallel one; and he had reaſon to expect the ſame Fate. And indeed, as ſoon as the Misfortune of the *Legions* was publickly known at *Rome*, *The Conſcript Fathers* immediately reſolved to recall him from *Spain*, and diſpatch his Collegue *Æmilius Lepidus* thither, with all ſpeed. Accordingly, the latter raiſed a new Army with all expedition, got ready, and embarked: Whilſt the Murmurs againſt *Mancinus*, and the Authors of the Peace increaſed, as faſt as the new Levies. *What*, ſaid the People, *is now become of the ancient Valour of the* Romans? *An handfull of* Spaniards *make the Conquerors of the World tremble. The Peace which the General has given them, is a ſhameful Confeſſion, which muſt make us contemptible in the Eyes of foreign Nations. Let us then repeat the Severity of our Forefathers, and deliver up to theſe new* Samnites *the Authors of a Treaty which they have confirmed by vain Oaths. They had no Authority from the People of* Rome *to make it*; Mancinus, *through the Mediation of* Gracchus, *did it of his own Head. They have indeed called on the Gods to witneſs it, but may Heaven inflict Vengeance on the Criminals.* All *Rome* was full of Murmurs of this ſort. Nevertheleſs, the Friends and Relations of *Tib. Gracchus* appeared in his Defence. They urged, *That the Love of his Country obliged him to conclude a Peace, which the* Conſul's *Proceedings had made neceſſary; That he had ſaved the Remains of an Army, which was raſhly brought into imminent Danger; and That many* Civic Crowns *were due to him, for having ſaved the Lives of ſo many Citizens.* And without doubt, the Cauſe of *Gracchus* was much more defenſible than that of *Mancinus*. Beſides, the young *Quæſtor* had ſeveral other Advantages to plead in his Favour; his perſonal Merit, his uncommon Eloquence, his engaging Addreſs, the Remembrance of his Father, who had more than once been honoured with the *Conſulſhip* and a *Triumph*, and laſtly, the Nobility of his Mother *Cornelia*, who was the Daughter of the Great *Scipio*, and the Pattern of the *Roman* Ladies.

Nevertheleſs, the *Romans* were much enraged at ſo deteſted a Peace. They were all for breaking it, tho' ratified by Religion, and the ſacred Sanction of Oaths. Somebody therefore muſt fall a Victim to their Reſentment; and the Senate decreed *Mancinus* to be ſacrificed for the publick Good, and begun a Proceſs againſt him before he arrived. The unfortunate *Conſul* returned from *Spain* with the Ambaſſadors of *Numantia*, who came to *Rome* to maintain their Cauſe. But theſe Strangers were permitted to come no further than the Suburbs, leſt the Republick ſhould ſeem to treat them as Allies, and approve of the Peace made with them; tho' ſhe made them the Preſent uſually given to the Ambaſſadors of ſuch Nations as were Friends to the *Roman* People. As for the *Conſul*, he appeared before *The Conſcript Fathers*, and did his utmoſt to juſtify himſelf, with Honour. *It is not*, ſays he, *the Fear of being delivered up to the* Numantini, *and of paying*

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paying with my Head for the Blemiſh I have brought on the Roman *Name, which leads me to appear in this Place in my own Defence. When a Man has once loſt his Honour, the Loſs of Life is little to be feared. I had almoſt ſaid, that the* Conſuls *who were formerly ſurprized in* The Caudian Forks, *have done Honour to their Names, by ſacrificing their Perſons. And I readily allow, that the Diſgrace of my Defeat can no way be ſo well waſhed off, as with my own Blood. I am willing to ſacrifice my Life to the Gods, and to the Intereſts of my Country; and it will be allowed me, that the more innocent the Victim is, the more acceptable it will be to the Immortals. I therefore deſire to die; and all I aim at is, not leave an odious Name behind me, which ſhall reflect Diſhonour on my Poſterity. I have indeed been vanquiſhed, ſurrounded, and compelled to conclude with an Oath what has ſince been adjudged a ſhameful Peace. But what was the Army,* Conſcript Fathers, *which you ſent me to command? Undiſciplined* Legions, *which had been beaten a thouſand times under their former Generals, and, which is worſe, loaded with the Curſes of the Gods.* Pompey, *whoſe Example I followed, could no otherwiſe ſave them from the Dangers from which they had not Courage enough to deliver themſelves, than by making, as I have done, a diſadvantageous Peace. This Peace you broke, and thereby provoked Heaven. Hence the threatning Preſages which appeared before and at my Departure. And when I arrived, ye Gods! In what a Condition did I find your Troops! They were ſo intimidated, that whenever they marched to meet the Enemy they turned pale; whenever they were attacked by them, they turned their Backs. In ſhort, they were ſtruck with Panicks. I therefore decamped in a dark Night, which was a neceſſary Precaution; but my Departure was by accident diſcovered, and I was attacked and ſurrounded. Were then the brave* Gracchus *and my ſelf alone ſufficient to ſuſtain the Attacks of a whole Army? It was that Cowardice of the* Romans, *which had forced me to decamp, that brought on them Deſtruction, and on me Diſhonour. In the Morning, I ſaw nothing around me but the ſmall Remains of the Army which had eſcaped the Slaughter; and their Danger was evident; their Death, in caſe of further Reſiſtance, certain. I therefore preferred a Peace to the ſhedding of ſo much* Roman *Blood. This is my Crime; of which let them judge, whoſe Sons, and Brothers, and Relations and Friends, I have ſaved. As for you,* Conſcript Fathers, *ſacrifice me to your Policy without delay. Your Victim is ready: And may it appeaſe the Gods, whoſe Anger you muſt incur, by breaking theſe two Treaties of Peace!*

The Senate was inflexible. They were reſolved to continue the War, and utterly deſtroy *Numantia*. Nevertheleſs, a Treaty ſacredly confirmed by Acts of Religion could not decently be broken through, without delivering up the Author of it to the Enemy: Whereas, the Example of *Pompey*, who was not ſacrificed, tho' his Treaty of Peace was broken, ſpoke in favour of *Mancinus*. And indeed, in the Times of the *Roman* Virtue, the Fate of two Men, who were either equally Criminals, or equally Innocent, would have been the ſame. But now the ſad Degeneracy of *Rome* very notoriouſly appeared on this occaſion. *Pompey* had found Intereſt enough to get himſelf acquitted: *Mancinus*, in the very ſame Caſe, was in a manner condemned before-hand. A Decree was paſſed, that, *as ſoon as his Office ſhould expire, and the new* Conſuls *ſhould be entered on theirs, they ſhould preſent a Petition to* The Conſcript Fathers, *to diſannul the new Peace with* Numantia, *and deliver up* Mancinus *to the* Numantini. Nor was the Execution of this unjuſt Decree long delayed. The *Conſular* Year expired in a few Days; *Mancinus* went out of his Office; and his Collegue *Æmilius* continued in *Spain*, with the Character of *Pro-Conſul*, till a Succeſſor ſhould arrive. *Velleius Paterculus B. 2.*

§. VIII. On *The Calends of January*, *P. Furius Philus*, and *Sex. Attilius Serranus* took Poſſeſſion of the *Conſulſhip*; and made it their firſt Buſineſs to get the *Numantian* Affair ſettled. Audience was given to the *Numantian* Ambaſſadors; and their Speaker addreſſed himſelf to the Senate with Modeſty, and Confidence, in theſe Words. *Do we appear here,* Conſcript Fathers, *as your Enemies, or as your Allies? You have refuſed to admit us within your Walls; but then you have honoured us with your Preſents. Is then our Fate yet undetermined? Have we not done every thing in our Power to deſerve your Favour? Had you ever more conſtant or more faithful Allies than the* Numantini, *before theſe unhappy Wars which have harraſſed* Celtiberia *for theſe* 18 *Years? They left themſelves here, to furniſh your Armies with Proviſions, and your Soldiers with Cloaths. Indeed deſpair at laſt forced us to become your Enemies, in ſpight of ourſelves; and the Gods, affected with our Miſeries, have been propitious to us. But have not our Hearts been all along ſet on Peace, even at a Time of our greateſt Succeſſes? Our good Fortune has twice given us the Victory over your Troops, through the ill Conduct of their Generals; and we have twice*

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twice made Peace with your Conſuls. *Though* Rome *diſannulled our firſt Treaty for Reaſons beſt known to herſelf; yet when we were a ſecond time ſo fortunate, as to have it in our Power to deſtroy a whole* Conſular *Army without ſuffering a Man to eſcape, we were not elated with our Succeſs.* Numantia *choſe Peace before the Maſſacre of her Enemies; and preferred your Friendſhip to the Pleaſure of Revenge. She concluded another Treaty with* Mancinus, *only with a little more Precaution than formerly; that is, his Promiſes have been confirmed by the religious Sanction of an Oath: And we are now come to lay tehſe Claims before you. Will you not keep the Promiſe which your* Conſul *has made us? Shall not reſpect be ſhewn to the ſacred Obligation of Oaths in a Republick, which has indeed aggrandized herſelf by her Valour, but which can no otherwiſe preſerve her Conqueſts than by Juſtice and Fidelity? But to what purpoſe do I inſiſt on the Equity of our Pretentions? As much as it misbecomes us to ſupplicate, we even intreat you to grant our Requeſt. Put an end,* Romans, *to your inveterate Rage againſt a City, which will coſt you more Blood than it will coſt us. She comes to deſire your Friendſhip, and ſhe intreats you by me, to ſpare the Lives of your own Subjects. If the Voices of the many* Legionaries *to whom we have given Life, could be heard ſo far, they would, in Gratitude, intercede for us. Shall then the* Romans *be excelled in Acts of Humanity, by a People whom they deem Barbarians?*

An affecting Speech; but their *Roman* Pride made the Senators deaf to all other Conſiderations. *Rome* could not prevail on her ſelf to let a City ſubſiſt, which had obſcured the Glory of her Arms, for 16 Years together; and had brought greater Reproaches on her, than even *Carthage* had done. The *Numantini* were ordered to withdraw, and the Decree was definitively pronounced in theſe Words. *The Treaty made between* Mancinus *and the* Numantini *ſhall be deemed null, as wanting the Conſent of the Republick. As for* Mancinus *and the Authors of that ignominious Peace, they ſhall be carried, bound Hand and Foot, to the Gates of* Numantia, *and delivered up to the* Numantini, *ſtripp'd of their Arms and Cloaths.* It was neceſſary, that the People ſhould confirm what the Senate had done; and *L. Furius* and *Sex. Attilius*, two *Tribunes of the People*, undertook to bring the Affair before the *Comitia*. Then *Tiberius Gracchus*, who was involved in the ſame Condemnation, mounted *The Tribune of Harangues*; and in defending the Cauſe of *Mancinus* his General, he pleaded his own with ſo much Eloquence, as made ſtrong Impreſſions on the People. He made them ſenſible of the Injuſtice of the Decree they were going to paſs. But nevertheleſs they were hurried away with the Violence of their Prepoſſeſſions; and would have it, that it was for their Honour that the War ſhould be continued with *Numantia*. Yet ſtill they thought it neceſſary to ſhew ſome Regard to the Religion of Oaths, and to ſacrifice one Man at leaſt, to avoid the Reproaches of Foreigners. And whilſt they were in ſuſpence how to ſolve all theſe Difficulties at once, *Mancinus* himſelf, in an Harangue, in which he diſplayed his Virtue in a very ſtrong light, deſired of the aſſembled *Citizens*, That he might be the Perſon ſacrificed to the publick Good. This Requeſt, though probably not without ſome Reluctance, was granted, and the offered Victim accepted. It determined, That the War ſhould be renewed with the *Numantini*; and That *Mancinus* alone ſhould ſuffer the Puniſhment to be inflicted, for the unlawful Agreement he had entered into with the Enemies of the Republick without ſufficient Authority. With reaſon therefore does the *Spaniſh* Writer cry out, That the Virtue of *Rome* wholly centered in *Mancinus*. The old *Roman* Probity ſeemed to be transferred from *Italy* to *Spain*, and ſettled at *Numantia*. Equity required, That the *Romans* ſhould deliver up to the *Numantini*, all the Authors of the Peace, eſpecially *Gracchus*; and with them, all thoſe Soldiers who had been ſaved by it from Death or Slavery. But *Rome* ſurrendered only the General to them. Humanity required, That ſhe ſhould not drive theſe brave *Spaniards* to extremity, who longed for Peace, and who had merited it by their Submiſſion. But ſhe was determined utterly to deſtroy them. Whilſt *Numantia*, on the other hand, had no longer indulged her love of Slaughter, than the Battle made it neceſſary; and had treated *Gracchus* even with great Civility and Politeneſs, and the *Conſul* with Reſpect.

Oroſ. B. 5. ch. 5.

Cic. de Offic. B. 3.

Plut. in Gracc.

Oroſ. B. 5. c. 5.

§. IX. Whilſt *Rome* was proceeding in the ſurrendry of the unfortunate *Mancinus*, his Collegue, *Æmilius Lepidus*, commanded in *Hither Spain* the ſhattered Troops which his Predeceſſor *Mancinus* had left him. Indeed, ſince the new Election of *Conſuls*, he acted only in quality of *Pro-Conſul*; his old Forces had been vanquiſhed, and his new ones were not yet diſciplined; and he durſt not again attack *Numantia*, whoſe Fate was not yet determined; nor perhaps was he ſtrong enough, if he would. But, *Lepidus* loved

App. in Iber.

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loved Glory and Action; and thought it dangerous to let the Soldiers languiſh in Idleneſs. He therefore made himſelf new Enemies, only for the ſake of having ſome to fight with, and keeping himſelf employed. On the Banks of the River *Durius*, not far from *Leon*, lived a wild People, called [47] *Vaccæi*, who were jealous of their Liberty, and whoſe Country was more fruitful and more populous than that of the *Numantini*. Theſe, through the Concern that Neighbours and Countrymen uſually ſhew to each other in Affliction, had aſſiſted *Numantia* in her Neceſſity; and *Lepidus*, ſeeking a Quarrel with them, magnified this Act into a Crime. He reproached them with having ſupplied their Neighbours with Arms, Corn, and Men; and upon this Pretence, declared War with theſe unfortunate *Spaniards*, who were otherwiſe living in Peace with *Rome*. We have already obſerved, that the Republick was continually engaged in new Quarrels, in all Parts of the World, not ſo much by the Determinations of the Senate or People, as by the Ambition of her Generals. And now, *Lepidus*, whoſe ſole aim was to gain the Glory of having entirely reduced the *Vaccæi*, and the Honours of *a Triumph*, entered into Meaſures, for that end, with the *Pro-Conſul Brutus*, whoſe Daughter he had married. He preſſed him ſo earneſtly to leave his *Further Province* for a few Months, and join his Troops to his own, that the Father-in-Law complied, and they entered the Country of the *Vaccæi* together, and ravaged it. *Palantia* [48] was a ſtrong City, and is ſuppoſed to have been the Capital of the *Vaccæi*. Nevertheleſs, the two united *Conſular* Armies were more than enough to take it. So that all things were preparing for the Siege of it, when two Deputies arrived in the Camp of the *Pro-Conſuls* from the *Roman* Senate, and brought them *a Decree of the Senate*, to which the *Conſuls* themſelves always paid great deference, tho' it had not, ſtrictly ſpeaking, the Force of a Law. *Cinna* and *Cæcilius*, the two Senators, told them, that the *Conſcript Fathers* had determined, That they ſhould leave the *Vaccæi* in Peace, and quit their Country, that they might not increaſe the Enemies of the Republick in *Spain*. But *Æmilius* was warm, and full of his Project; and he replied, *The Determinations of the Senate are made at too great a diſtance from the Scene of Action, and with too little Knowledge of it, to deſerve an abſolute compliance from the Generals. Many Difficulties are ſtarted at a diſtance, which vaniſh when we are upon the ſpot. Beſides,* The Conſcript Fathers *would have* Numantia *deſtroyed; and the right way to do this, is to begin with her Neighbours, who have been always ready to aſſiſt that rebellious City. If the Senate was here, they would think as I do. It is not known at* Rome, *that the two Armies of* Upper *and* Lower Spain *are united together under the two* Pro-Conſuls. *In a word, I have already gone too far, to retreat. What will all* Spain *think, if they ſee us abandon a Country, in which we have already entered ſo far? They will aſcribe it to our Weakneſs, if we abandon an Enterprize as ſoon as it is begun; and this will raiſe them to a Contempt of us and our Arms.* Thus ſpake the *Pro-Conſul* of *Hither Spain*; and *Brutus* ſtill purſued his Son-in-Law's Project for a time; nor would he return into his own Province, till Neceſſity obliged him.

Æmilius was fully bent on beſieging *Palantia*, tho' his Army was but ill-diſciplined, and at leaſt had been much diſhonoured by its former defeat. The two Generals choſe a Place fortified by Nature for their Magazines, and there built Work-houſes for the Carpenters of the Army, wherein they built the Machines for battering the Town. An Officer of Figure, named *Flaccus*, commanded there; and took care of tranſporting Corn to the *Roman* Camp. He was a vigilant and active Man, and had great Preſence of Mind. On the other hand, the *Vaccæi*, without hazarding a general Battle, were continually intercepting the Convoys deſigned for the Magazines, with ſmall Detachments; and it happened one Day, that *Flaccus* was ſurprized with a ſmall Body of *Romans* in a narrow Paſs. But as ſoon as he ſaw the Enemy approaching to cut him in pieces, (for he was weaker than they and could not otherwiſe eſcape) he, in the critical Minute, thought of a Stratagem, which ſaved his Life. As if he ſaw nothing of the Approach of the Enemy, he ordered his Soldiers to cry out aloud, *Victory! Victory! Palantia is taken!* Theſe Words ſtruck the *Vaccæi* with Terrour; they diſperſed without thinking more of the Attack; and the *Romans* continued their March.

App. in Iber.

[47] The *Vaccæi* formerly inhabited the Country which is now a Part of the Kingdoms of *Leon* and *Old Caſtille*, on both ſides the River *Duero*.

[48] *Palantia* is now a City of the Kingdom of *Leon*, ſituated in a very fruitful Country, and watered by the little River of *Carrion*.

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But the Shame of having been deceived only made the *Vaccæi* the more vigilant, in intercepting the Convoys of the *Romans*; ſo that the Preparations for the Siege went on ſlowly. The want of Proviſions in the Camp increaſed daily; the *Pro-Conſuls* finding it no eaſy matter to procure them, in the midſt of a fierce and warlike People. *Æmilius* often repented of his raſh Enterprize, and his Neglect of the Senate's Advice. He could neither get Bread for the Men, nor Forrage for the Horſes; and his Obſtinacy was forced to ſubmit to extream Neceſſity. In ſhort, *Brutus* would carry his Complaiſance for his Son-in-Law no farther; and he firſt propoſed leaving the Camp, and ordered all Things for a Retreat. The Time he appointed for decamping was the middle of the Night, and then great Confuſion enſued in the Trenches. The Soldiers hindered one another by their Numbers. The two *Pro-Conſuls* gave and repeated different Orders, which threw the different Bodies into an uncertainty what to do. Some were impatient to be gone; others were dilatory; and the greateſt difficulty was, how to take care of the Sick. The want of Proviſions had made them numerous, and there were no Carriages to convey them. Nevertheleſs, the Generals commanded the Armies to move; and when *The Eagles* were in motion, the Officers drove on the Men with their Lances at their Backs. Tho' no Preparations were made for decamping, no Proviſions collected, no retreat ſecured; yet leave the Camp they muſt, before break of Day. Then the Sick and Wounded uttered bitter Cries, and complained of their being thus abandoned to the Mercy of the Barbarians, their Enemies. But every Man's Thoughts were wholly taken up with providing only for his own Safety; and without any regard to the Lamentations of ſo many unhappy Wretches, the reſt began their March without keeping any Ranks, or repairing to their reſpective *Enſigns*; and indeed in little better Order, than if they had actually been diſbanded.

Diod. apud Valeſ.

The *Vaccæi* were vigilant Enemies; and the Flight, rather than the Decampment of the *Romans*, was not unknown to them. They therefore purſued the Enemy in their Retreat; attacked them ſometimes in Flank, and ſometimes in the Rear; and a great Slaughter was made of the *Pro-Conſular* Troops, which were worn out with Fatigue and Hunger, and marched in great Confuſion. And as for the Generals, *Brutus* was now very ſick of his exceſſive Complaiſance to his Son-in-Law; *Æmilius* was ſo fat and unweildy that he could ſcarce move; and neither of them had the Honour to ſave the Remains of his Army. For they diſbanded themſelves, and ſaved themſelves by flight; and very happy it was for them, that they were purſued no further by the *Vaccæi*, who were tired with their March, and with the Slaughter. They had killed 6000 *Romans*; ſo that this was a more ſhameful rout than any the *Numantini* had given them. Nevertheleſs there is reaſon to believe, that *Brutus* loſt fewer Men than the imprudent *Æmilius*: For we ſhall ſoon ſee him recovering his Credit in *The Further Province*, by the moſt glorious Conqueſt; whilſt his Son-in-Law, aſhamed of an Enterprize attempted contrary to the Opinion of the Senate, and now become odious to his Soldiers, and the Contempt of the *Spaniards*, only waited for the coming of a Succeſſor, who ſoon arrived.

Epit. Liv.

The *Conſul P. Furius* landed in *The Tarragonian Province* in a few Days, and brought with him the unfortunate *Mancinus*, who was to be delivered up to the *Numantini*. *Æmilius* returned aboard the ſame Fleet which had brought the *Conſul*; and when he arrived at *Rome* met with a more favourable Treatment than he had deſerved. The People aſſembled in *Comitia*, only condemned him to pay a Fine. A very ſlight Puniſhment, if compared with that inflicted on *Mancinus*, who was more unfortunate than faulty!

§. X. As the new General *Furius* was come into *Spain* only to renew the War with the *Numantini*, in order to his proceeding regularly, it was firſt neceſſary, that he ſhould ſend their Victim to them. It was indeed an affecting Sight, to ſee a *Conſul* who had been very lately ſurrounded by *Faſces*, guarded by *Lictors*, and at the Head of a flouriſhing Army, now deprived of all the Marks of a *Roman Citizen*, ſtripp'd naked to the Waſte, and formally committed to the Conduct of a *Fecialis*. However, this Prieſt and Ambaſſador marched on, as commiſſioned both by the Gods and the Republick, to put *Mancinus* into the Enemy's Hands, for having, as was pretended, impoſed on them by a falſe Peace, and unlawful Oaths: And the brave *Roman*, whoſe Gravity and Conſtancy were not at all diminiſhed, advanced, under the Conduct of his Guide, towards one of the Gates of the City. But, the *Numantini*, to ſhew *Mancinus* and his Conductor, that they did not think the Blood of one Man a ſufficient Atonement for the Breach of Engagements confirmed by the moſt irrevocable Oaths, had ſhut the Gate. They demanded

Florus B. 2. c. 18.
Oroſ. B. 5. c. 5.
Cic. de Orat. B. 1.

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manded the Surrender of all the Soldiers whoſe Lives had been ſaved by thoſe ſolemn Promiſes; and inſiſted, That they either would not have *Mancinus*, or would have all the Remains of his Army with him. So that the courageous *Roman*, who was given up by his Fellow-Citizens, and rejected by his very Enemies, and was become the Contempt of ſome, and abandoned by all, lay a whole Day before the Gates of *Numantia*. Till at length, when the Day was fully cloſed, the *Conſul Furius* declared, That, as the Republick had offered the *Numantini* their Victim, and they had refuſed to accept it, he had ſufficiently diſcharged all the Obligations, that either Religion, or the Law of Nations, had laid upon her. This was his Perſuaſion; and after he had conſulted the Auguries, he brought back *Mancinus* to his Camp, received him with Tenderneſs, entertained him with Reſpect, and reſtored him to all the Rights of a *Roman Citizen*. He was likewiſe afterwards reſtored to his Place in the Senate, and took his Seat among *The Conſcript Fathers*.

Indeed a *Tribune of the People*, named *Rutilius*, a Man of Moderation, but a ſtrict Obſerver of the Laws, oppoſed *Mancinus*'s Reception into the Senate. Tho' he did Juſtice to his Valour, was affected with his Misfortunes, and thought no Dignity too great for his Merit, yet he believed him to be, in his preſent State, diſqualified from enjoying any. It was an eſtabliſhed Law among the *Romans*, That when a Father had ſold his Son, or the Republick had given up a *Citizen*, that Son, or that *Citizen* was ever after a Slave, and could not be reſtored to his Liberty. From whence *The Tribune* concluded, That *Mancinus* was incapable of ſitting in the Senate; and when he took his Place there, *Rutilius* addreſſed himſelf to him, thus. *I wiſh*, Mancinus, *you had abſtained from coming hither, and not obliged me, by this Uſurpation, to an Act of Severity which is diſagreeable to my ſelf. You are no longer a* Roman. *By your Oaths and our ſurrender of you up to the Enemy, you are become a Foreigner. Your Country now is* Numantia. *By our Laws, no Man can have a Seat in this ſacred Sanctuary of the Republick but a* Roman Citizen; *which you are not. Be adviſed then, to reſt ſatisfied with leading a private Life in* Rome; *and don't draw down the Curſe of Heaven upon the moſt auguſt Aſſembly in the World. You are ſtill liable to the Vengeance due for the breach of your Oaths; and if you ſit here, you will bring diſhonour upon us in the ſight of Men, and make us reſponſible to the Gods for the Engagements into which you have entered. Unleſs therefore you willingly withdraw, I ſhall be obliged to order you to be taken out of the Houſe.* The Caſe was new, and one of thoſe called *Capital*. It was brought before the People aſſembled by *Centuries*; and by their Determination of it, they ſettled a Point of Law, which fixed the nature of *Donations*, or Gifts, of which *Deditions*, (or the giving up Perſons to the Enemy) was one Species. It was adjudged, That ſince the Enemy had not accepted *Mancinus* after the Republick had delivered him up, he continued in poſſeſſion of all his ancient Rights: Becauſe a Gift, in the nature of the Thing, implies and ſuppoſes its being accepted; otherwiſe it is not properly a Gift. A Determination which was as equitable, as the Foundation of the preſent Proceedings againſt the *Numantini* was unjuſt; and the Republick kept ſtrictly to her new Maxim, in the preſent Inſtance. *Mancinus* was afterwards advanced to the *Prætorſhip*. And ſo far was this great Man from being aſhamed of the low State to which his ill Fortune had reduced him, that he tranſmitted the Remembrance of it to Poſterity, by a Braſs Statue which he ordered to be made in the ſame Attitude, and in the ſame Habit of a Slave, in which he had appeared under the Walls of *Numantia*. Thus the Affair of *Mancinus* had no other ill Conſequences, than thoſe of diſgracing *Rome* in *Spain*, and of lowering young *Tiberius Gracchus*. Till after his *Prætorſhip*, he was as promiſing a *Citizen*, and as faithful a Subject, as any in the Republick. But as no body bore a greater part in the Peace of *Numantia* than himſelf, he looked with great Indignation both on the Treatment given to *Mancinus*, and on the unjuſt Favour which had been ſhewn to himſelf. Nevertheleſs he kept his Reſentment within his own Breaſt; and we ſhall not ſee it break out, till we find him choſen *Tribune of the People*, and judging himſelf to be thereby in a Condition ſignally to diſplay it againſt the Senate.

Epit. Liv. B. 56. c. 15.

Ibid. c. 18.

Cic. de finib. B. 1.

Pomponius Juriſc. Dig. B. 50.

Auth. de Vir. Illuſtr.

Plin. B. 36.

Epit. Liv. B. 56. c. 8.

In the mean time, the War with the *Numantini*, tho' already declared, was not renewed whilſt *Furius* continued in *Spain*. His Office ſeems to have been confined to the delivering up of *Mancinus* to the *Numantini*; or perhaps he had Orders not to expoſe himſelf to the firſt Fury of ſo terrible an Enemy. At leaſt its certain, if that were the Caſe, he did not go beyond his Commiſſion. He was very cautious not to take any falſe Step. Before he left *Rome*, two of his Enemies, *Metellus* and *Pompey* had ſpread Rumours among the People to his Diſadvantage. They had ſuggeſted, that *Furius*'s Government

Val. Max. B. 3. c. 7.

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in *Spain* could not but be odious to the Nation where he was going to command. Upon which, this wiſe *Conſul*, with a Confidence worthy of his great Mind, intreated the Senate that his two Defamers might be his Lieutenant-Generals, and prevailed. Being therefore attended by two Witneſſes, to whoſe ill Diſpoſitions towards him he was not a Stranger, he kept a ſtrict guard upon himſelf, and ſuffered nothing that was blameable to eſcape him. Perhaps indeed this Reſerve was ſome Reſtraint upon him, and ſuppreſſed the Sallies of his warlike Temper. At leaſt, we know that he undertook no Enterprize; but gave the *Numantini* time to breathe.

§. XI. This was not the Caſe of *Brutus*, who was again choſen *Pro-Conſul* in *Further Spain*. In *Luſitania* he more than recovered the Diſgrace he had ſuffered with his Son-in-Law among the *Vaccæi*. He carried on his Conqueſts to the moſt weſtern Borders of the Continent; and it was very probably there that he ſaw, with a religious Horrour, the Sun ſet in the Sea; or in the Language of ſome Hiſtorians, the Flambeau of the World extinguiſhed in the Boſom of the Waters. The only City, that ſtopped the Progreſs of the Conqueror, was [49] *Ceninia*. He ſummoned it to ſurrender, and afterwards offered to redeem it from Pillage for a Sum of Money. But the proud *Spaniards* anſwered, *That their Fathers had left them nothing but Iron, for their Defence*; and *That* Ceninia *would not maintain her Liberty againſt covetous Aggreſſors, with Gold.* Nevertheleſs, all the Country ſunk ſo faſt under the *Roman* Arms, that *Brutus* ſoon had but very few Conqueſts to make, in a Region into which the *Roman* Armies had never penetrated before: And it may be affirmed, that this was the only News the *Roman* Senate and People received, for this whole Year, which gave them Pleaſure. The other Advices from both the Eaſt and Weſt, were diſagreeable. The firſt Sparks began to break out of an ignominious War with revolted Slaves, which we reſerve for its proper place hereafter, that we may not interrupt here the regular Courſe of the Hiſtory: And *Illyricum* already felt the firſt Motions of another approaching War. *Rome* was alarmed at it, and all the Succeſs of her Generals could not remove her Fears; which the diſaſterous Preſages, reported from all Parts, increaſed. It was ſaid, That a ſudden Fire, the Cauſe of which could not be diſcovered, had conſumed almoſt the whole City of *Rhegium*; and That a Child had been born with two Heads and four Feet. Streams of hot running Water had been ſeen at *Puteoli*, of the Colour of Blood. The Lightening had often fallen and done Miſchief. Another Child had been born of ſo monſtrous a Figure, that the *Aruſpices* had ordered it to be burnt, and the Aſhes thrown into the Sea. All theſe Prognoſticks made *Rome* tremble. And laſtly, this diſaſtrous Year ended with the [58] *Luſtrum*. In the *Cenſus* taken by *Appius Claudius* [50] *Pulcher*, and *Quintus Fulvius Nobilior*, the *Cenſors*, they computed 323000 *Citizens* fit to bear Arms. After this, *Rome* proceeded to the Election of new *Conſuls*; and to recall *Furius* from *Spain*. *Sex. Attilius* was appointed *Pro-Conſul* [51] in the Country of the *Veneti* with a Commiſſion to ſettle their Limits: And *Brutus*, the only Comfort of his Republick in theſe gloomy Times, was confirmed in his Government of *Further Spain*, for the fourth time.

Val. Max. B. 6. c. 4

Jul. Obſequens. c. 84.

§. XII. When the Seaſon came, the People aſſembled in *The Field of Mars*, and conferred the *Conſular Faſces* on two Men, one of whom appeared to have more Valour, the other more Wiſdom. The former was *Servius* [52] *Fulvius Flaccus*, the latter *Q. Calpurnius*

49 *Ceninia*, called *Cinniana* in *Antoninus's Itinerary*, ſtood between *Bragus* and *Guimaraes*, in *Luſitania*. There are no Footſteps of it now remaining. The Place where it formerly ſtood is now called *Sitania*.

50 Though the Names of theſe two *Cenſors* have not been tranſmitted to us by the *Roman* Hiſtorians; ſome traces which remain of them in *The Capitoline Marbles*, give us good reaſon to believe, that one of them was *Fulvius Nobilior*, who had been *Conſul* in the Year of *Rome* 660. And for a Colleague, *Sigonius* gives him *Appius Claudius Pulcher*, who was *Conſul* in the Year 610. *Plutarch* tells us, in his *Life of Æmilius*, That *Claudius* was *Scipio Æmilianus's* Competitor for the *Cenſorſhip*; and the ſame Hiſtorian, (in his *Apophthegms*,) and *Appian*, repreſent him as a very conſiderable Man, who after he had been honoured with the *Conſulſhip*, *Cenſorſhip*, and the Dignity of *Prince of the Senate*, died before the Year 624. All that remains then is, to find the exact Time of his *Cenſorſhip*; and we can find no other than the Year 617.

51 An old Inſcription engraven on *a Terminus*, is the only Monument we have, which proves the *Pro-Conſulate* of *Sextus Attilius Serranus*. This Inſcription informs us that he, by order of the Senate, put an end to the Differences which had ariſen between the Inhabitants of *Eſt* and *Vicenza*, about their Limits. This Inſcription is placed by *Pighius*, in the Year of *Rome* 618. We refer our Reader for an Account of the *Veneti*, now *The State of Venice*, to our Diſſertation upon the Origin of theſe People, Vol. 2.

52 *Cicero*, in his Book of *Illuſtrious Orators*, reckons *Servius Fulvius Flaccus*, among thoſe who diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their Eloquence at the Bar. He compares him with *Servius Fabius Pictor*, and *Aulus Poſtumius Albinus* who was *Conſul* in the Year 602, and to whoſe Honour a Statue was erected in *The Iſthmus of Corinth*, as he himſelf teſtifies in one of his Let-

nius Piso. Nevertheleſs, the Province of *Further Spain*, and the War with *Numantia*, fell to the Lot of the latter, and the Government of *Italy*, a pacifick Scene, free from all military Functions, to the former. But Fortune ſoon made the brave *Flaccus* amends for the Injuſtice ſhe had done him. Before his Office expired, a new Scene opened, which called him to conquer, and from which he returned to triumph. Ever ſince the Conqueſt of *Illyricum*, in the Time of *Gentius*, who had been engaged in the Wars with *Perſes*, the *Romans* had ſuffered the *Illyricans* to enjoy much of their Liberty. They were only obliged to pay one third of the Taxes which their ancient Kings had laid upon them; and might very well have been content with ſuch eaſy Treatment, if they had underſtood their own Happineſs. But the *Vardæi*, or *Ardæi* [53], a People on the *Illyrican* Coaſt, whoſe Neighbourhood to the Sea had enriched them, attempted to ſhake off the *Roman* Yoke. They joined the *Palarians*, a Nation probably ſituated on the ſame Coaſt, and entered with them into the Country called *The Roman Illyricum*; doubtleſs, becauſe the *Roman* Magiſtrate reſided there. As ſoon as the firſt Motions of theſe reſtleſs People were known at *Rome*, the Senate endeavoured without delay to appeaſe them. *Rome* was already overburthened with an unfortunate War in *Spain*, and with a riſing War with the Slaves in *Sicily*: And therefore Deputies were immediately diſpatched to *Illyricum*. But all attempts of an amicable Accommodation were fruitleſs. The *Vardæi* ſaw that the *Romans* feared them, and they increaſed their Hoſtilities. It was therefore neceſſary to have recourſe to Force, and a *Prætorian* Army of 10000 Foot and 600 Horſe was ordered thither.

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This News alarmed the *Vardæi*. They were not yet prepared for a ſettled War, and perhaps had hopes of making the Revolt more general. To gain time therefore, they ſent Ambaſſadors to *Rome*, promiſing an entire Submiſſion; and the Senate, who at another time would not have been ſo indulgent, only required of them a Sum of Money, to make Satisfaction to the private Perſons whoſe Lands they had ravaged in their rambling Incurſions. But the Decree of the Senate was not executed. The Mildneſs of it raiſed the Pride of the Rebels, who renewed their Hoſtilities; and the Multitude of the Revolters was ſo great, that *Rome* was forced to have recourſe to more violent Meaſures. The *Conſul Fulvius Flaccus* was ordered to lead a *Conſular* Army to *Illyricum*; and there, by one Battle, he brought theſe Madmen to reaſon. He ſhut them up in narrow Paſſes, where they periſhed, partly by the Enemy's Swords, and partly by their own: After this Victory, he penetrated into the Country of the Rebels, put no ſtop to his Incurſions till he came to the Sea-ſide, and then puniſhed the Vanquiſhed for their Inſurrection. He forced them all to quit their native Country, and tranſplanted them into a dry inland Province which he left them to cultivate. There theſe ſeafaring Men, whom Trade and Piracies had enriched, became but bad Husbandmen; and being obliged to draw their Subſiſtence from an ungrateful Soil, they ſoon loſt their Courage, which had made them ſo warlike. Their Fatigues leſſened their Colony, and theſe *Ardæi*, who were formerly ſo formidable, became the Contempt of all *Illyricum* which they had in a manner governed. By this compleat Victory, and ſo wiſe a Tranſmigration of theſe People, the *Conſul* merited the Honours of *a Triumph*; which was almoſt a new Sight in *Rome*. It was now a great while ſince the *Romans* had been entertained with any of theſe majeſtick Proceſſions. The Glory of their Generals had been much eclipſed in *Spain*, ever ſince the beginning of the *Celtiberian* War, which was not yet ended; nor were all their Misfortunes there yet paſt.

Strabo, B. 7.

§. XIII. *Calpurnius Piſo* was ſet out for *Further Spain*, with a Commiſſion to renew the War with the *Numantini*; but he was afraid of them. He, like his Predeceſſor, durſt not appear before their City. Tho' his Army was numerous, he feared it might undergo the Fate of thoſe of *Pompey* and *Mancinus*, and himſelf follow their Examples. And it muſt be allowed, that the new General had ſome Reaſon for this timorous Conduct. The Proceedings of *Rome* againſt *Mancinus*, might well deaden the Courage of her Generals, more than the moſt inſuperable Reſiſtance of the *Spaniards*. The People and the Senate ſeverely puniſhed their *Conſuls* for being unfortunate. *Calpurnius*

App. in Iberic.

ters to *Atticus*. This is the ſame *Poſtumius*, who wrote a *Roman* Hiſtory in *Greek*, which gave occaſion to *Cato*'s Jeſt, which we have mentioned Vol. 3. p. 488. Note 101. He was, according to the *Roman* Orator, Eloquent, and a Man of Letters. As to *Fabius Pictor*, he was Eminent, for the Knowledge he had acquired in the Study of the Law, and of Antiquity.

53 The *Ardæi* inhabited a Canton of *Servia*, next the Sea, over-againſt *The Iſle of Pharos*. They took their Name from Mount *Ardius*, which is a Part of *The Alpes Juliæ*, and divides *Dalmatia* in the middle.

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therefore reſolved to make no attempt upon the *Numantini*, but led his Army into the Country of the *Vaccæi*. There he contented himſelf with living in the Enemy's Country, and with ravaging the Neighbourhood of *Palantia* without beſieging the City. And after he had carried off the little Booty he could get, he retired into *Carpetania* [54], where he ſpent the Winter in Tranquillity.

Oroſ. B. 5. c. 3.

But *Brutus* diſcharged his Duty with great Glory. He croſſed Mountains covered with Foreſts, and paſſing between inacceſſible Rocks, penetrated at length into the Country of the *Callaici* [55], or *Gallæci*. There he found an Army of 60000 *Spaniards*, which expoſed him to all the Dangers that could be run, in a moſt violent and difficult War; the Particulars of which are not tranſmitted to us. All that we know of it is in Subſtance this, That he at laſt found means to ſurround this formidable Army, killed 50000 of theſe Barbarians, made 6000 Priſoners of War, and almoſt extirpated the whole Nation. From thence he had the Surname of *Callaicus*, or *The Gallician*: And he may indeed well be ſaid to have been one of the moſt famous Conquerors of his Age. The Republick therefore thought it neceſſary that he ſhould be continued in *Luſitania* till *Numantia* ſhould be entirely reduced; judging him to be the only Perſon capable of keeping the Nations of *The Further Province* in their Duty, whilſt the War ſhould be purſued with Vigour in *The Hither*. So that *Brutus* did not return to *Rome* to *triumph* there, till three Years after, when *Spain* was entirely pacified. With the Spoils which he brought from his Province, he cauſed at leaſt one Temple to be built, and ordered ſome Verſes to be engraved on the Front of it, which the Poet *Attius* had made for that purpoſe.

Plut. in Grac.
Eutrop.
Cic. in Brut.

When the News of theſe Victories of *Brutus* was brought to *Rome*, it raiſed the Murmurs of the People againſt the two laſt *Conſuls*, who had been ſent ſucceſſively to *Tarragonian Spain* with great Armies, for their Inactivity. *How is it poſſible*, ſaid they, *that a City defended only with an Army which never exceeded* 10000 *Men, can have ſo long exhauſted the Forces of ſo powerful a Republick?* Hannibal *ſcarce deſtroyed ſo many Citizens in all the Battles he fought, as have been cut off by this contemptible Town of* Numantia. *Are we then no longer* Romans, *that we ſuffer a* Spaniſh *City to eſtabliſh it ſelf on the Ruins of* Rome? *Does* Numantia, *which is as weak now as* Rome *was when firſt founded, aim at being Miſtreſs of the Univerſe in her turn? We have utterly deſtroyed* Carthage, *which boaſted of being our Rival, and ſhall we ſuffer this paltry Place to diſpute the Superiority with us?* Theſe were the Thoughts of all the *Roman* People when they were aſſembled in *Comitia*, to chuſe *Quæſtors*. *Scipio*, ſurnamed *The Second Africanus*, was then juſt returned from his Voyage to *Aſia*, where he had ſucceeded in all his Negotiations, and had cauſed even the *Parthians* to revere his Republick. His Abſence had raiſed his Credit among the People, and he was therefore inclined to make a little Trial of his new Intereſt with them. One of his Nephews, named *Fabius Buteo*, the Son of that Brother who had been adopted from the *Æmilian* Family into the *Fabian*, was a Candidate for the *Quæſtorſhip* for the next Year; and *Scipio* offered to preſent him in Perſon to the aſſembled People. But to his great Surprize, the *Tribes* demanded to have *Scipio* for their *Conſul*, and ſaid, *That he only could deſtroy* Numantia, *who had deſtroyed*, Carthage! This publick Declaration, which *Æmilianus* had never ſought, put him in Nomination for one of the next *Conſuls*, though there was an Obſtacle in his way. At the Motion of *Cato the Elder*, a Law had been made for ſome Years, whereby it was enacted, That the ſame Perſon ſhould not be twice promoted to the *Conſulſhip*. The Deſign of this was, to diffuſe the Honour as much, and oblige as many Families with it, as poſſible. So that all Orders of Men in the State were intereſted in the Regulation, and it was ſcarce poſſible to diſannul it. And therefore *The Tribunes of the People*, in order to raiſe *Scipio* a ſecond time, which the Law forbad, to a Dignity, to which it was neceſſary for the State to advance him, took this Method. They, with the Aſſent of the *Senate*, propoſed to the *Comitia*, That *Scipio* ſhould have a ſpecial Privilege given him for his Promotion, which ſhould never after be made a Precedent. The People accepted the Propoſal with joy; and the whole Republick aſſembled in *The Field of Mars*, nominated him *Conſul* for the next

Val. Max. B. 8. c. 15.
App. in Iber.
Cic. de Amicitia.

54 See Vol. 3. p. 46. Note 107.

55 The *Gallæci* poſſeſſed that Part of *Spain* which is now called *Gallicia*. It now has, to the Eaſt, *The Aſturia's*, from which it is ſeparated by the River *Eo*, or *Miranda*, and the Kingdom of *Leon*. To the North and Weſt, it is bounded by the *Ocean*. And to the South, *The Minho* divides it from *Portugal*. It is ſaid to be about 50 Leagues long and 40 broad. But it formerly reached much further towards *The Pyrenees*, and contained a Part of *Old Caſtille*. This appears by the Situation of *Old Numantia* which bordered upon *Gallicia*, tho' the Place where it ſtood is now further up in *Caſtille*.

Year; and with him *C. Fulvius Flaccus*, Couſin-German to the preſent *Conſul* of that Name.

Then the bare Expectation of having *The Second Africanus* at the Head of an Army in *Spain*, raiſed the Spirits of the People, who were dejected, at the News from the Eaſt and Weſt, and at the Preſages which had lately been obſerved. Beſides the Revolts in *Illyricum*, the [56] *Scordiſci* were in motion, and it was neceſſary that the *Prætor* of *Macedon* ſhould ſtop their Progreſs. The War of the Slaves in *Sicily* was more warmly carried on than ever. *Numantia* triumphed at the Cowardice of the *Roman Conſuls*, and from their Fears of attacking her, concluded herſelf to be invincible. Whilſt the Progneſticks foreboded nothing but Evil. An Ox was ſaid to have uttered articulate Words. Mount *Ætna* had emitted more Flames than uſual. An Owl had been heard to hoot over *The Capitol*, and in the Neighbourhood of the City. What more then was wanting to make the *Romans* wiſh for a *Conſul* born under good *Auſpices*? *Epit. Liv.* *Jul. Obſeq.* c. 85.

§. XIV. Such was the Situation of Affairs, when *Scipio* and *Caius Fulvius* took poſſeſſion of the *Conſulate*, on the firſt day of *January*; and their Provinces were not choſen by Lot. The Senate ordered, That *The Second Africanus* ſhould have this further Privilege, That he ſhould go and command in *Hither Spain* without drawing Lots with his Collegue. The Government of *Italy* therefore was, for ſome time, in the Hands of *Fulvius*, who was ſoon after drawn into *Sicily* by the Affairs of that Iſland, to ſubdue the mutinous Slaves. But we ſhall for the preſent poſtpone our account of his Conduct there, in order to fix our Attention wholly on *Numantia* and *Scipio*. Year of *ROME* DCXIX. P. Cornel. Scipio Africanus, & C. Fulvius Flaccus, Conſuls.

Nevertheleſs, it ought firſt to be obſerved, that to the *Prætors* uſually choſen every Year with the *Conſuls*, was now added that *Furius Flaccus* who had juſt conquered the *Vardæi*, and whoſe new Province was *Illyricum*. So that he was the firſt who erected a *Prætorial* Tribunal in the ancient Kingdom of *Gentius*, where he kept this inconſtant People in awe, and himſelf enjoyed the Peace he had procured.

To which I muſt again add, though not without bluſhing for *Rome*, ſome of thoſe numberleſs Prodigies, which ſhe ſcrupulouſly enquired after, and as ſcrupulouſly took care to expiate. It was reported, That the Sun had been ſeen in the Night at *Amiternum*; That it had rained Blood; That an Ox had ſpoken; That at *Anagnia* a Slave's Cloaths had been burnt, and no Marks of the Fire left on his Body; That a Bird had groaned like a Man, upon *The Capitol*; That a Buckler had been ſtruck with Lightning in the Temple of *Juno*; That in the ſame Temple a Child had been heard to cry when the Doors were ſhut; That the Earth had opened at *Luna*, and a Lake guſhed out at the Opening; That at *Rome*, ſome Birds had been ſeen, which were unlucky, or unknown ones; and laſtly, That at *Minturnæ*, a Wolf had devoured a Soldier of the Guard. In order to avert the Misfortunes foretold by all theſe Preſages, 27 Girls were ordered to march in Proceſſion through all the City, and appeaſe the Wrath of the Gods, by ſinging Songs.

However, theſe popular Superſtitions did not delay the departure of the brave *Scipio*. But the Senate would not raiſe any new Levies for him, or increaſe the Forces that were to ſerve under him. They ſaid, There were Soldiers enough in *Spain*; and That they only wanted a good General who knew how to command them. He had likewiſe this difficulty, That the Republick did not pay him the Money which was neceſſary for the Campaign. She only aſſigned him Funds upon Tributes which were not yet due. But he found Means to raiſe the Sums the Republick delayed to pay him, among his Friends; and his greateſt Complaint was, at her not ſuffering him to make any new Levies. The Senate adhered to their firſt Reſolution, and would only give him leave to borrow in his own Name, as many Auxiliaries as were wanting to enlarge his Army, of the Kings and Nations in alliance with *Rome*. They were ſatisfied his Reputation would induce Multitudes to follow his Standards. The *Conſul* therefore begun with forming a Body of Horſe, of about 500 Men, which he ever after called, *The Squadron of his* [57] *Friends*. Then the Cities of *Italy* lent him 4000 Voluntiers, whom he put under the Command *App. in Iber.* *Plut.* *Val. Max. B.* 2. c. 7. *Epit. Livian.*

56 The *Scordiſci* inhabited a Canton of *Raſcia* and *Boſnia*.

57 Of this Number probably was the Poet *Lucilius*: At leaſt, according to *Velleius Paterculus*, he bore Arms under *Scipio Africanus* in the War with the *Numantini*, at the ſame time as *Marius* and *Jugurtha* did. But if ſo, *Euſebius* muſt be miſtaken in fixing the Birth of *Lucilius* to the firſt Year of the 158th *Olympiad*, that is, to the Year of *Rome*, 605; or at leaſt, it muſt be allowed, that he was but 15 Years old, in the Year 620, when the *Romans* went to the Conqueſt of *Numantia*. And at this rate, *Lucilius* muſt have entered into the Troops before the Age of 17, the Time preſcribed by the Laws for taking *The Virile Robe*, and entering into milita-

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Command of *Quintus Fabius Buteo* his Nephew, and his *Quæſtor*. And laſtly, he wrote to his Friend *Micipſa* in *Numidia*, who ſurvived his two Brothers, and now reigned alone there, deſiring him to ſend him ſome Reinforcements into *Spain*. This done, he immediately embarked, and took the ſhorteſt way to his Province, to take upon him the Command of his Army.

§. XV. When he arrived, he found that, among the *Roman Legions* which *Calpurnius Piſo* delivered up to him, Idleneſs had produced Licentiouſneſs, and Licentiouſneſs introduced all ſorts of Vices. He therefore revived in his Army that ſevere Diſcipline which he had kept up in *Africa*, when he went thither to reduce *Carthage*. He ſaid now, as he had formerly done, That the firſt Enemy he had to ſubdue, was the Untractableneſs and Effeminacy of his *Legionaries*; That this would indeed be a more difficult Conqueſt than that of *Numantia*; but that the *Romans*, when once well diſciplined, would again become invincible. To this end, he reſolved to employ a whole Year, in bringing his Troops into good Order; and never was greater Severity uſed. He began with clearing his Camp of all the Traders, Sutlers, and Servants, which were very numerous, and only helped to increaſe the Luxury and Sloth of the Soldiers. Nor did he ſpare even the Bath-Keepers which followed the Camp, and ſeem'd very neceſſary to keep the Men clean. When ſome Mutineers aſked him, *Who ſhould rub them when they came out of the Baths?* He pleaſantly replied, *Do as the Mules do; rub one another. Indeed we ſuffer Horſes to be dreſſed; but it is becauſe they have no Hands.* *Scipio* likewiſe baniſhed from his Army, a more dangerous Plague than all theſe. There were 2000 Women, who lived in the Trenches, and ſome of them in the Tents; but he expelled them all. After this, he cleared his Camp of a very great number of Carriages and Beaſts of Burden, which ſerved either to carry the *Legionaries*, or to eaſe them of thoſe heavy Burdens, which the old *Roman* Soldiers uſed to carry in their Marches, and the Weight of which made their Bodies the ſtronger. And he took care to drive out all Fortune-tellers, which were more likely to diſhearten, than to encourage his Soldiers. Nay, he would not even ſuffer them to conſult the Entrails of the Victims. *Theſe Superſtitions*, ſaid he, *make Men fearful of the future; whereas a brave* Roman *ought never to fear, even a preſent Danger.* He likewiſe ordered, That no Utenſils but Spits, Kettles, and Cups

military Service. And indeed, it was not uncommon for Fathers to carry their Children to the War before the Age fixed. But be that as it will, *Lucilius* was born at *Sueſſa*, a City in the Country of the *Aurunci*, and not of the *Volſci*, as *Voſſius* falſly pretends. The *Roman* Hiſtorians give him the Title of *a Roman Knight*; and they ſay he wrote 30 Books of *Satyrs*, in which he was not afraid to cenſure in a very ſevere manner, ſeveral Perſons of the greateſt Diſtinction. *Horace* and *Juvenal* ſay, That he attacked Vice with ſuch Severity, that his Pen was more formidable to bad Men than his Sword. Being a Friend to Virtue only, ſays *Horace*, he reviewed all the Villains of his Age, and unmask'd thoſe Hypocrites, who, under a falſe Appearance of Severity, concealed the moſt ſhameful Weakneſſes. *Scipio* and *Lælius* were ſo far from blaming this Liberty, that theſe two great Men did him the Honour to admit him to partake of their Diverſions. When retired from the hurry of Buſineſs, they laid aſide that Air of Authority and Importance, which their great Employments gave them, to enjoy plain and common Pleaſures with *Lucilius*. They did not diſdain to condeſcend to the innocent Sports of their Infancy. The *Old Scholiaſt* of *Horace* ſays, That at *Scipio*'s Houſe, *Lucilius* ran after *Lælius* and beat him with a Napkin, whilſt they were waiting for Supper. They both, ſays he, ran round about the Beds ſpread in the Hall, like Children, one endeavouring to ſtrike, the other to avoid the Blow.

Of all the Works of this Poet, nothing now remains but Fragments. Some quote as his, a Comedy called *Nummularia*; and ſome, as *Porphyrion*, aſcribe to him, *The Life of the Great Scipio Africanus*, whoſe Exploits were ſung by *Ennius*. Perhaps he wrote it at the Requeſt of *Scipio Æmilianus*, the Grandſon of the former by Adoption. The little that remains of his Poetry, is ſufficient to ſhew the inequalities of his Style, and to juſtify the Reproach, which the Criticks caſt on him, for having given himſelf too much up to the Rapidity of his Genius. His odd mixture of *Greek* and *Latin*, his Verboſity, his abounding in uſeleſs Circumſtances, and the bad Cadence of his Verſes, made *Horace* ſay, That his Vein was muddy. Nevertheleſs he had his Admirers, and ſome were ſo fond of him, that they carried Strops of Leather under their Robes, to whip ſuch as ſhould dare to deſpiſe his Verſes. And *Quintilian* is ſo far from being of *Horace's* Opinion concerning him, that he ranks him among the firſt Satyriſts. But *Cicero*, who had commended his Learning in his firſt and ſecond Books *De Oratore*, refuſes him the ſame Commendation in his firſt Book *De Finibus*. According to *Euſebius*'s *Chronicon*, he died at *Naples*, aged 46 Years. Tho' *Horace*, by ſpeaking of him as an old Man, implies that he lived longer. But the Argument which ſome Moderns draw from *The Licinian Law*, quoted by *Lucilius*, does not hold againſt *Euſebius*. They ſuppoſe, without any Proof, That this Law againſt expenſive Entertainments, was publiſhed in the Year of *Rome* 656, by *Publius Licinius Graſſus*, then *Conſul*. No ancient Author fixes the Time of the Publication of this Law; which leaves us at liberty to ſay, That it was done in the *Tribuneſhip* of the ſame *Licinius*, in the Year of *Rome* 644. And upon this Suppoſition, the Law he quoted will have been publiſhed 6 Years before his Death, if he lived only 46 Years; and conſequently, it is not ſtrange, that he ſhould mention it.

Porphyrion ſays, That *Lucilius* was the Brother of *Pompey*'s Grandmother, and *Acron*, an ancient Commentator on *Horace* pretends, That *Lucilius* was the Father of *Lucilia* the Mother of that great General. If ſo, it is ſurprizing that this Fact ſhould have eſcaped thoſe who have written the Life of *Pompey*. *Antonius Auguſtinus* is inclined to believe, That *Lucilia* was the Daughter of a Brother of *Lucilius*.

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Cups ſhould be ſuffered in the Camp; and forbad all ſorts of Victuals, but boiled Meats and roaſt. And as for Beds, he would not ſuffer one to be uſed; and was the firſt to lay without one himſelf. He ſaid, a little Turf was ſufficient to procure a Man a moderate Sleep. Rigours, which from a General leſs eſteemed, would have raiſed Murmurs, Diſobedience, and perhaps Mutinies, in the Army; but *Scipio* met with little Contradiction. The Reſpect and Eſteem his Men had for him, made them tractable.

A ſtop being thus put to the Intemperance, Luxury, and Incontinence of his Troops, he proceeded next to inure them to the moſt rigorous, painful Fatigues. He ſent them out of the Camp in Companies every Day, and ordered them to march in good order through the Fields. Sometimes he directed the Officers to lead them deſignedly through miry Roads, and through fordable Rivers, in their Cloaths; and when they returned to the Camp dirty, or wet, he told them, *'Twas but fit, that they ſhould be covered with Water or Dirt, ſince they were not in a Condition to go and cover themſelves with Blood.* In order to inure them to labour, he made them dig Trenches and fill them up again; or raiſe the Ramparts of a Camp, and immediately demoliſh them. *Since they don't know how to handle their Swords,* ſaid he, *let them learn how to uſe the Spade and Mattock.* These inſulting Reproaches inſenſibly revived ſome Sentiments of Honour in the Breaſts of the *Legionaries*, who were all *Citizens* of *Rome*, and ſome nobly deſcended. Nevertheleſs the General did not treat them with any Ceremony. When he ſaw one of them poliſhing his Buckler with great Care, he ſaid to him, *I am not ſurprized at your Work; You had rather uſe that, than your Sword. I order you to wear one that is heavier, and not ſo fine.* Nor did he ſpare even *The Tribunes*, whoſe Lenity had cauſed all theſe Diſorders. One Day, finding in the Baggage of one of his Officers an obſcene Cup, he ſaid to him, *I know you will never do me any great Service in the Army; but the thing moſt to be feared is, that you will loſe your Character in the Republick!* All theſe Reproofs were given with a grave and ſerious Air; and he converſed little with his Soldiers, and was difficult of Acceſs. He was quite another Man than formerly. His Eaſe and good Nature ſeemed now turned into Reſerve and Severity. The Reaſon of which was, That he did not regulate his Conduct by his Inclinations, but by the preſent State and Neceſſity of Things. The Seeds of Vice were ſo deeply rooted in theſe *Roman* Troops in *Hither Spain*, that they ſeemed not to have any Remains of their ancient Probity; and this was the Cauſe of all the Misfortunes which they had ſucceſſively brought on all their Generals. Exactneſs, nay Severity was become neceſſary to reform them; and *Scipio* neither ſhewed them any Favour, nor beſtowed on them any military Reward.

Florus, B. 2. c. 18.

App. in Iber. Plut. in Apophtheg.

When he encamped, he kept this Order. The advanced Guard on the March ſurrounded the Place where the new Camp was to be pitched. The Body of Horſe which he called *His Friends*, were kept moving about at a proper diſtance, as if they were going to make Diſcoveries. Within the Line made by the advanced Guard, the reſt of the Army were employed, in digging the Ditch, raiſing the Ramparts, and pitching the Tents; and all theſe Works were to be finiſhed at a ſtated Hour. The General was continually in motion all over the Plain, exciting the Workmen and puniſhing the Slothful. No one was exempt from the common Task, which was regularly performed, either out of Fear or Duty; till at length the General found none of them refractory. If a *Legionary* had not performed his Orders, he was corrected with Vine-branches; if an Auxiliary, he was ſeverely whipped with Rods. By this Means, the *Conſul* eſtabliſhed Diſcipline in his Army, in a few Months, and then began to have ſome dependance on the Valour of his Soldiers.

§. XVI. In order to prove it, he came and poſted himſelf a little nearer to *Numantia*; but with Caution. He ſet no advanced Guards round his Trenches, neither did he ſend out any Horſe upon the Scout. All his Troops continued in his Camp, without ſtirring. The prudent General thought it of the utmoſt Conſequence to him, not to ſuffer one of his Detachments to be ſurprized or beaten by the Enemy. The leaſt Diſaſter would have leſſened his Reputation, and diſcouraged his Troops: And the more ſevere he was to them, the more neceſſary it was to keep up the Eſteem they had for him. Beſides, the *Numantini* were a crafty Enemy, and had long been accuſtomed to conquer. *Scipio* was therefore afraid of making any falſe Step in their Territories; and did not continue long in their Neighbourhood. After having ſhewn his Army *Numantia* at a diſtance; he ſoon retired from a Country where it was not convenient he ſhould make a long ſtay. Nevertheleſs, he reſolved to ravage the Fields before he left it. He begun with thoſe behind him, and then proceeded to thoſe on his Right and Left. And when only thoſe a little

App. in Iberic.

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little beyond the City were to be ſpoiled, he ſummoned a Council of War; not ſo much with a Deſign to abide by the Determination of his Chief Officers, as to try their Valour and Prudence. He put the Queſtion, Whether they ſhould march beyond *Numantia*, and compleat the Devaſtation of all the neighbouring Country? And then *The Tribunes* of his Army which had been affrighted at the Shadow of the *Numantini*, affected great Courage. They replied, *Let us brave the City, march cloſe by it, and leave it behind us without fear.* So that the General had the Pleaſure to ſee the Fears of his Officers a little diſſipated. But their new Valour was degenerated into Raſhneſs. The *Conſul* therefore replied, *The Time is not yet come for braving ſo formidable an Enemy. Can we paſs by* Numantia, *without drawing theſe brave Defenders of their Country upon us? Which if we do, we muſt then fight at a Diſadvantage, with Men who will have a ready and ſure Retreat within their Walls. And if I could promiſe to conduct you ſafe to the Place deſired, could I undertake to ſecure your Return? The Danger would be great, and the Advantage ſmall. The pillaging one Field more, is not a ſufficient Motive for us to hazard all. An enterprizing General at the Head of an Army on which he could depend, could do no more. Whereas You —— Spare me the trouble of repeating the Reproaches which the Republick has had a Right to caſt on you, for many Years laſt paſt.*

Thus ſpake *Scipio*, and drew off his Troops towards the Country of the *Vaccæi*. He had been informed, That a publick Market was kept there, to which the *Numantini* came, to furniſh themſelves with Proviſions; and having a deſign to beſiege the City, he would firſt deprive it of a Magazine which was always ready to ſupply it. After he had taken a large compaſs, the *Conſul* entered this fruitful Country, and mowed all the Corn that was ſtanding, not ſparing even that which was not ripe. As much as he wanted for the Subſiſtence of his Camp was carried thither, and the reſt thrown in Heaps, and burnt. The *Vaccæi* did not ſuffer their Country to be laid waſte without Reſiſtance; and *The Tribune Rutilius Rufus*, who afterwards wrote the Hiſtory of this Campaign, was ſent by the *Conſul* to ſupport the Reapers. He commanded a pretty conſiderable Body of Horſe, which he led againſt the Enemy, and preſſed them too warmly. He unfortunately fell into an Ambuſcade, which the *Vaccæi* had laid for him, on an Eminence. Upon this, he ſtopped ſhort, drew up his Men in cloſe Order, and commanded them not to throw a Dart, or ſtir a Step, or ſtrike a Blow, till the Enemy came within reach of their Swords. But he was at a great Diſadvantage; the Enemy deſtroyed the *Roman* Horſe with their Darts, which they threw at them from a diſtance. In the mean time, the *Conſul*, who ſuſpected that an exceſs of Valour might carry Men ſo often accuſed of Cowardice, too far, had himſelf kept them in his Eye, and followed them at a little diſtance. And when he had joined them, he managed them in a very different manner. He firſt ordered the Horſe to divide into two Bodies, and then commanded them alternately, one to keep their Poſt, and the other to fall upon the Enemy. When the firſt returned from the Attack, the other went to it; and upon every return from it, they ſtill gained more and more Ground towards the Plain. Till at length, the *Romans* brought themſelves by degrees out of the Snare, and returned to their Camp without much Loſs. Thus *Scipio* gradually hardened thoſe Troops, which had been in ſo much diſrepute.

At length, it became neceſſary for the Army to quit a ruined Country; which the *Conſul* did with great Precaution. He knew the Enemy waited for him at the Paſs of a River; and for fear of being obliged to fight in a marſhy Ground, he choſe to take a Compaſs, and diſappoint the *Vaccæi*. During his March, he encouraged the People through whoſe Countries he paſſed. Upon the Rumour of the Approach of the *Roman* Army, the *Caucæi*[58] abandoned their Villages and Towns, and left their Fields to the Mercy of the Pillagers. Theſe poor People remembered that they had formerly been given up for a Prey to *Lucullus*'s Soldiers, and they feared the ſame Fate again. But they met with a more equitable Treatment from this more humane *Conſul*. *Scipio* ordered a Declaration to be made from him, That they might return to their Houſes, and gather their Harveſt in Peace. This great Man did not meaſure his Victories by the Deſolation of the Countries through which he paſſed. It was a Maxim with him, That it was neceſſary to gain the Affection of the People bordering on his Camp, in order to get Supplies from them in Time of need. Nevertheleſs his Army ſuffered much, in the long Circuits

58 The *Caucæi* were ſo called from the City of *Cauca* or *Caucia*, which ſtill retains its ancient Name, and is in *New Caſtille*, between *Segovia* and *Valladolid*,

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he took through dry Countries. Water was wanted both for the Men and Horſes. They were forced every where to dig Pits, from which they often could get nothing but bitter and brackiſh Water. But all theſe Fatigues of the Soldiers were what the General had had in view. He did not regard his being obliged to remount his Cavalry with a great Number of freſh Horſes, his main End was anſwered. This was to inure his Troops to military Labours, and rouze them out of that Languor, which had brought ſuch Diſhonour on the Republick. And indeed, when he brought his Army into the Country of the *Numantini*, to paſs the Winter there, they were quite another Sett of Men. Frugality, Vigilance, and a Love of Duty, had taken the Place of Effeminacy, Lazineſs, and Indolence. So that a whole Year was well ſpent, in bringing back the *Romans* to a Senſe of their ancient Virtue. And, tho' *Scipio* will generally be thought to ſhine moſt, as a great Commander, in the Conqueſt which will ſoon follow; I cannot but doubt, whether he does not more deſerve our Admiration, for his Conduct in this Year of his *Conſulſhip*, which he ſpent wholly in reforming his Troops. Had he not made theſe Preparations for it, he never would have immortalized his Name by the Conqueſt and Reduction of *Numantia*. He might perhaps have fallen, as his Predeceſſors did, before this Bulwark of *Spain*; if he had not firſt rooted out the Vices of his Troops, before he undertook to deſtroy it.

§. XVII. The Winter likewiſe, which the *Romans* ſpent encamped within the reach of their Enemies, ſufficiently exerciſed their Patience. Their General increaſed their Labours, and would never ſuffer any Men to march out of the Camp, without carrying their Tools with them; or to return to it, without bringing home Stakes for Paliſades. Of this ſome complained as an Hardſhip; but *Scipio* anſwered them, *That he would not ceaſe to inſiſt on their bringing Wood to fortify the Camp, till they had learnt to fortify it with their Swords.*

At this Time, the *Conſul* received the Reinforcement of Cavalry, Elephants, and Slingers, which *Micipſa* ſent him from *Numidia*. They were a fine Body of Men, and well mounted; but what moſt diſtinguiſhed them, was the young Prince who commanded them. His Name was *Jugurtha*; a Name, with which the *Romans* will be but too well acqainted hereafter. After he ſhall have learnt the Art of War, in his earlieſt Youth, under the greateſt *Roman* Officer of his Age, we ſhall ſee him turn his Arms againſt his Maſters, and make himſelf formidable to the Republick, which had taught him to conquer. We have before obſerved, That *Scipio*, after the Death of his Friend *Maſſiniſſa*, had made his three Sons all joint Kings of *Numidia*, without dividing the Kingdom. And now, *Micipſa* being the only Survivor of the three, he was become, ſince the Deaths of *Manaſtabal* and *Guluſſa*, ſole Monarch of all *Numidia*. When *Manaſtabal* died, he had left behind him only one Child, who was illegitimate, being the Son of a Miſtreſs whom he tenderly loved; and this Son was that *Jugurtha*, whoſe Adventures we are now beginning to relate. *Micipſa* took an Affection to him, and brought him up at Court with his own Sons *Adherbal* and *Hiempſal*; but *Jugurtha* was ſcarce arrived at Years of Underſtanding, before he forgot his Situation. He was naturally proud and ambitious, and took delight in getting the better of his King's two Sons, in all Exerciſes both of Body and Mind. In the Chaſe, he even affected to ſurpaſs them in Force and Skill, and to diſplay, without Ceremony, the ſuperior Talents which Nature had given him. The King therefore could not but think a Youth of this Diſpoſition a dangerous Perſon. He was jealous of a Man of ſo unpliable a Temper, and the more Eſteem he had for *Jugurtha*, the more intent he was upon getting rid of him. And a favourable Opportunity now offering, in the War *Scipio* was going to make in *Spain*, *Micipſa* put this Prince at the Head of the Succours, which the *Conſul* had demanded of him. The King flattered himſelf that the young *Numidian*, hurried away by his great Courage, would meet his Fate before *Numantia*, where ſo many *Romans* had loſt their Lives. But alas, how weak are the Conjectures of Men, and how vain their Expectations! *Jugurtha* was no leſs circumſpect, than brave. He behaved himſelf to *Scipio*'s Satisfaction throughout the whole Siege, acquired a great Reputation there, and made himſelf many Friends among the *Romans*. *Salluſt. in Bell. Jugurth.*

In the *Conſular* Army, the *Numidian* Prince found ſome Horſemen of his own Age, entered into Friendſhips with them, which continued ever after; and was but too attentive to the ambitious Views, with which they inſpired him. It was there he became acquainted with young *Marius*, who made his firſt Campaigns under *Scipio*; and, by I know not what ſimilitude of Temper, he became ſo ſtrictly united to the brave *Ro-*

man, as to be inſeparable from him; *Jugurtha* little ſuſpecting at this Time, that *Marius* would one Day become his moſt cruel Enemy, and his Conqueror. At preſent, the like Emulation for Glory animated both, to ſignalize themſelves in Battle. They were both, in ſome meaſure, the Favourites of the General; whoſe Favour was built on the Eſteem he had for them, and that Eſteem was very juſtly founded. *Marius* already diſcovered many valuable Qualities, and it being asked one Day at Table, who could ſupply the General's Place if he ſhould fail; the *Conſul*, tapping *Marius* gently on the Shoulder, replied, *My Succeſſor is near at hand. Who could do it better than* Marius? Add to this, that the young *Roman* was very remarkable for the exceeding great Care he took of his Equipage. At Reviews, his Horſe was always fineſt and beſt dreſſed: And his Mules were in ſo good a Condition, that they became proverbial. When any Mules were very fat, and very well taken care of, it was ſaid, *They were* Marian *Mules.*

Plut. in Mario.
Velleius Paterculus B. 2. c. 9.

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§. XVIII. At the return of the Winter, *Scipio*'s *Conſulſhip* expired. But this able General was choſen by the Republick, to continue in the Command of the *Roman* Army in *Spain*, in quality of *Pro-Conſul*, till ſuch time as *Numantia* ſhould be reduced. The new *Conſuls* choſen, were *P. Mucius* [59] *Scævola*, and *L. Calpurnius Piſo Frugi*. The Province that fell to the latter by Lot, was *Sicily*, where he was to make War with the revolted Slaves. Whilſt his Collegue continued in the Capital, to calm, if poſſible, that Spirit of Sedition which began to appear there. A remarkable Event, which ſhall be related in its turn; but we ought not, at preſent, to loſe ſight of the illuſtrious *Scipio*.

This *Hero* was making Preparations during the whole Winter for the Siege of *Numantia*; and the Reader will here again diſcover in his Conduct, the Character of the great Deſtroyer of *Carthage*; and will judge, whether the ſtrongeſt Bulwark in *Spain* could have been reduced, by any General but himſelf. The *Pro-Conſul* did not pique himſelf upon taking it by Force. His Scheme was to reduce it by Famine, and this Deſign procured him no leſs Glory, than if he had ſhed a great deal of *Roman* Blood, in making himſelf Maſter of it. Not that his Troops were ſtill afraid of the Enemy. *Scipio* demonſtrated, that the Courage or Puſillanimity of an Army, depends on the General who commands it. His Soldiers deſired nothing ſo much as to engage; and this riſing Valour was only the more to be feared. The *Pro-Conſul* therefore took care to moderate the Ardour of his Troops; and Prudence had a greater ſhare in the Succeſs of his Enterprize, than Force and Blows.

As ſoon as the Seaſon would permit, *Scipio* ſent out large Detachments to lay waſte all the Fields to the Right and Left of *Numantia*. The Grain which was in the Blade was cut up to the Roots, in all the Places which ſupplied the City. The whole Spring was employed in theſe neceſſary Incurſions, and the Country of the *Vaccæi* was again ravaged, as well as the neighbouring Lands. It may well be imagined, that the *Numantini* made all the Efforts they could, to prevent the Devaſtation of their Fields; but this they choſe to do by laying Ambuſhes, and drawing the Enemy into them, rather than by pitched Battles. They ſaved their Forces againſt a Siege, which they foreſaw. Their preſent Aims were only to draw the *Romans* into ſome dangerous Paſſes, and then fall ſuddenly upon them, and ſurround them. This way of making War had ſucceeded under the preceding *Conſuls*; but the Times were changed. *Scipio* would ſcarce ever venture the ſmalleſt Bodies of his Men to march out, without being himſelf within reach to relieve them. One Day, as he was marching into the Country to lay it waſte, he drew near a large Town ſituated in a Valley, which was acceſſible only in one Place. It was covered on one ſide by a Marſh, which made it there inacceſſible; and on the other, two hollow Ways led to it, one of which muſt be paſſed through, in order to reach it. Nevertheleſs, the *Roman* General thinking, by plundering a Place which abounded with Proviſions, to rob the *Numantini* of a good Part of their Subſiſtence, immediately detached a *Manipulus*, to fetch the Corn and Meal from the Town. He knew not that about 1000 of the Enemy lay in Ambuſh in one of theſe hollow Ways, ready to fall on the Pillagers; and it happened, that the *Manipulus* entered the Town by the other. But

App. in Iber. Oroſ. B. 5. c. 7.

[59] This is the ſame *Publius Mucius Scævola*, whom *Cicero* extols in ſeveral Parts of his Works, as one of the moſt able *Civilians*, and moſt virtuous *Citizens*, in *Rome*. Several of the ſame Name have made themſelves famous for their Virtue. Probity ſeems to have been hereditary in this Branch of the *Mucian* Family. This may be inferred from thoſe of this Family who have been already mentioned, and who will be mentioned hereafter.

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when the *Romans* had entered the Houſes, and were ready to pack up the Booty they had got; the People in ambuſh began to move, in order to fall on them before they were all got together. The *Roman* Centinels perceiving this, informed *Scipio* by Sound of Trumpet, of the Danger that threatened his Troops; and the *Pro-Conſul* inſtantly diſpatched 1000 Men to oppoſe the Enemy. Upon this, a Battle enſued between the two Parties, who were pretty equal in Strength; but it ended much to the Diſadvantage of the *Numantini*. Being alarmed at the Reſiſtance of the Enemy, they were beaten, turned their Backs, and made the beſt of their Way to the City; where they were but ill received by their Countrymen. The old Soldiers inſulted them, for leaving the Field of Battle, to Men, who were ſo weak, and had been ſo often vanquiſhed. But one of them replied; *They are not ſo weak as you imagine. You would not know them now. They are the ſame Flock indeed, but they have not the ſame Shepherd.* Whilſt *Scipio*, on the other hand, congratulated his *Legionaries* on their Victory. He ſaid, *it was a kind of Prodigy, that the* Romans *ſhould at laſt ſee the* Numantini *flee before them*; and from that time, he began to have ſome Confidence in his Men, and determined to begin the Siege without delay.

Plut. in Apophtheg.

§. XIX. The Summer began to advance apace, and the dryneſs of the Roads facilited the Carriage of the Proviſions and Machines which had been prepared for the Attacks, during the Winter. And now, the *Pro-Conſul* aſſembled in his Camp as many as he could of the *Spaniards* in Alliance with *Rome*. What he chiefly demanded of them was, to ſend him Slingers and Archers to be employed as he ſhould think proper; and ſo great a Number came, that in a few Days *Scipio* had in his Camp 60000 Soldiers who were all very confident of Victory, under the Command of ſo great a General. With this numerous Army, the *Pro-Conſul* appeared before *Numantia*; which was ſmall, with regard to the Number of Houſes, which all ſtood on a Hill of difficult acceſs. Some ſay, it was entirely ſurrounded with Walls and fortified with Towers, and others not. But be that as it will, there certainly were Fields and Meadows, on the declivity, and at the bottom of the Hill, which were on all ſides encompaſſed with Walls, and encloſed with Ramparts, and theſe were in reality a Fortification to the City. This Space between the Houſes and theſe outward Walls, was of great Uſe to the beſieged. They could there paſture their Cattle free from Inſult, and gather ſome Proviſions for themſelves. So that, taking in the whole compaſs, the City was full three Miles in Circumference. *The* Number of Men provided for its Defence, if we may believe ſome *Spaniſh* Hiſtorians who were perſonally intereſted in the Honour of their Country, was but 4000. Whereas others make them 6000; and it is more probable, that *Numantia*, including the ſuccours from the *Vaccæi*, contained an Army of ten or twelve Thouſand Men. The *Durius* waſhed the Walls of the City, and was of great uſe, for the Conveyance of Succours and Proviſions into it. But after all, it was not ſo much the Situation of their City, or their Ramparts that made the *Numantini* untractable, as their Bravery, their fierceneſs, and their reſolute Contempt of Death, in defence of their Liberty.

App. in Iber.

Florus, & Oroſ.

When *Scipio* had inveſted the Place, he did not propoſe to make a Breach in the Walls with his *Rams*, or to attempt it by the murderous way of Aſſault. His only view was, as he expreſſed himſelf, to ſtarve theſe wild Beaſts, and force them by Famine to leave their Dens, and redeem their Lives at the Expence of their Liberty. And he therefore firſt divided his Army into two Camps; and put one half under the Command of his Brother Q. *Fabius*, and commanded the other himſelf. This Apparatus of two Camps within reach of their Walls, alarmed the *Numantini*, tho' it did not diſcourage them. They again made Propoſals of Peace; but the *Pro-Conſul* would hearken to nothing, till they had firſt *ſurrendered* up to the *Romans*, by way of Preliminary, their City, their Perſons, and their Arms, to be diſpoſed of at Pleaſure. Theſe reſolute Men therefore preferred Death amidſt their domeſtick Gods, to Slavery. As ſoon as returned home, they armed, marched out of their City in good order, and weak as they were, bid defiance to the *Roman* General. Nevertheleſs *Scipio* did not alter his Meaſures; tho' theſe Bravadoes of the Enemy, and the Dilatorineſs of the *Pro-Conſul* raiſed ſome Murmurs among his Troops, whoſe new Ardour made them deſirous of fighting. Theſe Complaints were brought to the General, who began to be more familiar with his Soldiers than formerly; and he now vouchſafed to juſtify his Conduct in Converſation. *I have learnt from my Father*, Paulus Æmilius, ſaid he, *That an able General ought never to hazard a pitch'd Battle, unleſs Neceſſity compels him, or ſuch an Opportunity offers, as makes the Victory certain. To what purpoſe would you engage with deſperate Men,*

Appian ibid.

Aulus Gell. B. 13. c. 3. ex Sempronio Aſellione.

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whose Ruin is infallible, without your giving them the Pleasure of shedding your Blood? Depend not so much on the Fire that transports you, as on my Measures.

Nay, the *Roman* General adhered so strictly to his own Maxim, That he would not even kill any of the Enemy. He might, one Day, have easily surprized and cut off one of their foraging Parties; but he said, *Let them return home, and help to consume the Provisions there; The more Mouths they have, the sooner* Numantia *will be undone.* With these Views, which were worthy of a great Commander, who depends more on his own Measures than any slight Advantages, *Scipio* applied himself seriously to the Business in hand; and first surrounded the Place with a wide and deep Ditch. *Numantia*, as we have observed, was three Miles round, and he made this Ditch six. Whilst it was digging, *Scipio* placed the 30000 Men of his Brother's Camp, at a proper distance from the Walls, to cover the Workmen. They were drawn up in *Manipuli* under their Colours, and made a great Circle round the City. And between every Hundred of his *Romans*, the General placed his *Spanish* Archers and Slingers; that by this Mixture, an Emulation might be raised in both, and they might be the better able effectually to repulse the besieged, if they made any Sallies. Besides, in case any Part was attacked by the Garrison, the Commanders on the Post attacked, had Orders to erect a red Standard by Day, and to light a great Fire by Night. Upon this notice, the General whose Camp was within reach, would be ready to send them Succours from thence.

App. in Iberic.

Epit. Liv. B. 57. *c.* 26.

§. XX. With the help of these Precautions, the first Ditch was soon finished; and without this, at a little distance, was drawn another, ten Foot broad, and twenty deep. But these were only the Beginnings of the Works, which the *Roman* General made to secure his Conquest. Behind the outermost Ditch he raised a Rampart, strengthened it with Stakes, and palisaded it, and supported it with a Wall of eight Foot broad, and ten Foot high, exclusive of the Parapet. In this Wall, at the distance of every sixscore Foot, there was a Tower raised; and in the marshy Places, the Wall built on the dry Ground was continued with others built on Piles. So that nothing now remained to compleat the Works, but to stop up the Current of the River, by which Succours of Men and Provisions might be continually brought to the Besieged; and *Scipio* had learnt at the Siege of *Carthage*, how to put Fetters on the Sea it self. In order to prevent any Communication with the City by Water, it was sufficient to throw to the bottom of it, Beams and Masts fastened to Planks armed with Spikes of Iron, longways and broadways, with Openings to let the Water pass through. This kind of wooden Wall hindered the Navigation, even of the smallest Barks, and no Man dared to swim the River, even under Water. This *Staccado* was flanked with two wooden Castles, on the two Banks, and the Walls of these Castles were moored with large Cables. *Scipio*'s Design was to shut up the besieged in such a manner, that they should not be able to send any Intelligence of their State to the neighbouring Nations, or receive any Advice or Reinforcements from them.

These Proceedings of the *Pro-Consul* were extraordinary. No *Roman* General had ever before shut up a whole Army, which offered to fight a pitch'd Battle, within Walls and Ditches. But *Scipio* was not one of those who can only follow Precedents. He was born to be a Model for others. As soon as all his Works were finished, he guarded them Day and Night with his Troops. His Ramparts were lined with Soldiers, and his Towers filled with Archers and Slingers; and Men were posted all the way from the Circumvallation to his Camp, with Orders to give notice by Shouts, on which side the alarm was given. As soon as a Tower was attacked, it hung out a Colours, and the others that were near it following this Example, the *Pro-Consul* was informed by these Signals of all that passed, and sent Assistance where it was wanted. Of the 30000 Men which he kept in Reserve, twenty had nothing to do but to be ready to put themselves in motion on these Occasions; and the other ten provided for the Wants of both Camps. These Orders were every where invinlably observed; for *Scipio* had taken effectual Care to make his Troops obedient; as well knowing how necessary this was, before he could make them victorious.

§. XXI. On the other hand, the besieged omitted no Means in their Power to get over the Ditches, and break through the Barricades. They often appeared, sometimes before one Tower, and sometimes before another, to force their Way; but were always repulsed, and returned with nothing but Blows and useless Rage. The *Roman* General gave no rest to the besieged, or relaxation to his own Troops. He visited every Post every Day, and took a view of all the Parts of this vast Circumvallation. And besides the

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he ſtrict Guard which he cauſed to be kept in all Places, he ordered ſome rolling Towers ll of *Balliſtæ* and *Catapultæ* to be advanced at proper diſtances towards the City; not ſo uch with deſign to make any great Slaughter of the Enemy with his Darts, as to ter- fy and fatigue them. He was determined to conquer their Obſtinacy and reduce them, y the Miſeries of a Famine. And indeed, Neceſſaries began to be wanted in the City, nd the beſieged were without Hopes of Succour. There were ſome other Cities and Nations in Friendſhip and Alliance with them, but they wanted to be ſollicited to take p Arms in their Favour; and *Rhetogenes*, one of the braveſt Officers in *Numantia*, took pon him that Work. He was not ignorant of the difficulty he ſhould have, to elude the igilance of the *Romans*, and break through the Barriers which they continually ſet in is way; but nevertheleſs he undertook it, got his Attempt approved by the chief Men f the City, and choſe only five Friends to go with him, who were as determined as imſelf in the Buſineſs, and were well qualified for ſtirring up the neighbouring People o a Revolt. When the Party was thus made, he provided himſelf with ſome looſe lanks, ſo managed, that they could eaſily be faſtened together, and with theſe made a ortable Bridge, which was to ſerve for two Purpoſes; firſt, to croſs the Ditches, and in e ſecond place, to ſupply the Place of ſcaling Ladders for mounting the Ramparts of the eſiegers. Thus provided, they choſe a dark Night for the Execution of their Deſign; ounted on Horſeback, each Man carrying a Servant behind him, and arrived at the rſt Ditch, where they ſurprized and killed the Guard. Then they advanced without oiſe to the ſecond; ſcaled the Rampart, beat off the Guard which lined it on the out- de, led their Horſes over by help of the Steps of their Bridge, ſent back the Servants to rry the News to *Numantia*, and every one made the beſt of his way to the Plain, in rder to diſperſe themſelves in different Places.

A brave Action, which might have been of ill Conſequence to the *Romans*. The five *umantini* diſperſed themſelves in the beſt Cities of the[60] *Arevacæ*, and there repreſent- d the deplorable Condition to which *Numantia*, till then the Glory and the Support of *pain*, was going to be reduced. *We want nothing*, ſaid the Supplicants, *but a ſmall Ar- y to take the Field and make a ſlight Diverſion. Though ſurrounded by an Army* 60000 *ſtrong, if we could ſee the Poſts of the beſiegers but a little thinned of their Men, we would n make ourſelves a Paſſage with our Swords; and ſhould ſee theſe Cowards flee before us, ho uſe no Arms but Idleneſs to deſtroy us.* Theſe were affecting Conſiderations for *Spa- ards* who adored their Liberty; but the Reputation of the General diſheartned all. E- ry City was afraid of incurring his Anger; and all the Intreaties and Harangues of the *umantini*, produced only a fruitleſs Compaſſion. The only City which did more than ty theſe unhappy People, was[61] *Lutia*. It was full of fiery Youths, who breathed thing but Arms; but it was governed by wiſe old Men, who were more nearly touch- with a Concern for their own common Safety, than with an ill judged Affection for eir unfortunate Countrymen. And when the young Warriors, who were the ſtrong- t Party, were juſt ready to raiſe a Sedition, the chief Men of the City gave Advice of to *Scipio*. The great General immediately foreſaw the ill Conſequences of the firſt Di- urbance that ſhould happen among the neighbouring People; and he flew to *Lutia* in erſon without delay, taking only ſome light-armed Troops with him. He travelled 300 *adia*, the computed diſtance between *Numantia* and *Lutia*, in eight Hours; and his reſence ſtruck the *Lutians* with Terrour. He, with that ſovereign Authority which e *Roman* Generals aſſumed in all Places, demanded, That theſe raſh young Men who ad declared themſelves againſt the Intereſt of *Rome*, ſhould be delivered up to him; nd the Inhabitants at firſt made ſome difficulty of it. They had hid their Youth, and retended that they were eſcaped. But *Scipio* threatened the City with Pillage, and for- ed them to obey him. In ſhort, they delivered up 400 of the Rebels; and he cut off heir right Hands, and returned to his Camp by Sun-riſing.

Epit. Liv. B. 57. c. 34.

§. XXII. And now, Famine and Deſpair increaſed together in the beſieged City. The *Pro-Conſul* was more watchful than ever, in guarding againſt Sallies; when an Embaſſy om *Antiochus Sidetes*, King of *Syria*, came in ſearch of him, even into the Heart of *pain*. This Prince had known *Scipio* in his laſt Voyage into *Aſia*; had conquered *Try- bon*; married the Wife of his Brother *Demetrius*, who was ſtill a Captive among the

60 See Vol. 4. p. 557. Note 46.

61 There are now no Footſteps remaining of the ity of *Lutia*. All we know of it is, That it ſtood in e Country of the *Arevacæ*. *Mariana* places it no farther than four Miles from *Numantia*; and if ſo, *Ap- pian* muſt be miſtaken, when he ſays, it was 300 *Sta- dia*, that is, about 12 *French* Leagues and an half from thence.

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Parthians; and wanted the Protection of the *Romans*, to ſettle him in the Throne. It is probable, he had been [62] concerned in the infamous Aſſaſſination [63] of *Simon* the High-Prieſt of the *Jews*, who was known and eſteemed at *Rome*. Beſides, he had juſt ravaged *Judæa*, and taken *Jeruſalem* [64] by Capitulation; a City which muſt have been under

62 *Antiochus Sidetes*, when become Maſter of *Syria*, and delivered from the Fear of a Rival by the Death of *Tryphon*, ſignally diſplayed his Hatred to the *Jews*. He ordered *Cendebæus*, one of his Officers, to deſtroy *Judæa* with Fire and Sword. But *John* the Son of *Simon* the High-Prieſt, marched againſt him, to prevent his Incurſions, fought the *Syrian* Army, put it to flight, burnt a great Number of the Enemy who fled to a Poſt called *Cedron*, for Refuge, and returned victorious to *Jeruſalem*. This we find recorded, 1 *Mac.* xvi.

63 *Simon* had juſt married his Daughter to *Ptolomy*, one of the chief Lords of *Paleſtine*. He did not know, that his new Son-in-Law was a Villain, who under a plauſible outſide, concealed a very wicked Heart, which was capable of the blackeſt Treachery. Not content with the Government of *Jericho*, and the immenſe Riches he had gotten, he propoſed nothing leſs, than uſurping the Supreme Authority with which the *Jews* had inveſted his Father-in-Law. With this View, he formed the horrible Deſign of murdering *Simon* and all his Children, whoſe Birth entituled them to the Office of the High-Prieſthood. He depended on the Protection of *Antiochus*, and valued not delivering up his Religion and Country to the Mercy of a faithleſs King, provided he could, by that Means, ſecure himſelf the Government of *Judæa*. So that this Traitor waited only for an Opportunity to put his monſtrous Deſigns in execution; and this he found, in a Journey which *Simon* made to *Jericho*, with his two Sons *Mattathias* and *Judas*. He offered them a Lodging in the Caſtle of *Doch*, which ſtood on a Hill, which commanded all the Plain; and he choſe the Time of a great Feaſt which he gave his Gueſts, for ſtriking the fatal Blow. In the midſt of all the Rejoycings, *Ptolomy*, followed by four apoſtate Aſſaſſines, fell on *Simon* and his two Sons, and maſſacred them and their Attendants without Mercy. And there is Reaſon to believe, that *Ptolomy* had concerted this execrable Parricide with *Antiochus*. At leaſt, its certain, That the Murderer diſpatched a Meſſenger to the King of *Syria* with a Letter, to inform him of this tragical Affair, and to demand Troops of him, to be uſed as he ſhould find occaſion, againſt thoſe who ſhould oppoſe his ambitious Attempts. At the ſame time he offered to deliver up to *Antiochus*, thoſe Places in *Judæa* which *Simon* had recovered, and to pay him the ancient Tributes from which *Simon* had freed the *Jews*. But ſtill there remained alive one of *Simon*'s Sons, who was worthy to ſucceed him; and who then reſided at *Gazara*. *Ptolomy* therefore immediately diſpatched Aſſaſſines to murder him. But *John* was informed of the Maſſacre of his Brothers, and of his own Danger, by a faithful Man who reached him before the Murderers; and the Villains were prevented, and put to Death. Then the Prieſts and People, unanimouſly proclaimed the Illuſtrious Son of *Simon* High-Prieſt, and inveſted him with the Government of *Judæa*; and this great Man, in whom were united all the Virtues of the Children of *Mattathias*, ſhewed himſelf worthy of Succeeding the Heroes of his Race, by the Victories he gained over the Enemies of the People of God, and by his Zeal in maintaining the Religion of his Fathers. This Teſtimony is given to the Memory of the famous *John Maccabæus*, by the Sacred Hiſtorian; and this Account is a ſufficient Confutation of the Falſhood of *Joſephus*'s Hiſtory, Of the Death of *Simon*, Of the detention of his Wife and Children, and of the Siege of the Caſtle of *Doch*, by *John Maccabæus*, ſurnamed *Hyrcanus*.

l. *s.* *d.*
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64 *Antiochus Sidetes*, upon hearing the News of the Victories of *Simon*, and of *John* his Son and Succeſſor, was tranſported with great Rage; and the Deſire of Revenge, and the Sollicitations of the impious *Ptolomy*, brought him into *Paleſtine*. He marched thither with a powerful Army, in the 5th Year of his Reign, and the firſt of *John*'s High-Prieſthood. Every thing gave way before him, and the brave *John Maccabæus* was forced to take Refuge in *Jeruſalem*. *Antiochus*, after he had laid waſte the Country of *Judæa*, beſieged the Capital, and divided his Army into two Bodies, round the beſieged City. At proper diſtances, the King of *Syria* raiſed 100 Towers of three Stories, to batter the Place on all ſides; and ſo ſhut in the Inhabitants with a double Circumvallation, that it was impoſſible for them to have any Communication with others. Nevertheleſs, frequent Sallies were made, and the *Jewiſh* Garriſon, animated by the Example of their illuſtrious Leader, gained ſignal Advantages over the Infidels. In the mean time, a want of Proviſions began now to be felt by the beſieged, and *John* therefore, in this Extremity, ſent out of *Jeruſalem* all the uſeleſs Mouths, whoſe Fate had been leſs deplorable, if they could have had the Liberty to have reached the Country. But the *Syrians*, who had ſhut up all the Avenues, oppoſed their eſcape; and *Antiochus*, deaf to the Prayers of theſe unfortunate People, ſaw them ramble about the Walls of *Jeruſalem*, and the greateſt Part of them periſh with Hunger. However, this affecting Sight moved the High-Prieſt; and on the Day of *The Feaſt of Tabernacles*, he opened the Gates to the remainder of theſe Wretches, who were deſtitute of all Help and driven to Deſpair. And at the ſame time, deſired the King to grant the *Jews* a Truce for ſeven Days, and not interrupt them in the Celebration of this great Feſtival. Which *Antiochus* not only complied with, but in a Fit of religious Zeal, ſent to the Gates of *Jeruſalem* ſeveral Bulls whoſe Horns he had gilded, and ſeveral Gold and Silver Veſſels full of Perfumes, towards the Expence and Solemnity of the Sacrifices. From thence the *Jews* are ſaid to have given him the Surname of *The Religious*; and *John*, in return for the Benefactions and Generoſity of the King, offered to ſurrender up *Jeruſalem* to him, but upon Terms Honourable and Advantageous to the Inhabitants. The *Syrian* accepted the Terms, contrary to the Opinion of his chief Officers, who were avowed Enemies to the *Jewiſh* Nation; and engaged to maintain the People of *Judæa* in the Enjoyment of their Liberties and Privileges, and in the Right of governing themſelves by their own Laws. But he inſiſted, That the Inhabitants of *Jeruſalem*, ſhould ſurrender up their Arms to him, and receive a *Syrian* Garriſon; and That the High-Prieſt ſhould pay him the Tributes of *Joppa*, and the other Cities which had been recovered to *Judæa* during the Troubles in *Syria*. Theſe Conditions were ſigned by both Parties, except that of the *Jews* receiving the *Infidels* into *Jeruſalem*. Againſt this, the Elders of the People uſed the ſtrongeſt Arguments, repreſenting the Obligations their Religion laid them under not to intermix with Strangers; and theſe Repreſentations had all the Effect with *Antiochus* that the High-Prieſt had expected. It was only ſtipulated, That the *Jews*, in Conſideration of their being freed from a Yoke which they thought ſo heavy, ſhould give Hoſtages, and among them the Brother of the High-Prieſt, and pay * 500 *Talents*, 300 down, and 200 at the Time fixed. After this, the King of *Syria* raiſed the Siege, beat down the Battlements of the City Walls, and was brought into *Jeruſalem* with his Army; and

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r the Protection of the *Romans*, ſince the Treaties made with *Simon* ſtill ſubſiſted, under his Son and Succeſſor in the High-Prieſthood. *Sidetes* was now going to march an rmy againſt the *Parthians*, and penetrate into the moſt eaſtern Part of his Dominions. He thought it neceſſary therefore, to reconcile himſelf to the Sovereign Republick before s Departure, and thereby give a Sanction to many Expeditions, moſt of which might e diſagreeable to the Senate. To this end, he was deſirous of obtaining *Scipio* for his Adcate, and ſent his Ambaſſadors to him with magnificent Preſents. And though others ould perhaps only have given them a private Audience, and have taken to their own e the Preſents which were ſent them, *Scipio* acted a more noble Part on this Occaſion. *Epit. Liv.* e never ſaw the Ambaſſadors but in Publick; and when he had accepted of the valuable ewels they had brought ſo far, he diſtributed them among his Men, to reward their alour. Thus, he gained by his Bounties the Affection of his Troops; and acquired by his Diſintereſtedneſs ſuch a Reputation in his Republick, as raiſed him above his Rivals.

The *Roman* Army were charmed with theſe new Proceedings of their General; who was not one of thoſe narrow Minds, which can act only one Way. He altered his Meaſures, as the Time and Occurrences required. He had formerly made himſelf rather feared than loved. But now, the Affection of his Troops was greater, than the Veneration and Eſteem they had all along had for him: And they were ardently deſirous of compleating the Reduction of *Numantia* by Force. They thought the Time come for *App. in Iber.* putting an end to the Diſpute by a Battle. And indeed, five Ambaſſadors came from the Town, with the *Pro-Conſul*'s leave, to intreat him, That he would grant them the Favour, either to end their Days in a general Action, or to ſave their Liberty by an honourable Capitulation. *Abarus*, the Chief of them, ſuggeſted to *Scipio*, That it was for his Honour, either to ſhew Clemency to a People who had ſo bravely ſignalized their Conſtancy, or at leaſt not to deſtroy them, otherwiſe than with the Sword. But they received only this ſhort Anſwer, *There is no Compoſition to be made, till you have abſolutely ſurrendered up to me your Perſons and your Arms, without any Reſerve.* The *Pro-Conſul* would neither purchaſe a certain Victory with an unneceſſary Effuſion of *Roman* Blood; nor give exaſperated Men their Liberty and their Arms. Then the Fury of the Beſieged firſt vented it ſelf on theſe unfortunate Deputies, who, they ſaid, brought them nothing but ill News; and they maſſacred them without Mercy. Extream Miſery makes Men ſuſpicious. The *Numantini* took it in their Heads, That their Ambaſſadors had betray'd them, and had ſold the Lives of their Countrymen, in order to ſecure their own.

§. XXIII. By theſe Proceedings, which are uſually the Effect of utter Deſpair, *Scipio* judged that the Reſiſtance of the Beſieged could not laſt long. He was every Day informed by Deſerters of the lamentable Condition of the Place: And what confirmed him in his Suſpicions, was the fooliſh Attempt which the Beſieged made, in ſearch of *Flor. & Oroſ.* Death. A Fact, which is indeed related only by *Spaniſh* Hiſtorians; and they, to magnify the Courage of the *Numantini*, carry it even to a ſavage Wildneſs. The Beſieged, according to them, being preſſed by Want, reſolved to make a laſt Effort, to break through the Barriers which confined them. By way of Preparation for this general Sally, they conſumed good part of the few Proviſions they had left, in Feaſting. The common Drink of the Country was a ſort of Beer, called in their Language *Celu*, which being made of a boiled and fermented Grain, was heady, inflamed thoſe that drank it, and inſpired the moſt cowardly with Courage. The *Numantini* drank plentifully of it, without ſaving any for the future; were probably very full of Bravadoes in their Cups; and when they were thoroughly warmed, promiſed themſelves the Demolition of the Enemy's Ramparts, the Defeat and Flight of the *Romans*, and an entire Deliverance. Then they marched out by two Gates, and came and fell on the Works, like Lions; and now appeared the Uſe of the Signals which the *Roman* General had appointed. As ſoon as he ſaw them, he ſent Troops to reinforce the Poſts which were attacked; but notwithſtanding the Showers of Stones and Arrows which were thrown on theſe furious Men, they fell on the Ramparts to make a Breach. Their fixed Reſolution to die, or eſcape, made them inſenſible of their Wounds, and Neceſſity encreaſed their natural Valour. Nevertheleſs, they were at laſt forced to give way to Multitudes; and *Scipio* would

ere he concluded a Treaty of Alliance with *John Maccabæus*, who engaged him to ſend him Succours, and accompany him in his deſigned Expedition againſt e *Parthians*. The Authors from which we have extracted all theſe Particulars, are *Joſephus*, as founded upon the Authority of *Nicholas of Damaſcus*, *Diodorus of Sicily*, and *Plutarch* in his *Apophthegms*.

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not follow them in their Retreat, which they made in good Order, for they underſtood Diſcipline. But alas, their returning to the City was only changing one kind of Death for another. All the Plain, from the Enemy's Ramparts, was covered with dead and wounded; and in any other Circumſtances, their natural Compaſſion would have induced the living, to have taken up their Bodies and buried them. But now Deſpair extinguiſhed all Sentiments of Humanity. *To what purpoſe*, ſaid theſe poor unhappy Wretches, *ſhould we gather up the Bodies of our Citizens?* Numantia *and its Territories is nothing but one vaſt Tomb; and in a little time the* Romans *will come and offer Violence even to the Monuments of our Anceſtors.* And yet, even this raving Deſpair, did not utterly diſcourage theſe *Numantini*.

After they had in vain tried what Force could do in procuring their Eſcape, they reſolved to have recourſe to Craft. They had doubtleſs obſerved ſome Places in the Works which were more open and leſs guarded than the reſt; and imagining they ſhould be able to break through theſe, by the help of their Horſes, which were very lively, they accordingly prepared for flight. But the Plot was known to the Women, who were very nearly concerned to prevent the Execution of it. They therefore, both for their own and their Huſbands ſakes, cut the Bridles of the Horſes, and joined their Tears with other Obſtacles, to hinder their making their Eſcape. So that nothing now remained, but to reſolve to ſuffer the terrible Miſeries of a Famine. Then they firſt ate theſe very Horſes, on which they had founded ſome Hopes; and afterwards ſoftened their Skins with Fire, which ſerved them for Food ſome little Time; till at length they came to human Fleſh. As ſoon as a Man was dead, they cut him into very ſmall Pieces, thereby the better to diſguiſe this kind of Food. But in time they were cloyed with the Fleſh of the Dead; and then they proceeded to kill thoſe whom Sickneſs or Weakneſs had brought neareſt to the Grave. And at laſt, they went on to ſuch an extravagance of Exceſs, as to kill thoſe that were moſt healthy, becauſe they thought their Fleſh would eat the better. Thus did theſe poor Citizens, who were formerly ſo firmly united in carrying on their common Intereſt, now devour one another; and make War on themſelves in a much more cruel manner, than any common Enemy could have done.

Florus B. 2. c. 12.

App. in Iber.

However at length, amidſt all theſe horrible Crimes, and even in this deſperate State, an interval of Reaſon followed. After a publick Conſultation, it was reſolved to have recourſe to the *Pro-Conſul*, and conſent to an abſolute and entire Surrender. Nevertheleſs, this Reſolution was not univerſally approved. A great Number choſe rather to die, than to give up their Liberty; and ſhutting themſelves up in their Houſes, they there calmly waited for that Fate, which Hunger ſoon brought upon them. The reſt deſired an Audience of the *Roman* General. But in what Condition did they appear? Meagre and emaciated, hideous to behold, and more inſupportable to ſmell, in tattered Habits, with long filthy Beards, long and crooked Nails, and with the Hair of ſome ſtanding an end, and of others hanging down and covering their Faces. There was ſomething inexpreſſibly wild in their Air, and a Savageneſs even in the Manner of preſenting their Petition. And perhaps, the prevailing Opinion of their having eat human Fleſh, might give the Spectators a ſtill greater Abhorrence of them. However, *Scipio* deſired nothing ſo much as to put an end to their Miſery; and as ſoon as they mentioned the Word *Surrender*, he heard them graciouſly, and ordered them to bring all their Arms to a Place appointed the next Day. But theſe poor Wretches deſired a longer Day, in order to give the moſt obſtinate Time to chooſe what kind of Death they would die. It is ſaid, That the ſame *Rhetogenes* who had eſcaped out of the City during the Siege, and was returned thither, ſet fire to his Part of the Town, encouraged the Inhabitants to fight two and two, then threw the vanquiſhed into the Flames, and at laſt leaped into them himſelf. And to this, whether true or not, (for we don't ſee either when or how, he could return into a Place ſo ſtrictly guarded) the *Spaniſh* Hiſtorians add, That the *Numantini* themſelves reduced their City to Aſhes, and all periſhed by different Ways; not ſo much as one of them remaining alive, to grace the *Pro-Conſul*'s *Triumph*. Tho' a Writer, who is neither ſo much intereſted, nor ſo florid as they, aſſures us, That two Days after the Time fixed, a good Number of theſe wretched People came to the Place appointed, and brought all their Arms thither; and That *Scipio* reſerved 50 to adorn his *Triumph*, and ſold the reſt to the beſt Bidder. But be that as it will, thus much at leaſt muſt be ſaid in honour to theſe brave *Spaniards*; That never did any other People, who were ſo few in Number, either ſo long reſiſt the *Roman* Forces, or ſo often defeat the *Conſular* Armies, or bring ſo much Diſgrace on both the Generals and Senate of the Sovereign Republick,

Frontin. B. 4. c. 5.

App. in Iberic.

Florus, & Oroſ.

App. in Iberic.

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publick, or withstand with so much Constancy the greatest General in *Rome*. This Place, tho' infinitely inferiour to both *Carthage* and *Corinth*, was much more glorious in her Fall, than either of those proud Cities. Indeed *Carthage* had been taken Sword in hand; but *Scipio* did not think it possible to reduce *Numantia*, otherwise than by Famine. And with this City fell all the Hopes of the revolted *Spaniards*; so that the whole Country was that instant pacified.

§. XXIV. *Junius Brutus* kept the People of *The Further Province* in awe, whilst *Scipio* compleated the Reduction of *The Hither*. So that there scarce remained a nook of Land to conquer, or a People to subdue, in the whole Continent of *Spain*. And now, the *Roman* Senate thought it necessary to send ten Senators to their new Conquest, as it were to take Possession of it, in the Name of the Republick, and to make lasting Regulations in it. These Works of Peace kept the two *Pro-Consuls*, who were both in the Commission, some Months longer in their respective Provinces; and under their Direction, the *Spaniards* had new Laws imposed upon them, which kept them in a forced Subjection. But these People were too restless, and too great Lovers of Liberty, to continue quiet long. We shall see them continually renewing the War at Intervals; insomuch, that no perfect Tranquillity will be established among them, till the Emperor *Augustus* shall settle the whole World in Peace.

Thus had both *Brutus* and *Scipio* well deserved the greatest military Honours, one for having extended the Frontiers of the Republick to the Coasts of the Ocean, the other for having assured *Spain* to her, by taking this single City: And we have already mentioned the *Triumph* of the former. That of *Scipio* was some Months after it, and by that means postponed to the next Year; and when it came, there was nothing great in it, but the high Veneration which the People paid to the triumphant Victor. Fifty *Numantini* in Chains before his Chariot, added but little to the Pomp of the Show. Besides, the Conqueror had not brought many valuable Spoils from his Province neither did he distribute much Money [65] among his Soldiers. But on this solemn Occasion, the remembrance of the Evils the *Numantini* had brought on the Republick, was alone sufficient to heighten the Glory of him, who had delivered her from them. If the triumphant Victor had not enriched the Capital, he had at least made the Republick more powerful. Now that she was freed from a War which had lasted one and twenty Years, she was in a Condition to give Law to the whole World. And it is probable, that the *Roman* People on this Occasion, added the Surname of *Numantinus* to that of *The Second Africanus*, which *Scipio Æmilianus* had borne, ever since the Destruction of *Carthage*. The Historians, Poets, and Orators, have since often called him by that Name. Nevertheless it is not certain (whether it were Modesty or Disdain, that might cause him to neglect it) that he ever adopted this Appellation. At least, we don't see it on the ancient Marbles, on which we find the most exact, and most minute enumeration of his Offices and Titles.

And whilst *Scipio* continued to be employed in *Spain*, the malignant Remains of the *Numantian* War were felt at *Rome*. *Numantia* had brought numberless Disasters on the Republick, while it continued in Being; and still continued to be, in some Sence, fatal to her, even after its Destruction. Its Ashes, if I may so speak, stirred up in the Heart of *Rome* the first Sedition, in which *Citizens* fought with *Citizens*, and polluted the *Capitol* with *Roman* Blood. Tho' several intestine Tumults had been raised there, none had ever yet been known to end fatally. The Authority of the Law, or Negotiations, had in time appeased them all. But this was, at it were, the Prelude to those cruel civil Wars which afterwards broke out successively in the Republick, and which caused more *Roman* Blood to be spilt, than had been shed in the Conquest of the whole World. I need not say, I mean the Sedition raised by *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus*; which it may be proper to trace back up to its Source.

§. XXV. The *Sempronian* Family, from which *Tib. Gracchus* was descended, was indeed only [66] *Plebeian*; but it had been so very Illustrious, that it was one of the first in Rank in the Republick. The Father of this *Gracchus* had been twice raised to the *Consulate*, had signalized himself by many Victories, and had been twice honoured with

Plut. in Grace.

65 *Pliny* observes, That *Scipio* before his *Triumph*, gave each of his Soldiers no more than seven * *Denarii*, which make three *Livres* ten *Sols French*.

66 The *Sempronian* Family was divided into several Branches; of which only that of the *Atratini* was *Patrician*. The *Tuditani*, *Blasi*, *Sophi*, *Longi*, *Pitiones* and *Gracchi*, were six other Branches of the same Stock, which were of great Rank among the *Plebeians*.

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a Triumph; and theſe Diſtinctions, which were yet freſh in every one's Memory, reflected great Honour on his Children. By his domeſtick Virtues and his Probity, rather than his Reputation for Valour, he had likewiſe merited an Alliance with the Family of the *Scipio's*, which did him honour. After the Death of *The Firſt Africanus*, *Sempronius* was thought by many of her Relations, the moſt worthy Man to marry the Daughter of the great *Scipio*, that famous *Cornelia*, who was the Pattern of her Sex, and the Prodigy of her Age. By this virtuous Lady, *Sempronius* had twelve Children, the Care of whoſe Education fell upon her, after the Death of her Huſband: And ſhe made it her whole Buſineſs, during her Widowhood, to form their Minds[67] and Hearts. But, tho' ſhe confined herſelf to a ſtrict Retirement, ſhe was not only known and admired all over *Rome*, but her Reputation reached far beyond *Italy*. *Ptolomy Philometor* King of *Egypt*, demanded her in Marriage; but the haughty *Roman* Dame diſdained to marry a King, and preferred her Solitude to a Crown. Of all her Children, only one Daughter and two Sons eſcaped an early Death. The Daughter, named *Sempronia*, was married to *Scipio Æmilianus* the Deſtroyer of *Carthage* and *Numantia*; but ſhe did not walk in the Steps of that Virtue, which had been inſtilled into her, both by the Example, and the Inſtructions of her Mother. Her eldeſt Brother was that *Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus* whoſe Hiſtory we are now writing; and the Younger, *Caius Sempronius Gracchus*, whoſe Adventures will alſo be related, in their Turn. The Siſter and Brothers had learnt from *Cornelia* to live in perfect Friendſhip with each other. Tho' *Sempronia* had been married into the Family of the *Scipio's*, ſhe ſtill retained a greater Affection for her Brothers, than for her Huſband: And happy had it been for the two *Gracchi*, if they had always perſevered in thoſe Sentiments of Honour, and that Love for their Country, which *Cornelia* had early taught them. The eldeſt ſpent the firſt Years of his Life with a Reſerve, which did honour to his Education. In his firſt Campaigns, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his Courage, under *The Second Africanus* his Brother-in-Law; and ſhared with him the Glory of his Exploits. When he returned to *Rome* he applied himſelf to Oratory; and by the Superiority of his Genius, ſoon outſtripped the many other Orators who were his Rivals for publick Honours. So that being both famous for War, and for the Exerciſes of Peace, he was eſteemed a Youth of the moſt promiſing Expectations; and his Manners correſponded with his excellent Talents of Mind, and the extraordinary Gracefulneſs of his Perſon. Great Sweetneſs appeared in his Countenance, and an inexpreſſible Air of Politeneſs in all his Deportment. He was both plain and frugal in his Repaſts; and was ſo prudent an OEconomiſt, that he both kept clear of that Profuſeneſs which was ſo common with the young *Romans* of his Time, and of the Suſpicion of a ſordid and avaritious Temper.

With all theſe good Qualities, it is eaſy to judge, that the elder *Gracchus* was the moſt deſirable Match in *Rome*. *Appius Claudius*, formerly *Conſul* and *Cenſor*, and now *Prince of the Senate*, had therefore pitched on him for a Son-in-Law; and the Affair was concluded at a Feaſt which the *Augurs* made among themſelves. During the Entertainment, *Appius* fixed his Eyes continually upon him, careſſed him exceedingly, and at length told him, That he ſhould die content if he could ſee him married to his Daughter. The Propoſal was accepted; and *The Prince of the Senate* returning home, told his Wife *Antiſtia*, *That he had found out a Husband for her* Claudia, *and That the Matter was ſettled. Antiſtia* was ſurprized at the News, becauſe her Daughter was yet very young, and anſwered; *Why in ſo great a hurry? You could have done no more, if* Tiberius Gracchus *had deſired her in Marriage.* So that, the Joy muſt have been exceeding great in the *Claudian* Family, at the judicious Choice *Appius* had made for his Daughter. *Tiberius Gracchus* was now of the right Party, not having yet eſpouſed the Intereſts of the People againſt the Senate and the Nobility. Notwithſtanding the ſeeming Union between all Orders of Men in the Republick, ſome of the old Leaven of Diſſenſion ſtill remained between the People and the Grandees. The hidden Fire wanted only an Opportunity to break out; and *Tiberius Gracchus* perſevered at preſent in the Sentiments

67 One Particular, which *Val. Maximus* relates upon the Authority of *Pompeius*, concerning this *Roman* Lady, is ſufficient to enable us to form a Judgment of her Virtue, her Tenderneſs for her Children, and her zealous Care to give them an Education worthy of their Birth. A Lady of *Campania* came to *Rome* and lodged at *Cornelia's* Houſe, with whom ſhe was acquainted. This Woman, through a Vanity very pardonable in her Sex, ſhewed *Cornelia* her richeſt Jewels, and entered into Converſation with her about them for ſome time, till her Children were returned from the publick Schools; and then *Cornelia* took up the Diſcourſe, and pointing to her Sons, ſaid, Theſe are my Riches, and moſt valuable Ornaments.

both of his own, and of his Wife's Family; and ſupported the Party of the Nobles, tho' without openly attacking the popular Faction.

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Such were the Diſpoſitions, ſuch the prudent Conduct of *Gracchus*, when he began to be admitted to the high Offices in the State. The *Quæſtorſhip* was the firſt, through which he muſt aſcend to the ſuperiour Employments; and he ſtood for it, and obtained it. It was his Lot, as we have before obſerved, to diſcharge this Office in *Spain*; and he accompanied the *Conſul Mancinus* thither, and ſhared with him the Misfortunes of his Campaign. *Gracchus*, as has been related, was the Author and Negotiator of that ſhameful, but neceſſary Peace, which drew ſo many Misfortunes on the General, who had ſworn to maintain it. And it may be remembered, That the Senate, actuated by too refined a Policy, diſannulled the Treaty made with *Numantia*, and condemned the *Conſul*, *Quæſtor*, and other Officers, who had ſigned it, to be delivered up to the *Numantini*. And tho' the People, out of Eſteem to *Tiberius Gracchus*, had been content with ſacrificing *Mancinus* only, to the Intereſts of the Publick; yet his *Quæſtor* had Reaſon to complain of *The Conſcript Fathers*. He was exaſperated at their having paſſed ſo ſcandalous a Decree againſt his General and himſelf, for a Negotiation, whereby the Lives of ſo many *Citizens* had been ſaved; and the greater his Soul was, the leſs was he Maſter of his Reſentments. In ſhort, the Senate became execrable in his Eyes; and the Faction of the People gained the Aſcendant in his Heart. He openly declared for the latter; and was wholly bent on revenging himſelf on the unjuſt Party that had diſgraced him. In order to this, he ſtood to be *Tribune of the People*, and had no difficulty in ſucceeding. As his Family was *Plebeian*, admiſſion into that College could not be refuſed a Man of his Merit.

Vell. Paterc. B. 2. Cic. de Haruſp. Reſp.

§. XXVI. And no ſooner was he in a Condition to ſignalize his Reſentments, but he reſolved to attack the Nobility, in the moſt tender Part. The Riches of the *Senatorial* Families were almoſt the only Diſtinction they had left. All the publick Offices, whether in the State, or in Religion, had been for ſome time equally divided between the *Patrician* Families and the *Plebeian*. But with regard to Lands, the Nobility ſtill enjoyed ſome Uſurpations which their Anceſtors had made, in the firſt Ages, when all the Power in the Republick was in their Hands. They had enriched themſelves exceedingly, by the Confiſcation of the conquered Lands in the ſeveral Provinces in *Italy*. As ſoon as *Rome* had ſubdued any Country, ſhe firſt took from the ancient Inhabitants the half of the Lands they poſſeſſed before their Reduction; and when ſhe was thus become Miſtreſs of a great Territory, ſhe diſpoſed of it to the Advantage of the great Men in the State, and ſent thither only a ſmall Number of the pooreſt *Citizens* in *Rome*. The beſt cultivated Lands were divided among the Nobility, who were obliged to pay the Tenth of their Harveſts, and the Fifth of the Produce of the Fruit-Trees, to the publick Treaſury; and the Fallow-Lands, and Paſtures were given up to the People of the Country, ſubject only to the Payment of a ſlight Duty to the *Roman* Exchequer, by way of Quit-Rent. And as Covetouſneſs has no bounds, the Rich when become Maſters of a Portion of Land, ſoon enlarged it, either by Purchaſes, or by oppreſſing their Neighbours, whoſe Lands they ſeized. By this means, nothing became more common, than to ſee the great Lords of *Rome* Maſters of vaſt Eſtates, which brought them in immenſe Sums. Nevertheleſs, theſe Poſſeſſions, exorbitant as they were, were ſupportable, as long as the Rich continued to employ the Allies of the *Roman* People, in the Culture of them. Theſe Hirelings of free Condition, got a comfortable Subſiſtence by their Labour; and ſome of theſe Huſbandmen made excellent Soldiers for the *Roman* Armies. But the Maſters of theſe large Demeſns, had found out an Expedient to get their Lands cultivated at a cheaper rate. Inſtead of theſe hired Day-Labourers of the Country, they made uſe of none but Slaves for their Huſbandry. All their Farms were filled only with Men taken in War, who were maintained at a certain Price, without Salaries, and who were beat into the Performance of their laborious Tasks; and by this means, the Intereſts of private Perſons turned much to the Detriment of the Republick. The Number of Freemen in the Country were diminiſhed daily. Theſe poor hired Huſbandmen, not being able to find Work in their Country, deſerted it in whole Companies: And when the Republick wanted Soldiers, the Allies were no longer in a Condition, to furniſh their Contingents. A great Diſorder, which required a ſpeedy Remedy.

App. de Bell. Civili. B. 1.

Licinius Stolo therefore, a *Tribune of the People*, had got a Law paſſed in or about the Year of *Rome* 380, whereby it was enacted, *That no* Roman Citizen *ſhould have more than* 500 *Acres of Land in Property, or keep more than* 500 *Head of ſmall Cattle, or* 100 *Head*

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Head of Oxen; and That every one ſhould keep on his Farm a certain Number of hired Servants of the Country, to cultivate them. But Avarice had made this wiſe Law uſeleſs. Some evaded it, by holding more Lands than the Law allowed, in fictitious Names. Others laughed at it, publickly kept their Farms entire as before, and in open defiance of the Law tranſmitted theſe great Eſtates to their Deſcendants, who continued to cultivate them only with Armies of Slaves which were diſperſed in the Villages. This Abuſe had now ſubſiſted full 250 Years, ſince the paſſing of that Law; and ſeveral zealous *Tribunes of the People* had endeavoured, at different Times, to revive it, but in vain. It is ſaid that *Lælius*, the Friend of *The Second Africanus*, had had Thoughts of putting it in force, in his *Tribuneſhip*. But after he had well conſidered it, he found the Wound ſo inveterate, that he deſpaired of curing it, without raiſing ſuch Troubles as would be more dangerous than the Diſeaſe. Whereas the very Motive that induced the wiſe *Lælius* to deſiſt from the Attempt, was what now determined *Gracchus* to undertake it. His Heart was full of Rancour, and he longed for the Pleaſure of ſeeing the Mortifications he ſhould hereby give to the wealthy Families which he hated. Beſides, the Law he deſired to revive, had an air of Juſtice, which gave a Sanction to his Revenge, without caſting any Blemiſh on his Reputation.

Plut. in Grac.

§. XXVII. But, if we may believe ſome Hiſtorians, Revenge was not his only Motive, to attempt the Revival of *The Licinian Law*. He loved Glory, and was deſirous of ſignalizing his *Tribuneſhip* by ſome memorable Action. And it is pretended, that the prudent *Cornelia* herſelf, excited him to attempt ſomething great, which ſhould give him a Figure in the Republick. *Whenever People would make their court to me*, ſaid ſhe to him, *they call me, by way of Honour, the Mother-in-Law of* The Second Africanus. *Why don't they likewiſe call me the Mother of* Gracchus? *It is, becauſe your Name is not yet ſo Illuſtrious as to reflect any honour upon me. For your own Sake then, and for your Mother's Sake, make yourſelf famous by ſome great Attempt. As for your Brother* Caius, *he is yet too young; but his Time will come. You are nine Years before him, and in poſſeſſion of an Office, wherein you may ſhine to advantage.*

Not that *Tiberius* wanted theſe Reproaches to animate him. A favourable Opportunity now offered, for his regaining that ſuperiour Fame for Eloquence, which he had acquired in his Youth. He had had a Rival in Oratory, *Sp. Poſtumius*, who had taken advantage of his Abſence, and during his *Quæſtorſhip* in *Spain*, had triumphed in *The Roſtra*, without a Competitor, and gained a great Name. Eloquence was then as ſure a Step to the higheſt Offices, as the Knowledge of military Affairs; and *Gracchus* was very ambitious of excelling in both. If then he undertook to revive a Law of ſo great Importance as the *Licinian*, this would give him a fair Occaſion to exert his Eloquence, and recover his aſcendant over this Rival. All theſe Reaſons together, animated him to endeavour to make himſelf famous in his Youth, by acquiring the Affections of the Multitude, who were the ſole Diſpoſers of publick Favours.

Nevertheleſs, *The Tribune* would not attempt any thing, till he had conſulted ſome Men of Underſtanding, and of great Reputation for their Integrity. He firſt took the Advice of his Father-in-Law *Appius Claudius*; who tho' *Prince of the Senate*, approved of the Deſign, and promiſed to aſſiſt him with all the Weight of his Family-Intereſt, and his Office. *Craſſus*, the *Pontifex Maximus*, entered into the Scheme from Motives of Religion and Juſtice. And *Mucius Scævola*, who was reputed to be the moſt learned *Civilian* in *Rome*, and the Oracle of the Law, and whoſe Opinion was of great Weight with *Gracchus*, readily declared for the revival of *The Licinian Law*. There were likewiſe two Foreigners, who preſſed *Gracchus* more warmly than any others, to deliver the Allies of *Italy* from that Oppreſſion which they ſuffered by the employing ſuch Numbers of Slaves in Agriculture, to the Prejudice of the Freemen. One was a Rhetorician named *Diophanes*, an eloquent Man, who had been Tutor to *Gracchus*, and was a Native of [68] *Mitylene*, but had been driven away from his Country. The other was a Philoſopher, named *Bloſius*, a Native of *Cumæ*, and a profeſſed Speculatiſt, who conſidered publick Affairs in a looſe way, without looking far into the Conſequences of them. 'Tis true, none could doubt but the *Licinian* was in it ſelf a very equitable Law. Every honeſt diſintereſted *Citizen* muſt have wiſhed to ſee it put in execution. This alone would have reformed that Luxury, and ſuppreſſed that Licentiouſneſs, which began to

[68] *Mitylene* anciently was, and is ſtill, the Capital of the Iſland of *Lesbos*, in the *Ægæan* Sea. *Cicero*, in his *Tenth Oration on The Agrarian Laws*, commends it for the Handſomneſs and Symetry of the Houſes, and the Fruitfulneſs of its Territory.

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infect *Rome*. But was this the proper Seaſon for it? Or was *Gracchus*'s Party ſtrong enough to ſupport him in a Work which would create him ſo much Odium? This was the Point which ought to have been well conſidered; and no Man could have given his Brother-in-Law more prudent Advice, in the preſent State of Affairs, than *Scipio Æmilianus*. But, unfortunately for *Gracchus*, *Scipio* was abſent from *Rome*, and engaged in the *Numantian* Affair, in *Spain*.

It muſt likewiſe be granted in his Favour, that beſides his Rage againſt the Rich, *Gracchus* had a great deal of Compaſſion for the poor People. As he paſſed through *Hetruria*, when he attended *Mancinus* in his famous Expedition, he had been ſurprized to ſee the whole Country ſwarm with Slaves, and the Inhabitants of the Places, who were good Soldiers and faithful Allies to the Republick, deſtitute of Work, and reduced to the utmoſt Want. The Populace of *Rome* itſelf raiſed his Pity; and the Election of a Man of his Diſtinction into the College of *Tribunes*, had raiſed the Hopes of theſe unfortunate People. He could not ſtir out of his Houſe, but he found Bills affixed to the Portico's, and Corners of Streets and Tombs, wherein the People called upon him for his Aſſiſtance. Theſe Bills were to this effect, *If we have not Lands of our own now, in the* Tribuneſhip *of* Gracchus, *we ſhall never have any*. So that the Love of Revenge, the Reproaches of his Mother, the Thirſt of Glory, the Authority of ſome great Men who had the Reputation of Wiſdom, and a Compaſſion for the Miſerable, all conſpired to draw him into this moſt unfortunate Attempt.

§. XXVIII. His Law, as he firſt drew it up, was indeed full of great Temper and Moderation. It only enacted, *That all thoſe who had more than* 500 *Acres of Land, ſhould part with the overplus, and the Value of it ſhould be paid them out of the publick Treaſury. It allowed every Child of a Family, to hold* 250 *Acres in his own Name, over and above what was allowed to the Father. And it ordered, The overplus of theſe Lands which were taken from the Rich, to be divided among the poor* Citizens *of* Rome, *who ſhould either cultivate them themſelves, or get them cultivated by the Freemen who were upon the Spot.* *App. L. 1. de Bell. Civ.*

Nothing could be more mild than this new Edict. *Gracchus* might have abſolutely deprived the Rich of the Lands they had unjuſtly retained, contrary to the Direction of a Law, which they had ſworn to obey. He might likewiſe have made them accountable for the Profits they had received from them, during this long and unjuſt Poſſeſſion. But he was content with obliging them to ſell the Lands which did not belong to them, and take the Purchaſe-Money to themſelves. Nay, he even ſoftened the Severity of *The Licinian Law* it ſelf, in favour of the Children in Families. Nevertheleſs he took all the Precautions that became an able Man, in order to prevail on the People to paſs this new Bill. He appeared often in *The Tribune of Harangues*, and there lamented the hard Fate of the poor Inhabitants of moſt of the *Italian Provinces*; which was a vaſt Field for the diſplay of his Eloquence. *Theſe* Italians, ſaid he, *whoſe reduction coſt us ſo dear, are now moſt commonly the Inſtruments of our Victories. They keep pace with our* Legionaries; *and often leave it in doubt in great Actions, whether they, or our* Citizens, *deſerve moſt of the Glory of them. If our Troops raiſe an Emulation in them, theſe brave Allies, on the other hand, keep up the Courage of our* Legions. *Their* Cohorts *are almoſt as formidable to our Enemies as our* Manipuli. *Nevertheleſs, the Number of theſe brave Men diminiſhes daily. Hunger, or Want, or Flight, deprives us of their Aſſiſtance, who are ſo neceſſary to the State. And with whom are our Provinces, when deſerted by their old Huſbandmen, repeopled? Shall I ſay it,* Romans, *Or can you bear it without trembling? In the room of free and faithful Men, vicious Slaves are ſubſtituted, who cannot be made to work but by Force. Fear only will ſubdue their ſavage Spirits; and their bad Hearts give us cauſe to be always ſuſpicious of them. Nevertheleſs they ſwarm in the Countries that ſurround us. Who then can tell what Villainies theſe Wretches may engage in? Their preſent Attempts in* Sicily *give us pain for the Repoſe of* Italy? *What will become of this unfortunate City, if the leaſt Sedition ſhould break out in it? We ſhall ſee the Slaves break their Chains, arm themſelves with the Tools we put into their Hands, plunder our Barns, lay waſte our Fields, and make themſelves Maſters of the Places of their Servitude. And if they ſhould not, is it not wrong for us profuſely to ſquander away among them, the Bread which we refuſe to the many Mercenaries of free Condition, who are ſo uſeful to us in our Armies? Shall our Friends and our Countrymen periſh with Hunger; whilſt Enemies, who owe their Lives to the Compaſſion of thoſe Allies whom we neglect, enjoy great Plenty?*

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Theſe Things were frequenly repeated, and repreſented in many different lights, in order to prepare the Minds of the People, for receiving the new Law; and at length he propoſed it in the *Comitia*. The bulk of the *Citizens* were but little alarmed, the Populace rejoyced, and the native *Italians* diſperſed in the Provinces, triumphed at it. The Rich only, eſpecially thoſe of the Senatorial and Equeſtrian Orders, who found themſelves hurt, exclaimed againſt the Law and its Author. And as it was cuſtomary, when any new Edict was propoſed to the People, to permit any *Citizen* to ſpeak for or againſt it, till the Time of the great Aſſembly by *Tribes*, in which it was accepted or rejected by a majority of Votes; the Rich were continually mounting *The Roſtra* one after another, and haranguing the People in *The Comitium*, in order to diſſuade them from accepting of the Law. So that *Gracchus* was obliged to be perpetually entering the Liſts of Eloquence with freſh Adverſaries. But he anſwered their Difficulties ſo readily and ſo fully, as removed all Doubt. And with his ſolid Reaſonings, he intermixed ſuch Topicks as were moſt proper to make Impreſſions on the Multitude. *The wild Beaſts*, ſaid he, *find Dens and Paſtures in our Foreſts, but the Natives of our* Provinces *have no retreat in their own Countries! They are driven from the poor Cottages they inhabited, and ramble about in Companies in diſtant Regions, ſeeking that Subſiſtence in the Compaſſion of Foreigners, which they uſed to acquire by their labour at home. Shall then the Men who are accuſtomed to handle the Sword and Buckler, be ſo debaſed, as to be obliged to beg their Bread?*

On the other hand, the Rich inſiſted on the length of their Poſſeſſion, on the Debts they had contracted by purchaſing theſe Lands, and on the Difficulty of alienating them; and particularly on the ſtrange Confuſion which ſuch a Change would make in Families; ſince theſe Eſtates were ſettled on their Wives and Children. But *Gracchus* anſwered all, in ſuch a manner as left no room for Reply: And then, confounded theſe covetous Men with ſuch poignant Queſtions, as drew on them the Inſults of the People. *Is not the Law I propoſe equitable? Is it not very mild? Shew us, either the Injuſtice or the Rigour of it. Did not theſe Lands originally belong to poor Husbandmen? And have not you diſpoſſeſſed them? Beſides, what hurt can you receive, if you are paid the Price of them? If the Republick is inclined to reſtore them to their firſt Maſters, does it become you to hinder her Liberality? Have you more Regard to the Welfare of your Slaves, than to the Sufferings of ſo many Allies, who are baniſhed from their domeſtick Gods, and from the Tombs of their Fathers? With what Truth or Juſtice can our Generals exhort their Soldiers to fight valiantly, in defence of their domeſtick Gods and their Altars, when they have neither? Have they any thing left to looſe for our Sakes, but their Blood? They have not even Ground enough in their native Countries, to bury them.*

Cic. in Bruto. Theſe were the real Speeches *Gracchus* made on this Occaſion, and not imaginary Harangues invented *ex poſt Facto*. *Cicero* read them in his Time, and admired them more for the Vivacity and ingenious Turns he found in them, than for the Purity of their Language, which was not yet in its Perfection.

§. XXIX. Thus, in point both of ſtrict Reaſoning, and of Eloquence, *Gracchus* always got the better of his Adverſaries, before the People; who were charmed to hear him maintain the Cauſe of the Unfortunate with ſuch Succeſs. The Rich therefore had recourſe to Violence and Calumny, to deſtroy, or diſcredit, *The Tribune*. It is ſaid, they hired Men to aſſaſſinate him: And it was perhaps from this common Report, that he took occaſion to provide himſelf with Arms, and a numerous Guard to attend him, whenever he went from home. About 4000 Men generally accompanied him to *The Roſtra*; and he himſelf wore thither a hollow Battoon, in which a Sword was ſheathed. This at leaſt is certain, That his Adverſaries endeavoured to ruin him, by the moſt odious Calumnies. They reported, That he aimed at Monarchy, and publiſhed pretended and groundleſs Proofs of a Plot for crowning him King. But theſe Rumours were neither ſpread nor even believed by any, but ſuch as were intereſted againſt him. The People made it their whole Buſineſs to encourage their Law-giver, who was hazarding both his Reputation and his Life to procure them Advantage.

Aull. Gell. L. 2. c. 13.

Plut. in Grac.

Epit. Liv. B. 58. c. 19.

Rome ſwarmed with theſe poor Allies, who had hitherto been undefended, and whoſe Caſe was now ſo very deſperate, that only one Man had Courage enough to attempt to put an end to their Miſery. Not but there were in the *Provincial* Cities likewiſe a great Number of Enemies to the new Law. They had their rich Men as well as *Rome*, who, from the ſame OEconomy, had taken Slaves inſtead of hired Servants, to cultivate their Lands: And theſe openly declared againſt *Gracchus*, defamed him, and uſed their utmoſt Efforts to prevent his Succeſs. The Diviſion

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ſion ſpread from *Colony* to *Colony*, and from *Municipium* to *Municipium*, and all *Italy* was in a Flame; whilſt at the ſame time *Rome* had but one *Conſul* at the Head of Affairs, to reſtrain this great Multitude, whoſe different Paſſions had put them in a Ferment. *P. Mucius Scævola* had continued in the Capital, whilſt his Collegue *Calpurnius* was making War with the rebellious Slaves in *Sicily*. But what Aſſiſtance could the Republick expect from *Mucius*? He was a weak, unſteady, irreſolute Man, whoſe too great Caution made him incapable of curing great Evils.

Such was the Situation of Affairs at *Rome*, to the very Day when *Gracchus* propoſed his Law, in *Comitia* aſſembled on purpoſe to accept or reject it. This Aſſembly might juſtly be compared to a Camp, where ſome mutinous Soldiers ſupport their Leader, againſt the Pretenſions of the inferior Officers. The Multitude were ready to defend their *Tribune*; and the Rich were come to get the Law rejected. Then *Gracchus*, from *The Roſtra*, began with haranguing this mighty Crowd (whom an Affair of ſuch Importance had brought together, both from the City and Country) and addreſſed himſelf both to the Poor, and to the Rich. But he took particular care to paint the Miſeries of the former in the moſt lively Colours. *Crowds of Children*, ſaid he, *ſtretch out their Arms for Bread to their unhappy Fathers, who are not able to procure it for them by their Labour. The Mothers Breaſts are dried, and no longer furniſh Nouriſhment for Soldiers for our Armies. Nevertheleſs we are here forming great Schemes of Conqueſts, at our Eaſe. Our Thoughts ramble beyond the Seas, and we have already ſubdued the moſt diſtant Regions of* Aſia *in Imagination. Would I then ſtifle any Sparks of Glory, which a* Roman *Education may have kindled in your Breaſts? No. Be as ambitious as you pleaſe; but be ſo, with Prudence and Foreſight. Where will you find Men to form your victorious Armies, except among theſe very Allies, whom you diſperſe, whom you ruin? You therefore fruſtrate the Expectations of the Publick, in order to carry on your little private Intereſts. And not only ſo, but you even expoſe the Republick to the Danger of loſing what ſhe has already conquered. It is the Courage and Number of our Allies in* Italy, *that have made us invulnerable; and as ſoon as theſe ſhall be deſtroyed, the Nations whom you have ſubdued by Force, will no longer fear you. What then will become of* Rome, *or of your ambitious Schemes? Your* Legions *indeed have been able of themſelves to conquer* Italy; *but have they alone been ſufficient to procure you the Conqueſt of the whole World? No, you never could have been Maſters of it, had you not had the Aſſiſtance of theſe Allies, whom you ſo violently oppreſs. And what is it we would have done to theſe rich Men, whoſe Conduct is ſo fatal to the Publick? Would we utterly ruin them, or entirely degrade them from their ancient Rank? Indeed an equality of Goods might perhaps be moſt proper in a well regulated State: But that is not our Point in view. If the Father of a Family is allowed to hold* 500 *Acres for himſelf, and each of his Children* 250 *more, will not this enable any* Roman *to live in Splendour, and keep up his Quality? The Misfortune of the Times is, That Opulence has introduced Luxury among us; and our Luxury will not ſuffer us to ſet any bounds to our Avarice.*

Cic. pro Domo ſua.

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As ſoon as he had done ſpeaking, he ordered the Regiſter to read the Law; and then the Scene changed. In the College of *Tribunes*, there was a young *Roman*, of a Family highly diſtinguiſhed by publick Offices, if we may judge by his Name, which was *Marcus Octavius Cæcina*. This Man, who was unblameable in his Conduct, and had great natural Prudence, had contracted a Friendſhip with *Gracchus*; had openly declared his Approbation of the new Law, had been a profeſſed Advocate for his Collegue. The Faction of the Rich had in vain ſollicited him to proteſt againſt his Friend's Enterprize; motives of Honour and Friendſhip had hitherto preſerved him from Seduction. But now, being by ſome unknown Influences perverted, he came entirely over to the Adverſaries of his Collegue, and dealt very unhandſomly by his Friend. Inſtead of acquainting *Gracchus* with his Deſign to oppoſe the Law, before he had taken all the Steps neceſſary to get it paſſed; he concealed his Purpoſe till the Law was ordered to be read; and then ſilenced the Regiſter, by Words, which had been ever awful in the Mouth of a *Tribune of the People*; *I oppoſe it*. It had been an invariable Cuſtom in *Rome*, That no Edict ſhould paſs, without the unanimous Conſent of the *Tribunes*. One Opponent was ſufficient to ſet aſide any Bill, and his Proteſt had been always accepted. *Gracchus* was therefore ſurprized at this unexpected Blow from his Friend, and complained of it to the Aſſembly; but kept his Temper. He only deſired the People to aſſemble again in the ſame Place, the next Day; to hear their two *Tribunes*, one in Defence of, and the other in Oppoſition to, the Law propoſed.

Plut. in Gracc.

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§. XXX. At the Hour appointed for theſe Aſſemblies, *Gracchus* appeared in *The Comitium* well armed and well guarded. His Deſign was to terrify *Octavius*, and thereby give him a plauſible Pretence for deſiſting. But the young *Roman* had Courage. He firmly ſtood his Ground, and was not to be intimidated. So that when *Gracchus* again ordered the Regiſter to read the Bill, *Octavius* ſilenced him, by renewing his Proteſt: And then *The Tribune of Harangues* became a kind of Stage, on which the two Competitors, as Actors, entertained the Publick with an affecting Scene. They no longer addreſſed themſelves to the Auditors, but carryed on the Diſpute between themſelves. Each maintained his own Opinion with Vivacity, and they exhauſted their Subject. But during the whole Diſpute, not one raſh Expreſſion, or injurious Reflection, eſcaped either. They both behaved themſelves, as became Men of their Education and Birth; and at length, to put an end to the Conteſt, *Gracchus* took his Collegue aſide, and addreſſed him thus. *Perhaps you are perſonally intereſted to oppoſe this Law. If ſo, I mean, if you have more than the 500 Acres allowed; I myſelf, poor as I am, will engage to pay you in Money, what you will loſe in Land.* But ſtill, whether out of Shame, or from a Principle of Honour, *Octavius* was inexorable.

Plut. in Grace

Gracchus therefore had recourſe to another Expedient, which was doubtleſs lawful for any *Tribune* who propoſed a Law, when the paſſing it was prevented by Chicanry. He ſuſpended all the Magiſtrates in *Rome* from the Execution of their Offices. The Senate aſſembled no more; the *Prætors* were ordered to hear no more Cauſes; and all the Offices relating to the Finances, the publick Treaſury not excepted, were ſhut up, and Payments poſtponed till the Law ſhould be paſſed. Nevertheleſs, ſome *Prætors* continued to go on with Buſineſs; but *Gracchus* ſoon made them deſiſt, by fining them. Indeed, theſe were violent Methods of forcing Obedience; and all the rich Men in *Rome* therefore changed their Habits, and appeared no more in Publick, but in the deepeſt Mourning. But the Diſguiſes of the Rich raiſed little Compaſſion, at leaſt among the Multitude: And amidſt this Conſternation, *Gracchus* made another Attempt to ſucceed in his Deſign. All Things were got ready for putting an end to the Affair; the *Tablets* were given out, and the Baſkets for collecting them put in their Places; but the Perſons intereſted, fearing a ſudden Deciſion, got them taken away: And then nothing was done without Violence. In order to hinder the acceptance of one Law, all the reſt were broken. The *Comitium* was ready to have become a Field of Battle, in which *Gracchus* would have prevailed by Numbers. Upon which, two grave Republicans, *Manlius* and *Fulvius*, Men venerable for their Age and their Offices, both having been *Conſuls*, very ſeaſonably interpoſed; and threw themſelves at the *Tribune*'s Feet, intreating him to ſpare the Blood of the *Citizens*, in an Aſſembly where all Things ought to be tranſacted in a peaceable manner. *What then is to be done?* replied *Gracchus* wiſely. *How can an Affair end otherwiſe, which is oppoſed by ſo many baſe Artifices? It is an Affair of ſuch Importance*, returned the two venerable old Men, *that the Senate only is fit to determine it.* *Gracchus* was not ignorant, That this would be making the Senators Judges in their own Cauſe; the Senatorial Families being more concerned in Intereſt than others, to keep the Wealth which was going to be taken from them. Nevertheleſs, he conſented to ſubmit his Law to the Judgment of *The Conſcript Fathers*: Not out of Deference to *Manlius* and *Fulvius*; but from a ſincere Perſuaſion that the Law was ſo undeniably good, that the Senate it ſelf could not reject it. But this was judging wrong of Men. Where their Intereſt is concerned, they will always find Pretences enough, to darken the moſt glaring Truths.

§. XXXI. The Senate, whether in order to cool the Heat of Men's Minds by length of Time, or for fear of drawing upon themſelves the Hatred of a People fond of the Law, affected Delays, and were indeed divided among themſelves. All were not ſo mean of Spirit, as to be always ready to ſacrifice the Eaſe of the Diſtreſſed to their own private Intereſt. But *Gracchus*, who ſaw their Views, did not like theſe Procraſtinations. He brought the Affair before the People, from the Senate, and took an unjuſt Method, ſay ſome, but a neceſſary one, ſay others, to end it; by forcibly depriving *Octavius* of his *Tribuneſhip*, in an unuſual manner. He was the only proteſting *Tribune* of the Ten; and his Deprivation was the only Means to leave the Commons at liberty to vote; which when obtained, their Law-giver could abſolutely depend on a Majority. Nevertheleſs, before he proceeded to Depoſition, he thought it his Duty to try gentle Means. As the two *Tribunes* daily met in *The Roſtrum*, *Gracchus* publickly intreated his Collegue to drop his Oppoſition, in Compaſſion to the many unfortunate People for whom he interceded.

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He urged, That *Octavius* could never do ſo much for theſe poor Freemen, as they had done for the Republick; and That the Favour asked was the leaſt Reward ſhe owed them for all the Blood they had ſhed in her Service. And with his Intreaties, *Gracchus* joined Careſſes. He put him in mind of their old Friendſhip, affectionately preſſed him by the Hand, and often embraced him. Yet ſtill *Octavius* thought it a point of Honour not to change. A publick Breach therefore muſt enſue, and Extremities be uſed, with a Man, who ſtood ſingle in oppoſing the Deſires of the whole Body of ſo great a People.

Then *Gracchus* diſcovered in his Face and Manner, an Air of Melancholy and Dejection, which made him ſtill more amiable in the Eyes of the Multitude. *As far as I can judge,* ſaid he, *by the Words and Conduct of my Opponent, our Diſpute is only to be ended by Arms and Blows. But the Gods forbid,* Romans, *that in order to ſecure you a Subſiſtance, I ſhould expoſe you to the Hazard of your Lives! Since* Octavius *and my ſelf are divided in Opinion, and the Republick ſuffers by our Diviſions; It is the proper Province of the* Tribes *aſſembled in* Comitia, *to re-eſtabliſh Concord among their* Tribunes. *Let the Caſe therefore be determined by your Suffrages. If the Cauſe I maintain be in your Opinion Unjuſt, or Prejudicial, I readily offer to give up my Seat in the College. Your Defender will retire to the Solitude of a private Life, and there repine in ſecret at his Diſappointment, in having wanted Power to make his Zeal effectual. On the contrary, if you judge me worthy of being continued in your Service in this Station, deprive him of the* Tribuneſhip *who alone obſtructs my good Wiſhes. As ſoon as you ſhall have nominated one to ſucceed him, the Law will paſs without Oppoſition. Let the* Tribes *then enter into the Incloſure and give their Suffrages, as they ſhall judge proper. I give you till to morrow to conſider of it; only remember, That the Security of the City, and the Happineſs of* Italy, *depend on the Event.* Thus ſpake *Gracchus,* and immediately diſmiſſed the Aſſembly.

And probably it was in this interval, that he altered his Law. He had at firſt drawn it up with ſuch Qualifications, as made it tolerable. But being now ſowered with the Oppoſitions of the Rich in general, and particularly of the Senate, and his obſtinate Collegue; and being ſure that it would paſs in any Form in which he ſhould think fit to propoſe it; he reſolved to revive it as it was at firſt paſſed, without abating any thing of its Severity. When *Licinius* had got it paſſed, it abſolutely forbad any *Citizen* whatſoever to keep more than 500 Acres of Land. There was no Exception in favour of the Children in Families; no Reimburſement promiſed to thoſe, who ſhould part with any overplus. And now, *Gracchus* left it as ſevere as he found it. If he added any Clauſe to it, it was probably only this, That the Lands ſhould no longer be cultivated by Slaves, but by hired Day-Labourers of the Country.

The next Day, the College of *Tribunes* took their Places in *The Roſtra,* and among the reſt, the two Competitors. The Crouds of People on this extraordinary Occaſion were exceeding great. Of the five and thirty *Tribes,* which compoſed the Body of the Republick, the greateſt Part of thoſe who had a Right of Voting, had left the Country and repaired to the City. And then, in the Preſence of this numerous Auditory, who were ſo well diſpoſed in his Favour, *Gracchus* again made freſh Application to *Octavius.* He beſeeched him to deſiſt, if he had any Regard either for the Gods, for the common Good of his Country, or for the Intereſts of a great People, whom he was obliged by his Office to protect. But the Rich had bewitched him with their Diſcourſes, and perhaps with their Promiſes. He did not open his Mouth, but to continue his Proteſt. Then turning to the People, *Judge you therefore,* Romans, ſaid Gracchus, *which of us has deſerved Deprivation. I call the Gods to witneſs, That nothing but extreme Neceſſity could oblige me to take a Step ſo little agreeable to our Cuſtoms, and ſo contrary to my own Inclinations.* At theſe Words, the *Tribe,* to whoſe Lot it fell, and whoſe Opinion was generally followed by the reſt, or at leaſt, was a pretty ſure Indication how Affairs would end, entered into the Incloſure, and declared for the Depoſition of *Octavius.* Upon which *Gracchus* ſuſpended the Ardour of *The Tribes,* in order to make ſtill another Effort to bring over his Opponent. *Spare your ſelf,* ſaid he to him, *the Shame of a ſcandalous Deprivation, and me the Grief of having caſt a Bleminſh upon you, which neither Time, nor your Merit, will ever wipe off.* But an obſtinate *Roman* was more ſo than any other Man. He piqued himſelf upon making his Choice wiſely, and upon never receding from it, when he had once made it. This he thought a Proof of that Conſtancy which was the Character of the Nation. Tho' it muſt be confeſſed, That there was more Parade than Solidity, in the Inflexibility, even of the *Roman* Heroes.

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The other *Tribes* went on to vote in their Turns, and followed the Example of the firſt. Seventeen had already declared for the Deprivation of *Octavius*, and the Eighteenth was juſt going to determine the Affair, half a Vote Majority being ſufficient. But before he would ſuffer it to enter the Encloſure, the Law-giver endeavoured, for the laſt time, to recover his Collegue. *The Danger*, ſaid he to him, *is great, and your Hopes vain. Be perſuaded*, Octavius, *to follow the Inclinations of the* Roman *People. You have yet time enough to reconcile yourſelf to the Commons, and gain their Affections for ever. It is not diſhonourable to break our Engagements with our Friends, after we have purſued them to the laſt Extremity. Will they make you amends for your Loſs? Hearken rather to the Advice of a faithful Friend, than to a factious Cabal, who are intereſted to ſeduce you.* And theſe Words ſtaggered *Octavius*. He continued motionleſs and muſing for ſome time, and is ſaid to have dropped Tears. But he unfortunately caſt his Eyes on the Company of the Rich, who had followed him to the *Comitium* to encourage him; and read in their Faces Marks of Indignation and Contempt, if he ſhould abandon them. Then recovering his former Steadineſs, he ſaid to *Gracchus*, *Go on with the good Work you have begun; and carry the Oppreſſion as far as it will go.* At theſe Words, *Gracchus* made the eighteenth *Tribe* enter the Incloſure, and paſſed the Decree. *Octavius* was declared deprived of the *Tribuneſhip*, and the Law was paſſed as *Gracchus* had the laſt time propoſed it. And in order to compleat the Number of *Tribunes*, he got Q. [69] *Mummius*, one of his own Clients, choſen, in the Room of the depoſed.

Plut. in Grace.

§. XXXII. But here *Gracchus* forgot himſelf a little. He might have ſpared himſelf the Odium of ordering his Apparitors, who were all his own *Freed-men*, to make *Octavius* deſcend from *The Roſtra*, in the Sight of the People. Theſe Brutes drove him away with ſome ſort of Violence, and thereby increaſed the Compaſſion, which his own Party at leaſt, had for him. The common People, indeed, all hated him, and a Company of theſe Mutineers crowded about him to inſult him, as the Officers were dragging him through *The Forum*. However, his Friends protected him; but one of his Slaves loſt both his Eyes in the Fray: And *Gracchus* himſelf was forced at laſt to leave the Aſſembly, and come in Perſon to put an end to the Tumult. Inſomuch, that it was not without difficulty, that *Octavius* eſcaped ſafe to his own Houſe.

As for the new Law, it was either deemed paſſed by the ſame Suffrages which had depoſed the ſingle Opponent of it, or was again propoſed and voted in Form. And in order to compleat this great Work, *Gracchus* cauſed the People to appoint three Commiſſioners, to examine what Lands any private Perſons held above 500 Acres, to diſtribute them among the poor *Citizens*, and to direct who ſhould cultivate them. The Perſons choſen were *Gracchus* himſelf, and two others of his own Family and Party, *Appius Claudius* his Father-in-Law, and *Caius Gracchus* his Brother. This Accumulation of ſo many Honours on one Man, created him much Envy. Beſides, many were ſhocked at the Acclamations of the Populace, as they were conducting him back to his Houſe after his Victory. They called him, *The Reſtorer of* Rome, *and the Avenger and Protector of* Italy. Theſe illuſtrious Appellations were odious to Republicans, who were jealous even of the Shadow of Royalty. They thought this aſcendant over the Minds of the Multitude a kind of Tyranny, which weakened the Authority of the Senate, and tended to make all Power center in one ſingle Perſon. The Senators and *Roman Knights* looked on him as a formidable Enemy, whoſe Power they envied as much as feared. They complained aloud in the Senate, and other publick Aſſemblies; and ſome threatened to make him repent of his Proceedings, as ſoon as his *Tribuneſhip* ſhould be expired. Whilſt he, on the other hand, being ſupported by the Faction of the People, though himſelf above Reproaches or Threatnings, and was wholly intent on paſſing through all the *Italian* Provinces, with his Father-in-Law, and his Brother, in order to put their Commiſſion in execution.

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As ſoon as the Affair was over, the vaſt Multitudes of People who came from the Provinces to *Rome*, to ſupport their Intereſt, were diſperſed. Every one returned to his own Village or Town, there to wait for the Execution of a Law, which would deliver all *Italy* from the Oppreſſion of the Rich. Before the Commiſſioners ſet out, it was neceſſary, that the Chief of them ſhould apply to the Senate, to demand the Privilege of a Tent in the ſeveral Encampments they ſhould make in the Country, and to have his Appointments ſettled: And then, *The Conſcript Fathers* made *Gracchus* ſenſible of their

Plut. in Grace.

69 In the Copies of *Plutarch*, we read *Mucius*, inſtead of *Mummius*. *Plutarch Oroſius* gives this new *Tribune* the Name of *Minucius*.

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Reſentments. All Commiſſioners appointed for the Diſtribution of Lands, had hitherto been honoured with a particular Tent, which was now refuſed to him: and the Appointment made him for his Expences, was no more than *ſix* [70] *Seſterces* a Day. It was indeed a ridiculous Decree, and had been ſuggeſted by one of his moſt violent Enemies, *Scipio Naſica*, the Grandſon of that famous *Naſica*, whoſe Virtues had raiſed him to ſo great Honour in *Rome*. This Man had nothing of the Diſintereſtedneſs, or Moderation of his Grandfather. He was of a fiery Spirit, and could ill brook to ſee himſelf deprived of his Eſtate which he had increaſed beyond meaſure, and had uſurped from the Lands of the Publick. However, notwithſtanding the ſmallneſs of their Appointments, the three Commiſſioners began their Journey, and drew after them a great Multitude of poor People, who were full of Hopes of having ſome Lands for themſelves. The Commiſſioners lodged as they could, and ſpent a good part of the Year, in procuring and receiving Informations.

§. XXXIII. In the mean time, the Abſence of *Gracchus* from *Rome*, neither abated the Hatred of the Rich, nor the Affections of the People, towards him; and upon his Return, the Death of one of his Friends ſignally diſcovered both. His Confidant and chief Agent in carrying on his Deſigns, died ſo ſuddenly, that he was ſuſpected to be poiſoned. This was ſufficient to draw the Populace to the Houſe of the Deceaſed; and they found ſome Marks of Poiſon on his Body. But what put them out of all Temper, were the Accidents that happened at the Funeral. The Body burſt with ſome noiſe; and ſo much cold Water ran out of it, when it was upon the Funeral Pile, that it put out the Fire. This exaſperated the People beyond meaſure againſt the Rich, by whoſe Means they thought the Deceaſed poiſoned; and *Gracchus* took this Opportunity to apply himſelf for Refuge to his Protectors. He ran through the Streets of *Rome* in a careleſs Dreſs, and implored the Aſſiſtance of all he met, againſt the Violence of his Enemies. *My Life*, ſaid he, *is in ſuch Danger that I deſpair of being able to ſave it. But pray*, Romans, *take care, at leaſt, of my Wife and Children, whom I abſolutely reſign up to your Guardianſhip and Protection.* Theſe Complaints both raiſed the Compaſſion of the People, and increaſed their Affection for their Hero; and this new degree of Intereſt emboldened him to extend the Commiſſion, which he had in effect given to himſelf. He added this Clauſe to it, *That the Commiſſioners ſhould likewiſe enquire, What Lands had been uſurped from the Republick*; and by this Stroke he confounded the Senators. They owed moſt of their Wealth to their Uſurpations; there being ſcarce any of them, but had appropriated to themſelves more or leſs of the Lands that belonged to the publick Treaſury. *Epit. Livian.*

Indeed, tho' the Quantity of Land which would be taken from the Uſurpers would be great, the Number of the poor *Citizens* of *Rome* who expected them was greater. Inſomuch, that after the moſt ſtrict and rigorous Enquiry, it would not be poſſible for *The Tribune* to find Lands enough to content all the Expectants. But an Accident which muſt be traced a little further back, eaſed *Gracchus* of this Difficulty, and enabled him to ſtop the Murmurs of all the Malecontents among the People.

§. XXXIV. The Kingdom of *Pergamus* in *Aſia* was not a very ancient [71] Monarchy. It had begun about 150, or 151 Years before this Time; and the famous *Attalus*, *Juſtin, B.* 36.

70 Theſe ſix * *Seſterces* were worth no more than 15 *Sols French* Money, at the Rate of 2 *Sols* and a half to each *Seſterce*. See Vol. 2.

71. The Eunuch *Philetærus*, who lived to be 69 Years old, according to *Lucian*, founded the Kingdom of *Pergamus*, as we have obſerved Vol. 3. p. 314. Note 7. He founded it in the 469th Year of *Rome*, and the 40th after the Death of *Alexander the Great*; and died after he had reigned 20 Years. He had two Brothers, *Eumenes* and *Attalus*, the former of which had a Son named alſo *Eumenes*, after his Father; and this Man ſucceeded his Uncle, and was the ſecond Sovereign of *Pergamus*. He vanquiſhed *Antiochus* the Son of *Seleucus*, at the Battle of *Sardis*, and took Advantage of his Victory to enlarge his Monarchy. He reigned 22 Years, and left his Kingdom to his Couſin, the Son of *Attalus*, the other Brother of *Philetærus*. His Name alſo was *Attalus*, and his Mother was *Antiochis* the Daughter of *Achæus*, who had uſurped Part of *Aſia Minor*, to the Prejudice of his Pupil *Antiochus the Great*. This *Attalus* cut in pieces a numerous Army of *Galatæ*, and was the firſt Sovereign of *Pergamus*, who took the Title of King. He is ſaid to have reigned 43 Years; and he had by his Queen *Apollonis* the Daughter of a Citizen of *Cyzicus*, Eumenes *the Second*, who ſucceeded him, *Attalus*, *Philetærus*, and *Athenæus*. This is the Succeſſion of the Kings of *Pergamus*, to *Attalus Philometor*, whom *Eumenes the Second* had by his Wife, the Daughter of *Ariarathes* King of *Cappadocia*. We were therefore miſtaken, in ſuppoſing on the Teſtimony of ſome Chronologiſts, Vol. 3. p. 314, That *Attalus the firſt* ſucceeded his Father *Eumenes*. We were undeceived in this Matter, by reading Page 429 of the 13th Book of *Strabo*. It is alſo falſe, That *Attalus* had a Brother *Eumenes* who ſucceeded him. This Miſtake has eſcaped Father *Labbé* in his *French Chronology*, under the Year of *Rome* 512. *Diogenes Laertius* thought that *Eumenes the Firſt* was Son, and not Nephew to *Philetærus*; but this Error is confuted by *Athenæus* and *Strabo*, and is juſtly cenſured by *Monſieur Valois*,

* About d. 11½ Sterling.

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lus, who had joined with the *Romans*, in their War with *Philip of Macedon*, had been the third King. This Prince, after a Reign of 43 Years, left the Crown to his Son *Eumenes*; who walked in his Father's Steps, long adhered to the Fortune of the *Romans*, and aſſiſted them in conquering *Antiochus* and *Perſes*. In his Time, the Dominions of *Pergamus* were conſiderably increaſed by the Liberality of the *Roman* Senate; and he, after a Reign of 44 Years, left behind him a Son in his Minority, named *Attalus the Second*. This young Prince continued 21 Years under the Guardianſhip of Prince *Attalus* his Uncle, who did not put him in Poſſeſſion of the Throne, till he was of full Maturity; and this was the weak Prince, whom, as we have obſerved, *The Second Africanus* [72] had found at *Pergamus* ſeized with a deep Melancholy; in ſome gloomy Fits of which, he had ſpilt the Blood of all his Relations. The Reader may remember, that he loved his Mother *Stratonice*, the Daughter of the King of *Cappadocia*, to madneſs; and to merit his Surname of *Philometor* [73], revenged her Death on all the Royal Family, whom his Jealouſies made him ſuſpect to have been concerned in it. So that being without Relations, without Friends, and even without Courtiers, he confined himſelf to [74] Solitude, in which his whole Employment was building the Tomb of his dear *Stratonice*: And whilſt he was in Perſon preſſing the Workmen to go on with this magnificent Structure, he was ſo ſtruck with the heat of the Sun, that it killed him, in the 9th Year of his deteſted Reign. After his Death, the only ſurviving Prince of the Blood, who had eſcaped the general Maſſacre, was *Ariſtonicus*, (the natural Son of *Eumenes* by an *Epheſian* Woman) whom we ſhall ſoon ſee raiſing a new War, and defending his Claims againſt the *Romans*. But *Attalus Philometor* by his *Will* [75], excluded him from all his Dominions and Effects, which he gave entire to the Republick; and the avaritious *Romans* immediately ſeized all his Treaſures, and took care to tranſport them to *Rome*.

Valois, in his Notes on the Fragments of *Polybius*, p. 19. The following Paſſage of *Athenæus* is deciſive againſt *Diogenes Laertius*. *Eumenes*, ſays he, *the Nephew of* Philetærus, *was the ſecond Sovereign of* Pergamus. *He died with hard drinking, according to* Cteſicles, *in the Third Book of his Hiſtory.*

72. We may judge by *Cicero's* Teſtimony of the Eſteem and Reſpect which *Attalus* imbibed for *Scipio*, during his ſtay at *Pergamus*. He ſuppoſes, as an undoubted Fact, in his *Oration for King Dejotarus*, That *Philometor* ſent rich Preſents from the furtheſt Part of *Aſia Minor*, into *Spain*, to the Deſtroyer of *Carthage*, then buſy in the Siege of *Numantia*.

73 *Attalus* had the Name of *Philometor* given him on account of his tender Affection for his Mother. *Plutarch*, by a lapſe of Memory, ſurnames him *Philopator* in his *Life of the Gracchi*. He forgot, that he had called him *Philometor* in his *Life of Demetrius*. *Volaterran* has commited a double Blunder with regard to him. Firſt, in pretending That *Attalus* was only called *Philometor* by way of Irony, as if he had really perſecuted and murdered his Mother. And Secondly, in making uſe of *Juſtin's* Authority to ſupport this Pretence. This Author ſays juſt the contrary of what *Volterran* makes him ſay. But it muſt be owned, that ſome Hiſtorians accuſe this King, who was jealous of his Uncle's Authority, of making uſe of Poiſon, to get rid of this Prince, who without the Title of Monarch, governed his Nephew's Dominions with an abſolute Authority.

74 It was probably in this Solitude, that *Attalus* wrote the Books of Agriculture, which *Varro* and *Columella* aſcribe to him. *Gallien* ſays, That this Prince underſtood Medicines, and ſtudied Simples. A modern Writer of our own Times conjectures, That the Phyſician *Attalus*, whom *Pliny* mentions in the *Index* of *B.* 33, was the King of *Pergamus*, whom the ſame Author mentions in the *Index* of *B.* 8. And indeed, he does place the latter among the Authors, who had wrote of Phyſick.

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75 *Pliny the Naturaliſt* looks on *Attalus's* Will as the fatal Rock on which the weak Remains of the *Roman* Virtue were ſplit. With the Riches of *Pergamus*, ſays he, Debauchery, Effeminacy, Luxury, and in a Word, all kinds of Vices came in crouds to *Rome*, and overwhelmed this Capital of the World. Modeſty and Innocence were no longer countenanced, in a City given up to all the Pleaſures and Delights of *Aſia*. The Citizens, dazzled with the Splendor of the rich Moveables which were ſhewn them, were aſhamed of their ancient Simplicity. *Romans* began to value themſelves on their Taſte and Delicacy in the eaſtern Finery, and to covet, and be curious in Pictures of great Value, and Works exquiſitely wrought in Gold and Silver. They gloried in knowing how to value what their Forefathers gloried in deſpiſing. They rivalled one another in the Richneſs and Expence of their Tables, Habits, and Apartments. *Carthage*, that famous Rival of *Rome*, no longer kept our Virtue in exerciſe. The Glory of *Rome*, and that ancient Reputation for Probity, which made us ſo much reſpected throughout the World, were buried in the Ruins of the *African* City. *Aſia* when ſubdued, had her full Revenge on us, for the Shame of her Fetters, by bringing us under a much worſe Yoke, that of Effeminacy.

Servius, in his *Commentary on Virgil*, appears to have been of Opinion, That Tapeſtry was invented at the Court of *Pergamus*, and therefore called *Aulæa*, *ab aula Attali*. He adds, That theſe pompous Hangings were not known at *Rome*, till thoſe of *Attalus* were brought thither. But whatever *Servius* may ſay of the Etymology of the Word *Aulæa*, it is certain, the *Romans* borrowed it from the *Greeks*, who called Tapiſtries αὐλαίαι. *Pliny* tells us, *B.* 8, That *Attalus* was the firſt who introduced embroidering in Gold; and *Silius Italicus* ſays in effect the ſame thing, in the following Lines of *B.* 14.

....Quæque Attalicis variata per artem
Aulæis ſcribuntur acu.

It is well known that the Magnificence of *Pergamus* was ſo great, as to become Proverbial among the Ancients. We may judge of that of her Kings by one ſingle Fact. One of them, according to *Pliny*, *Nat. Hiſt. B.* 33, gave 100 * *Talents*, which make 100000 *French* Crowns for a Picture *of Ariſtides* of *Thebes*, one of the moſt famous Painters in *Greece*. And *Strabo* ſays, That *Eumenes the Second* founded at *Pergamus* one of the largeſt and beſt choſen Libraries in the Eaſt.

This

This Booty, which was brought by *Eudemus* the *Pergamian*, together with the Will of the late King, came very ſeaſonably to extricate *Gracchus* out of his Difficulty. He thought theſe Riches, which were immenſely great, would well ſupply his want of Land to ſatisfy the Deſires of all the Claimants; and he reſolved to have them diſtributed among the People. Having both the College of *Tribunes*, and the People, entirely at his Devotion, Laws coſt him nothing; and he therefore drew up a new Edict, conſiſting of theſe two Articles. 1. *That the Money brought from* Pergamus *ſhould be divided among thoſe poor* Citizens *to whom Lands could not be aſſigned.* And 2dly, *That the Diſpoſal of the Revenues of the Cities in* Attalus's *Dominions, ſhould not be in the Hands of the Senate, but of the People aſſembled in* Comitia. This Law, as may well be imagined, was received and paſſed by the People with great Applauſes. But it was a more mortifying Blow to the Senate, than all the reſt. It was taking from them the Application of the Revenues of a large Country, and putting it into the Hands of the Commons; and was conſequently an ample Revenge upon them, for their Appointment of only 6 *Seſterces* a Day, for the Expences of the Commiſſion.

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§. XXXV. All *Rome* agreed, That no Man had ever humbled the Senate more than *The Tribune, Gracchus:* Nevertheleſs, it was his Office only that was his Protection. The *Tribunes of the People* had, from their Inſtitution, been declared *Sacred*; that is, ſo far inviolable, that no Man could offer any Violence to their Perſons, without being underſtood to do Violence to Religion it ſelf. The Senators therefore reſerved their Reſentments againſt *Gracchus*, till he ſhould go out of his Office; tho' they ſometimes vented them in Menaces. One *Q. Pompeïus* declared in open Senate, That he had a capital Accuſation to bring againſt him, as ſoon as his *Tribuneſhip* ſhould be expired. *I am his Neighbour*, ſaid he, *and by that means come at the Knowlege of many Things, of which others are ignorant. I know, that the ſame* Eudemus *who brought the Will of the King of* Pergamus, *has left with this Law-making* Tribune, *the Royal Diadem and Mantle of* Attalus, *which* Gracchus *is to make uſe of, when he cauſes himſelf to be proclaimed King of* Rome. Theſe [76] Reports were ſpread from the Senate to the People, and were at length brought to *Gracchus*; which led him to conduct himſelf accordingly; and to be more upon his Guard for the future. But this did not leſſen his Aſſiduity, in mounting *The Roſtra* and haranguing the People, to keep up their good Opinions of him. One Day *T.* [77] *Annius* the *Prætor* boaſted that he would confound the *Tribune* in thoſe very Aſſemblies, where his Eloquence had ſo much triumphed. Upon this, *Gracchus* challenged him; which *Annius*, with an Oath, accepted; and went ſo far, as to tell him the Subject on which he would confound him. *I will demonſtrate*, ſaid he, *That you have contravened the Law, which makes* The Tribunes *inviolable. Let us hear what you have to ſay in your Defence.*

Oroſ. B. 5. c. 8.

Plut. in Grac.

The Day was fixed, and the Report of the Challenge much increaſed the Aſſembly. Not that *Annius* was famed for Eloquence, or was even a tolerable Orator. He had the Character of a Knave, and had only one Talent for Diſputation, which was that of preſſing his Adverſary ſo cloſely with captious Queſtions, as oftentimes to confound him. This paſſed for Subtlety in Diſpute; and this was the Artifice he uſed to diſcredit *Gracchus* in Preſence of the aſſembled People. When Silence had been made, *I have but one ſhort Queſtion to ask you*, ſaid *Annius* to the *Tribune*, *but anſwer me directly. If I had a quarrel with you, and called one of your Collegues to my Aſſiſtance, and he came, have you a Right to get him depoſed for this only?* The Alluſion to *Gracchus*'s Proceedings againſt *Octavius* was plain; and this was allowed to be the leaſt defenſible Step he had taken. The People themſelves, who adored him as their Benefactor, were not all ſatisfied, as to this Point. He had thereby given a Wound to the *Tribunate*, which might have bad Conſequences. *Gracchus* himſelf was ſenſible of it; and therefore, whether for fear of irritating the People more by an imprudent Anſwer, or for fear of incurring the Diſplea-

76 *Quintus Metellus*, probably *Macedonicus*, was not the leaſt zealous, according to *Plutarch*, in defending the Intereſts of the Senate, againſt the Attempts of *Tiberius Gracchus*. He reproached the *Tribune* with his being every Night attended with Flambeaux by a Mob of the vileſt of the People, who were always ready to revolt; and told him, his Father *Sempronius* had behaved himſelf in a very different manner in his *Cenſorſhip*. He ſaid, The *Cenſor*, when obliged ſometimes to return late Home, after having ſupped with ſome of his Frends, ordered all the Lights to be put out, for fear of making ill Impreſſions on the People who might ſee his Irregularity, and giving them Reaſon to ſay, that his Conduct ill became a Man in his Station.

77 *Feſtus*, under the Word *Satura*, mentions the Speech which *Titus Annius* ſurnamed *Luſcus*, or *the one-eyed*, made againſt *Tiberius Gracchus*; and from the little that is left of it, it is concluded, That the *Prætor* omitted nothing that could make the *Tribunate* odious, and unite the *Citizens* together againſt *The Agrarian Law.*

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sure of his Collegues, tho' a very bold and a very fine Speaker, he chose at present to be silent. He immediately dismissed the Assembly, promising them, that he would answer the Question when he had considered it.

And indeed, in another Assembly of the People, *Gracchus* appeared in *The Rostra*, and made a studied and very beautiful Speech, which is yet in being; and thereby recovered the Credit which he had lost by *Annius*'s Question. *It is not, said he, so much to maintain my own Cause, that I appear here, as to justify the Proceedings of the* Roman *People. Did the Accusation affect me only, I would despise it. I want not Greatness of Mind enough, to bid Defiance to vain Clamours. But, ye Gods, it is the* Roman *People that are attacked. It is You, or rather the Authority of your Suffrages, that these People would wound, through my Sides. You have deprived* Octavius *from the* Tribuneship. *This is the Crime which is imputed to me, and which, if it be a Crime, is yours. In order to hurt me, they have the Boldness to endeavour to blacken you. What have I done, but in concurrence with you? What could I have done, if not seconded by you? Since then the* Tribune *was deposed by your Orders, his Deposition is not justly to be placed to my Account. This is my Justification; and yours is not difficult. The* Roman *People have a natural Right to withdraw that plenitude of Power which they have given, when it is abused.* Octavius *had received* The Tribuneship *from your Hands, and with it, an Obligation to support your Interests. But the Prevaricator sacrificed them, whether to the Delusions of others, or to his own Interest, it matters not, and you were sensible of it. You were yourselves Witnesses,* Romans, *of the many Attempts I made to bring him back to the Duties of his Office. But his Obstinacy was invincible. Your Interests suffered by his Opposition; and he, instead of being the Defender of the People, was become an Advocate for your Adversaries. No Means that could be used were sufficient to bring him to think as the rest of his Body did; and you therefore cut him off from it. These were your Proceedings, and what occasion is there for my undertaking to vindicate the Equity of them? But, who is it, that casts these Reproaches upon you? A Man of no kind of Character, or Weight, or Ability, but what he derives from an idle Subtlety, and the Suggestions of your Enemies. What,* Annius, *Is the* Tribunate *so fixed a State, that a Man cannot be deprived of it, for any Crime whatsoever? Suppose a* Tribune *should take a Pick-Ax, or Flambeaux in his Hand, and attempt to demolish the Capitol, or burn the Navy, must he be suffered to go on in his Fury, out of pure Respect to his Person? Alas, how much were our Forefathers mistaken, in former Days! The Royal Authority formerly comprehended all the Power and all the Privileges of our present Offices.* Tarquin *abused this unlimited Power; and* Rome *not only deprived him of it for ever, but gloried in doing her utmost to root out the very Memorial of his Reign. And what Comparison is there between a* Tribune *and a Monarch? Not that I would at all derogate from the Dignity I have the Honour to enjoy: It is allowed to be Sacred. I grant, it consecrates our Persons and makes them inviolable. But were not our Kings likewise consecrated by Religious Ceremonies? Are not our* Vestals *dedicated to the Ministry of the Gods? Yet have not the former been Deposed; and are not the latter subject to the Chastisements of the* Pontifices? *These venerable Virgins are devoted to the Worship of the Immortals, as* The Tribunes *are to the Service of the People. Nevertheless, when the former dishonour their Profession, they are degraded, nay, they are buried alive. Why then should not the latter be deprived of their Dignity, if they either forget their Character, or betray it? The Contract between the People and their* Tribunes *is mutual; and subsists no longer, than our Zeal in defending those, who have chosen us to protect them. It was with this View only, that the Office was instituted. If then We abandon the Interests of the People, or which is worse, oppose them; Is not this perverting the very Intent of our Office, and in effect, falling from it? But be that as it will; must it not at least be allowed, that all the* Tribes *united, can take away what a small Number of them can grant? This is the true Light in which the Deposition of* Octavius *ought to be considered. No Right makes him immoveable. How many of our* Tribunes *have we seen, before his Time, renounce their Dignity themselves? Was he not, tho' a* Tribune, *subject to be called to account, and tried by his Masters; that is, by the most august Tribunal in the World? As to his Fault, it was notorious. The whole Body of the People were Witnesses of it. What more then could be wanting to make it a just Deprivation? Forbear therefore,* Annius, *to attempt to obscure, by a single Question, an involved Case, whose Strength cannot be fully represented, without enumerating all the Circumstances of it.*

Plut. in Grac.

§. XXXVI.

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§. XXXVI. Thus the Eloquence of *Tiberius Gracchus* was at length Victorious over the Subtlety of a contemptible Sophiſt. His Credit was the better eſtabliſhed by it, and all diſturbances about the Degradation of *Octavius*, at leaſt among the Commons, were at an end. It was very proper for *Gracchus* to remove theſe Prejudices, before he entered upon the Execution of the great Schemes he had formed, for the next Year. As he was ſo much Maſter of the Suffrages of the People, he aſpired at nothing leſs, than raiſing his Father-in-Law *Appius Claudius* to the *Conſulate*, promoting his Brother *Caius* to the *Tribunate*, and getting himſelf continued in his preſent Office. The laſt was an Attempt that moſt nearly concerned him. In his preſent Situation, it ſeemed to be in ſome ſort neceſſary, both for his own Safety, and that of his Friends. The Summer was now far advanced, and the Time for the Election of *Tribunes* drew nigh. The Candidates were very buſy in making their Intereſt, and the Senate were as active, in endeavouring to get ſuch only elected into the College, as were Enemies to *Gracchus* and his Faction. He therefore renewed his Application; and the moſt effectual Means he had to uſe, was that powerful Eloquence, which gave him ſo much the Aſcendant in the Minds of the People. He appeared conſtantly in *The Roſtra*, and never went thence without great Applauſes. Every thing he propoſed was in favour of the People, or againſt the Intereſt of the Senate. Sometimes he releaſed private *Citizens* from ſome of their Obligations to ſerve in the Army: Sometimes he brought before the People, thoſe Cauſes the cognizance of which the Senate had appropriated to themſelves. In the Trial of Cauſes of a civil Nature, he made it a Rule for the future, That the Judges ſhould be one half Senators, and the other half *Roman* [78] *Knights*. And laſtly, he gave the *Italian* Allies great Hopes, That he would procure for them all the Privileges of *Roman Citizens*. It may therefore well be imagined, that he could not ſucceed in all theſe Attempts, without great Oppoſition; and indeed, the very Seaſon of the Year it ſelf, threw no ſmall Difficulties in his way.

App. L. 1. de Bell. Civ.

It being the Time of Harveſt, and of the greateſt Heats, the People left the City in Crouds; and *Gracchus*'s whole Dependance was on the Multitude. It was neceſſary therefore to act a new Part, to ſecure the People who continued in *Rome*. The nearer the Time of Elections drew, the more neceſſary it was to try all Expedients. Then

78 Ever ſince *Romulus*, the Body of the Senators only, excluſive of all others, had been in poſſeſſion of the Right of trying Cauſes. They were as it were, *Aſſeſſores Nati*, to the Magiſtrate, who was charged with the Adminiſtration of Juſtice. And this Cuſtom continued inviolable to the Time of the *Gracchi*; and then the *Roman Knights* began to partake of the Right of Judicature with the Senate. So that, in every civil Cauſe, the *Prætor*, at the Deſire of the Parties, choſe a certain Number of Judges, who were partly *Senators*, and partly *Knights*, to try it: And to avoid all Suſpicion of Fraud or Colluſion, they were choſen by Lot; and the *Prætor*, before he proceeded to chooſe the Judges, took an Oath that it ſhould be fairly and honeſtly done. After this, the Plaintiff and Defendant were to declare their acceptance of the Perſons ſo choſen; and in caſe of a Refuſal by either Party, the *Prætor* made a freſh Choice, as we have obſerved in our Interpretation of the 11th Law, of the *Firſt* of the *Twelve Tables*. Vol. 1. p. 440. Note 25. And when theſe Commiſſioners for trying the Cauſe were accepted, they bound themſelves by Oath to adhere to the Laws of Equity and Juſtice in determining it. *Cicero* had an Eye to this Cuſtom, in his third Book *Of Offices*, when he ſays of a Judge, That his whole Application ought to be to diſcharge the Office he has undertaken with Integrity. *He ought not*, ſays he, *to ſuffer any Motives of private Intereſt, or of Friendſhip, to interfere with the Obligations he has laid himſelf under to the Publick. He ought to have the ſolemn Oath he has taken continually in his Sight; and to remember, that God himſelf is a Witneſs of his Conduct. This our Anceſtors had in view, when they drew up the Form they have given us, of ſoliciting our Lawſuits. It teaches us to pray our Judges to act by us, according to the Laws, which their Duty and Conſciences preſcribe to them.* We have yet remaining ſome Footſteps of this ancient Form, in the Petition, wherein every Suitor intreats his Judge, *to determine in his Caſe as Juſtice ſhall require.*

Among the *Senators* and *Knights* who received their Juriſdiction from the *Prætor*, there was one whom the *Romans* called *Judex Quæſtionis*, who was at the Head of the Commiſſion, and had the Right of Precedence in the Abſence of the *Prætor*, or Chief-Juſtice. His Buſineſs was to hear the Witneſſes, to make the neceſſary Enquiries, and to diſcuſs the Arguments *pro* and *con*; and when he had examined all the Proceedings in the Cauſe, he made his Report to the Judges aſſembled together, and gave his Vote firſt. In a Word, he was among the *Romans*, much what a *Conſeiller Rapporteur* is among the *French*. So that the ancient *Civilians* did not mean the *Prætor* by the *Judex Quæſtionis*. We need only read *Cicero*'s *Orations* to be convinced of the contrary. He tells us, That in *Verres*'s Cauſe, *Glabrio* was *Prætor*, at the ſame time that *Quintus Curtius* was the *Judex Quæſtionis*; and in his *Oration for Cluentius*, he ſhews us, That *Quintus Naſo* was *Prætor* or Preſident, and *Quintus Vaconius* the *Judex Quæſtionis*.

We don't mention here the Tribunal of the *Centumviri*, who had the Cogniſance of ſuch civil Cauſes as turned upon Points of Law, becauſe already mentioned, Vol. 3; where we have likewiſe taken notice of another ſort of Tribunal compoſed of a certain Number of Perſons choſen by the *Prætor*, to whom the old *Roman Code* gives the Name of *Recuperatores*. To which we ſhall only add, that the Deciſion of Affairs of the leaſt Conſequence was referred to thoſe Judges whom *Feſtus* calls *Pedanei Judices*: either becauſe they gave Judgment *ſtanding*, or becauſe they were choſen out of the young Senators, who gave their Votes by going to, or dividing with, that *Conſcript Father* whoſe Opinion they followed: Whence they were alſo called *Pedarii Senatores*. See Vol. 3. p. 162. Note 114.

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Gracchus appeared in Publick, in a mourning Dreſs, as formerly; and led his Son in his Hand, to move the Pity of all he met. *In this humble State*, ſaid he, *your Protector implores your Aſſiſtance. In order to procure you Eſtates, I have not been afraid to hazard my Life, which is ſtill in great danger, if you don't continue me in my Office. This indeed will preſerve both me and my Children; and will give me an Opportunity to finiſh my Work, to ſecure the Poor againſt the Oppreſſion of the Rich, and to compleat the Humiliation of the Senate.* By theſe Diſcourſes, *Gracchus* diſpoſed the People to grant his Deſires in the next Aſſembly. It was indeed an unuſual Requeſt, it having long been cuſtomary, not to continue any *Tribune* in his Office more than a Year. But the Petitioner deſerved diſtinguiſhing Favours.

In the mean time, the Senators diſplayed their Hatred to *Gracchus* with freſh Fury. Their Houſe continually rung with freſh Invectives againſt the ſeditious *Tribune*: And invidious Conſtructions were put upon the moſt innocent Actions of his Youth. *When his Father was* Cenſor, ſaid they, *this grave Magiſtrate whenever he ſupped in the City, returned home without Attendance, Flambeaux, or Noiſe, for fear of giving Offence. But his Son took care to have Lights to attend him, and to be guarded by ſome of the vileſt of the People.* From whence they inferred, That he aimed at Popularity with a view to Monarchy, from that Time. Vain Imaginations indeed, both begotten and magnified by Envy! Nevertheleſs, the Minds of the Rich were full of theſe Prejudices; and they had great hopes of ſucceeding againſt him and his Friends at the next *Comitia* for the Election of *Tribunes*. The Harveſt had drawn the beſt part of his moſt zealous Friends into the Country. Whereas the Senators were conſtantly attended by the great Numbers of Clients which depended on their Families. At length the Day appointed came, and the People were ordered to aſſemble in the *Capitol*, in the great *Forum*, which ſerved for a Court to the Temple of *Jupiter*. There *Gracchus* renewed his Applications; careſſed the People as they came; and at length propoſed his Petition. It was this; *That in Conſideration of the great Danger he had and did run, the Aſſembly would grant him the Favour to continue him one Year longer, in his Office of* Tribune. Immediately the *Tribes* proceeded to give their Suffrages upon it; and the two firſt that entered the Incloſure, determined to grant it. Upon this the Rich made great Clamours, and ſome of their Faction, who were poſted in different Places, cried out to the Preſident, *Juſtice, Juſtice! Theſe Men are going to overturn all the Laws. They forbid the giving the Office of* Tribune *two Years together to the ſame Perſon.* Theſe Clamours terrified *Rubrius Varro*, a timorous and wavering Man, to whoſe Lot it fell to preſide in the College of *Tribunes* that Day; and that *Mummius*, whom *Gracchus* had got choſen in the Room of *Octavius*, ſeeing *Varro* undetermined, offered to preſide in his Room. *Rubrius* accepted the Offer, and reſigned to his Collegue; and this raiſed a freſh Clamour among the *Tribunes* themſelves. They pretended, that the Preſident had no Right to diſpoſe of his Place, which it belonged to the whole College to do, by a Majority of Votes; and the Diſpute laſted a great while. At length *Gracchus* perceived it would end but ill with *Mummius* and himſelf; and therefore, like a wiſe Man, diſmiſſed the Aſſembly, and ordered them to meet again the next Day, at the ſame Place.

App. de Bell. Civili. B. 1.

§. XXXVII. But ſo unſeaſonable were the Timorouſneſs of *Rubrius*, the precipitate Offer of *Mummius*, and the Diſpute among the *Tribunes*, that they ruined the Affair. It was then in a good way; and he would infallibly have been declared *Tribune* the ſecond Time. But the Opportunity was now loſt; and he began to be under real Apprehenſions for his Life. His Office would expire the next Day, and his Life would no longer be ſecured by the Protection of a Name which rendered him inviolable. Beſides, the greateſt Part of his Friends were abſent when he moſt wanted them; whereas the Number of his Enemies was exceedingly increaſed. So that the melancholy Air and Dreſs in which he appeared in Publick all the reſt of the Day, were but too juſt Indications of the State of his Mind. He appeared to the People like a Man ſunk into real Deſpair; and now, for the firſt Time, Tears dropped from his Eyes. The People were moved at the imminent Danger of their Defender; and they comforted him, encouraged him, and in the Evening conducted him to his Houſe. To which ſome add, That they came and watched at his Door, by turns. They had a juſt Senſe of the Importance it was to them, to preſerve ſo valuable a Head; his Death, they knew, would bring them back to their old Oppreſſions; and they therefore took care to guard him all Night. Before break of Day, *Gracchus* recovered his Courage, aſſembled his Friends together, carried them from his Houſe, and poſted one half of them in the *Comitium*, and went up to the *Capitol* himſelf

Plut. in Grace.

himſelf with the other. But before they parted, he agreed on the Signal which he would give to the two divided Bodies, in caſe he found it neceſſary to come to Blows.

As ſoon as he appeared, his Party ſaluted him with Acclamations of Joy, ſurrounded him, and would not ſuffer any one whom they did not know, to come near him. In the mean time, his Adverſaries, who were diſperſed among the Multitude, endeavoured to ſlip through the Croud, to him. But his Guard ſtood too cloſe round him, and were too watchful, to ſuffer him to be expoſed to the Danger of an unlucky Blow. All was got ready for the new Election, and in all appearance *Gracchus* would ſucceed. *Mummius* had probably either maintained himſelf by Force in his diſputed Preſidentſhip, or had got himſelf elected by a majority of Votes: At leaſt, he regulated every thing in the Aſſembly, and ordered the *Tribes* to enter into the Incloſure to give their Suffrages. The Croud was ſo great in the *Forum*, that the People bore one another up; and during their Motions, the Senate was aſſembled in the Temple of *Faith*, which almoſt touched that of *Jupiter Capitolinus*. They could from thence better obſerve the Agitations of the People, and the Tumults which the Election would probably make; and the *Conſul*, *Mucius*, was there at the Head of the Senate, hearing with great Compoſure, the violent Speeches which the Enemies of *Gracchus* made againſt him. They were continually repeating, That this Seditious *Tribune* had nothing leſs in view, than a Crown and Scepter; and *Pompey*'s Information, tho' utterly groundleſs, paſſed for an undeniable Proof of it. They fancied they already ſaw the King of *Pergamus*'s Crown on the Head of *Gracchus*, and his Mantle on his Shoulders; they that were moſt Rich, were moſt enraged; and *Scipio Naſica* ſet no Bounds to his Fury. They concluded, to give the *Conſul* leave, in this tumultuous Juncture, to arm his *Legions*, treat the Factious as Enemies, ſtain the *Capitol* if it were neceſſary, with the Blood of the *Citizens*, and turn the *Comitium* into a Field of Battle. But *Mucius* was a prudent and moderate Man; and he refuſed to be the Inſtrument of their raſh Revenge, and diſhonour his *Conſulate* with the Maſſacre of a diſarmed People. *Well then*, cried the moſt turbulent of the *Conſcript Fathers*, *ſince even the* Conſul *betrays the Republick, Let us do our ſelves Juſtice: Let us arm our ſelves, and Clients, and immediately go and demoliſh this Idol of the People!* But neither was this Scheme approved by all the Senators. *Gracchus* had ſome Friends in the Senate; and they diſpatched one, named *Fulvius Flaccus*, to inform him in all haſte of the Plot laid againſt his Life. *Fulvius* could not preſs through the Croud, but he made a Signal to him from an Eminence, that he had ſomething to ſay to him in private; and by Order of the Preſident, the People gave way, and the Apparitors opened a Paſſage for him. As ſoon as he had made his Report, *Gracchus* tucked up his Robe, as it were to prepare for a Battle; and after his Example, ſome of his Party ſeized the Staves the Apparitors carried, brake them into pieces, and divided the Truncheons among them, as it were to ſerve them for defenſive Weapons.

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App. L. 1. De Bell. Civ. Plut. in Grace.

This Step could not be taken without Noiſe; and for fear of an approaching Battle, *The Tribunes*, who were ſeveral of them in their Hearts Enemies to *Gracchus*, left their Places, and mixed among the People; whilſt the Prieſts, for fear of its being prophaned, ſhut the Gates of the Temple of *Jupiter*. On the other hand, the Friends of *Gracchus*, who were diſperſed by Parties in diſtant Places, cried out, *We are ready: What muſt we do?* *Gracchus*, whoſe Voice could not be heard ſo far, put his Hand to his Head; (which was the Signal agreed on for preparing for a Battle) and then a very malicious Conſtruction was immediately put on this Geſture. Some of his Enemies went directly to the Senators who continued ſitting, and told them, That *Gracchus* had called for the Royal Fillet to be put upon his Head. Paſſion is credulous, eſpecially when animated by the Appearance of the publick Good; and upon this ambiguous Sign, and this falſe Report, *Scipio*[79] *Naſica* took fire, and cried out like a Mad-man, *Whoſoever loves the Republick let him follow me!* and immediately walked out of the Temple. A Croud of Senators followed him, and tho' all without Arms, prepared for an Attack. *Naſica* threw his Robe over his Shoulders, covered his Head with it, and advanced with his Followers to diſperſe the Croud. At the Sight of ſo many venerable Men, the People gave way, retired, and opened them a Paſſage. Then the Senators were immediately joined by a Company of their Clients and Friends, armed with Battoons, Poles, and Clubs; and

[79] *Scipio Naſica* was the Great Grandſon of *Cnæus Scipio*, the Uncle of *The First Africanus*, who conquered *Hannibal*; and conſequently, was Couſin to the *Gracchi*, by their Mother *Cornelia*. Which led *Velleius*, one of his Panegyriſts to ſay, That he had the Courage to take Arms againſt his own Blood, in order to ſecure the Welfare of his Country.

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these beat down every thing in their way, and endeavoured to come at *Gracchus*. Many of his Party took to their Heels, and in the Tumult, the Benches which were put for Seats were overturned and broken. *Naſica* took up the Leg of one of theſe Benches, ſtruck every one that ſtood in his way with great Violence; and at length his Enemies reached *Gracchus*. Somebody had already ſeized him by one of the Lappets of his Robe, but he left it in the Hands of him who ſeized him, and fled in his *Tunick*. And as he was running over all theſe broken Seats, and the Bodies of thoſe Men who were in great Numbers thrown down, he ſlipped, and fell. However he inſtantly recovered his Feet, but at the ſame time received a Blow on the Head which knocked him down half dead; and a ſecond Blow diſpatched him. Some Hiſtorians pretend, That *Naſica*, with his own Hand compleated the Work, which had been begun by his Advice, and under his Conduct. Others ſay, That *Publius Satureius* and *Lucius* [80] *Rubrius*, two of *The Tribunes*, gave him the two laſt Blows. But be that as it will, *Rome* was hereby delivered, according to *Cicero*, from a domeſtick Enemy, who was more Formidable to her than even that *Numantia*, which had given riſe to his Reſentments. Perhaps, no Man was ever born with greater Talents, to aggrandize himſelf, and to do Honour to his Country. But his great Mind, ready at Expedients, quick in apprehending and conſidering Things in all Lights; his manly Courage, above Fear, Menaces, or the vain Terrours of Superſtition; and his lively, eaſy, and very powerful Eloquence, eſpecially the latter; were in him, ſays the ancient Orator, like a Sword in the Hands of a Madman. *Gracchus* abuſed them; tho' not in ſupporting an unjuſt Cauſe, yet in conducting a good one with too much Violence, and purſuing it without Temper. He went ſo far as to make ſome believe, that his Views really reached farther than the Intereſts of the People whom he pretended to relieve; and therefore ſome Hiſtorians have repreſented him as a Tyrant, which perhaps he did not deſerve. An unfortunate Reſentment, which he at firſt vented with ſome ſort of Moderation, but which afterwards degenerated into a kind of Fury, though always accompanied with Dexterity, was what brought him at laſt to his End.

Plut. & *Oroſ.*

Cic. de Offic. L. 1. *cap.* 21. *Ed. Verburg.*

Cic. L. 2. *de Orat. & L.* 1. *de Invent.*

§. XXXVIII. And as his Death is one of the moſt remarkable Events in their Hiſtory, the *Pontifical Annals* have not forgotten to inform us, That it was foretold by ſeveral Preſages. They ſay, That *Gracchus*, before he went from Home the Day he was killed, conſulted the *Auſpice* of the *Pullets*; That they refuſed the Food that was offered them; That only one came out of the Cage; and That this ſtood a great while upon one Foot, ſtretched its left Wing upwards, and then returned to the Cage without feeding. And the Affair being ſo far advanced that *Gracchus* had no regard to this Preſage, we are told it was followed by a ſecond and a third. As he went out of his Houſe he ſtruck his Foot ſo hard againſt the Threſhold of the Door, that he wounded his Toe, and it bled. And as he was walking on, three Ravens upon the Wing met him, croaked round him, and threw down a Tile, on which they were going to pitch, on his Feet. But it is natural to believe, That the ſureſt Preſages he had of his Misfortunes were, That he that Day ceaſed to be a *Tribune*; That he had a great Number of powerful Enemies; and That the Favour of the People is very uncertain. However, as has been related, *Gracchus* went on to the *Capitol*, ſollicited, as 'tis ſaid, by the Philoſopher *Bloſius* to neglect the *Auſpice*, and preſſed by his Party to haſten to the Aſſembly.

App. L. 1. *de Bell. Civ.*

And now, the *Conſul*, *Mucius*, who had been afraid of him in his Life-time, paid little Regard to his Memory when he was dead. Tho' the Laws forbad any *Citizen* to take away the Life of another before he had been legally condemned, *Naſica* and his other Murderers, were acquitted by the Senate. The *Conſul* judged, That the Senators had juſtly armed their Clients, in Defence of the Republick. So that all the Cruelties committed in the *Capitol* againſt *Gracchus*, and his Friends, were juſtified by a Decree. Even the barbarous Treatment ſhewn their dead Bodies, was approved. Above 300 Men had been killed in the Tumult, and their Bodies had been deprived of Burial, and thrown into *The Tyber*. Nor was *Caius Gracchus* ſuffered to carry away the Body of his Brother, and pay his laſt Regards to it. An *Ædile* named *Quintus Lucretius*, cauſed it to be carried and thrown into the River in the Night; and from thence his Family ever after bore the odious Surname of [81] *Veſpillo*. But this Inhumanity even to the Dead, did

Plut. in Grace. Author. de Vir. Illuſtr.

80 *Plutarch*, in his *Lives* of *The Gracchi*, calls this *Tribune*, who gave *Tiberius Gracchus* his Death's Wound, *Lucius Rufus*: But we follow *Appian*, who calls him *Lucius Rubrius*.

81 We have obſerved, Vol. 1. That by the Term *Veſpillones*, the Ancients meant, according to *Feſtus*, certain Perſons of the meaneſt Rank, who were appointed to carry the Bodies of mean People to their Funeral-Piles, or Burial-Places.

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ſto Honour to the Party of the Rich. It ſhewed, that their Conduct had been more founded in private Reſentments, than in the true Love of their Country. Nevertheleſs, both Parties valued themſelves upon being thus publick-ſpirited; tho' Self-Intereſt was the true Motive of this cruel Diſſention. If Covetouſneſs had not been the prevailing Principle, it would have been mighty eaſy to have ſtifled the Sedition in its Birth. The publick Tranquillity might without difficulty have been reſtored, either by Negotiations, Conferences, or amicable Treaties; and more certainly ſtill, by the Nomination of a *Dictator*, as in the Time of the *Seceſſion* of the People on *The ſacred Mount*. But Avarice is a blind Paſſion which leaves no room for Reaſon. Nevertheleſs, the Rich loſt more than the Poor in theſe Quarrels. For *Gracchus*'s Law ſtill ſubſiſted, and was called *The Sempronian Law*, from the Name of his Family.

Nay, the Senate carried their Revenge beyond the fatal Day which had ſtained *The Capitol* with *Roman* Blood. They ſought for all the Friends of the late *Tribune*; and without any Form of Law, aſſaſſinated ſome, and forced others into Baniſhment. *Caius Billius*, one of the moſt zealous Defenders of the People, was ſeized by his Enemies, and ſhut up in a Caſk with Snakes and Vipers, and there ended his Days. *Diophanes* the Rhetorician, left *Rome*, and retired to the *Levant*. But the Philoſopher *Bloſius* acted a Part more worthy of his Profeſſion. Being cited to appear before the *Conſul*, according to ſome; or elſe having, as others ſay, [82] addreſſed himſelf of his own accord to *Lælius*; and being aſked, *Why he had engaged himſelf ſo warmly in the Party of the ſeditious* Tribune; He boldly anſwered, *Becauſe I thought it the moſt juſt.* Then being further aſked, *Why he went even ſo far, as to be his Agent, and to execute his Orders*; The Philoſopher replied, *Becauſe he deſerved to be obeyed. Would you then have burnt the* Capitol, *if he had ordered you? Spare his Memory*, returned *Bloſius, he was not capable of carrying Things to ſuch exceſs. But if he had done it, would you have obeyed him? I certainly would*, replied the Philoſopher with ſurprizing Confidence; *I ſhould have thought his ordering it a ſufficient Proof, that it was neceſſary for the publick Good.*

Cic. in Lælio, & Plut. in Grace.

After this generous [83] Teſtimony paid to the *Manes* of his unfortunate Friend, he went to *Aſia*, and there ſpent his Life in endeavouring to do all the Miſchief he could to the *Romans*, whom he deſpiſed. He went over to *Ariſtonicus*, the Young King of *Pergamus*; aſſiſted him with his Counſel as long as he made War with the Republick and after the Fall of his new Maſter, he killed himſelf. The Writers of the Republick, have indeed repreſented him as an Incendiary. But why is it not probable, That an exceſs of Probity miſunderſtood, might attach the Philoſopher to *Gracchus*'s Party; and That being an Eye-witneſs of the Decay of Virtue among the *Romans*, he might therefore be diſpleaſed at them, and for that Reaſon join with their Enemies.

Plut. in Grace.

§. XXXIX. However, the People ſtill kept Poſſeſſion of the Law, which *Gracchus* had paſſed in their Favour; and as he had been a Commiſſioner, and had not been able to finiſh the Diſtribution in his Life-time, they thought it neceſſary to fill up his Place in the Commiſſion, and choſe to do it with one of his Relations. They nominated *P. Craſſus*, whoſe Daughter *C.* [84] *Gracchus* had [85] married, to that Office. So that the People had not loſt all, in loſing the moſt Zealous of their Protectors. Their Intereſt and Power were ſtill the ſame; and the Authors of the Murders in *The Capitol*, had Reaſon to fear their Vengeance. This the Senate plainly foreſaw; and tho' they had acquitted *Naſica*, they feared what the popular Faction might do to him. He was already threatened to be brought before *The Comitia*, and there tried for his Life. All Things conſidered therefore, they thought it neceſſary to have him at a diſtance; and tho' in the Office

82 *Lælius*, in the Treatiſe which bears his Name, ſays, That the Philoſopher *Bloſius*, came of his own accord to him, when he was privately deliberating with the two *Conſuls*, *Popilius Lænas* and *Publius Rupilius*, on the preſent State of the Affairs of the Republick. So that, this Friend to *Tiberius Gracchus*, only explained himſelf, according to *Cicero*, in a private Converſation with *Lælius*. But *Plutarch*, in his Relation of *Bloſius*'s Anſwers, ſuppoſes that he had been judicially interrogated.

83 The Intrepidity of *Bloſius* ſurprized the Senators; and *The Conſul* found Means to reſcue him from their Vengeance, notwithſtanding their Rage againſt him.

84 *Tiberius Gracchus* was not full thirty Years Old, according to *Plutarch*, when he was killed; ſo that his Brother *Caius Gracchus*, who was nine Years younger, was then but about one and twenty.

85 *Plutarch* himſelf confeſſes, That *Cornelius Nepos* had ſaid in his Writings, That *Caius Gracchus* had not married the Daughter of *Publius Craſſus*, but of *Decimus Brutus*, ſurnamed *Gallæcus*, who had *triumphed*

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Office of *Pontifex* [86] *Maximus*, which required [87] him not to go out of *Italy*, they ſent him without any apparent Neceſſity, on an Embaſſy into *Aſia*. There he rambled about a great while in different Parts of the Eaſt, and at length, worn out with Trouble, died at *Pergamus*.

As for the great *Scipio*, *The Second Africanus*, and the Oracle of the Republick, he was not at all concerned in the late Broils at *Rome*. He was detained in *Spain* after the taking of *Numantia*, and was not preſent at the melancholy Death of his Brother-in-Law *Gracchus*. Nevertheleſs, when he heard the News, he ſufficiently ſhewed, That he diſapproved of his Proceedings. He heard his Story with great Coldneſs, and applied to it this Line in *Homer*. *Let him who ſhall dare to imitate him, periſh like him.* Indeed *Scipio* had but little Affection, either for his Wife, or her Family. She was ugly, barren, and had little Complaiſance, but much Diſſimulation. In ſhort, he neither loved her, nor was beloved by her; and as the little Concern he ſhewed at the Death of *Gracchus* did him hurt among the People, ſo it increaſed his Wife's Hatred to him. The Fury concealed her Reſentment for ſome time in her own Breaſt, and at length made it fatal to him, before it was known. But her Treachery was afterwards diſcovered, and loaded her with all the Infamy which ſhe deſerved.

App. L. 1. De Bell. Civ.

However, the Fire of popular Sedition in *Rome*, was rather ſtifled than extinguiſhed. Indeed the Rich had found Means to bring into the College of *Tribunes*, a Creature of their own, who had always ſhewn himſelf to be one of *Gracchus*'s moſt violent Enemies; namely, that *Q. Pompeius Rufus*, who had openly boaſted that he would get *Gracchus* condemned to die, as ſoon as his Office ſhould expire; and the Fear of this new *Tribune*, kept the Factious in ſome awe. But their Hearts were full of Rancour, which was ready to ſhew it ſelf upon the firſt Diſturbance that ſhould happen. As for *Appius Claudius*, he ſeems to have laid aſide the Thoughts of *The Conſulate*, after the Murder of his Son-in-Law: Since the Election was made without any Diſturbance, in the uſual Place; and the *Faſces* conferred on *Publius* [88] *Popilius Lænas*, and *P.* [89] *Rupilius*.

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Abroad, the Tranquillity was ſo general, that the Republick had but one War to terminate; which tho' neither honourable nor profitable to the *Roman* People, was yet become neceſſary. The Slaves in *Sicily* had rebelled againſt their Maſters, and the Progreſs of their Arms was ſo conſiderable, that a *Conſular* Army was neceſſary to reduce them. This fell to the Lot of the *Conſul Rupilius*; whilſt his Collegue *Popilius* continued in *Italy*, his Preſence there being judged neceſſary, to awe the *Citizens* of *Rome*, who

umphed on account of the *Luſitanians*; and That he was forced to leave the *Latin* Author in this Particular, to follow the generality of Hiſtorians.

86 Was *Publius Scipio Naſica* the *Pontifex Maximus* at *Rome*, when he killed *Tiberius Gracchus*, or not? *Appian* ſays it expreſly, *B. 1. Of the Civil Wars*; and *Plutarch* as clearly, in his *Lives of the Gracchi*. But *Cicero* and *Velleius Paterculus* on the other hand, contradict the two *Greek* Writers. The former, who was always a zealous Advocate for the Senate againſt the Faction of the People, ſpeaks thus of *Naſica*, in his Firſt Book *Of Offices*. *Indeed we have not had a greater Man, or more excellent General, than* Scipio Æmilianus. *Yet it may be affirmed, That* Scipio Naſica, *then reduced to the Condition of a private Man, did as much Service to the Republick, in taking away the Life of* Tiberius Graechus, *as* The Second Africanus *did, in deſtroying* Numantia. And *Velleius Paterculus*, in the Second Book of his Hiſtory, ſays the ſame Thing in yet plainer Terms. *Scipio Naſica*, ſays he, *delivered Rome from the Tyranny of the firſt of the two* Gracchi, *when only a private Perſon: And in Gratitude for this great Service, he was, with a Mark of Diſtinction never before ſhewn to any one, promoted to the Office of* Pontifex Maximus, *tho' he was abſent.* Indeed, *Cicero* in his *Firſt Oration againſt Catiline*, acknowledges that *Naſica* was raiſed to that Dignity, but ſays, it was not conferred upon him till after the Death of *Tiberius Gracchus*. In this equality of Authorities then, we have choſen to follow the *Greek*

§. 22. *Ed. Verebugh Fol. Amſtel.* 1724

Writers; but leave the Reader to determine for himſelf.

87 It may have been obſerved in the Courſe of this Hiſtory, That the *Pontifex Maximus* was obliged by the Duty of his Office, not to go beyond the Frontiers of *Italy*. And his Perſon ſeems to have been ſecured againſt any Attempts of the Factious, by his Prieſthood. We know, and have ſaid, That it was his Prerogative, as *Pontifex Maximus*, not to be ſubject to the Juriſdiction of either Senate or People. But is any thing held Sacred by a mad Populace? It was therefore neceſſary to remove *Naſica* out of the Danger to which the Hatred and Inſults of the Multitude daily expoſed him; the Embaſſy to *Aſia* ſerved for a Pretence to ſecure his Life againſt the Violences of the People: And in this kind of Baniſhment he died, ſtung with Remorſe at the Remembrance of the Murder he had committed, and loaded with the Curſes of the People.

88 *The Capitoline Marbles* tell us, That this *Publius Popilius*, ſurnamed *Lænas*, was the Son of *Caius Popilius*, who was promoted to *The Conſulſhip* the firſt Time, in the Year of *Rome* 581, and a ſecond Time in the Year 595. He had acquired ſome Reputation at the Bar, according to *Cicero*, in his *Brutus*, where he commends him likewiſe for his Steadineſs and Courage.

89 *Publius Rupilius* was deſcended from a poor and obſcure Family, according to *Val. Maximus*; and to ſupply his Neceſſities, ſpent the laſt Part of his Youth

who were yet in ſome Agitation with the Shocks of the late Storm. We will therefore next follow *Rupilius* into *Sicily*, and take a full view of the Origin and Conſequences of this Rebellion; which begun in the Year of *Rome* 615, and did not end till this Year 621; and by which, that fine Iſland ſuffered more, than by all the old Hoſtilities of the *Carthaginians*.

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Youth in the Service of thoſe, who, as publick Farmers, had the Care of Collecting the publick Tributes in *Sicily*. Afterwards his Virtue and Merit made him known to *Scipio Æmilianus*, and under the Patronage of this great Man, he roſe to the firſt Dignities in the Republick. This *Cicero* teſtifies in his Tract *Of Friendſhip*.

Inſtead of *Rupilius*, ſome Annaliſts, as *Caſſiodorus* and *Marian*, make one *Sulpicius* Collegue to *Popilius*. But this Miſtake ought to be rectified, as well as that of ſeveral Copyiſts of *Val. Maximus* and *Cicero*, who have confounded the *Conſul Rupilius*, with *Rutilius*, who will be ſpoken of hereafter.

THE Roman Hiſtory.

BOOK LI.

Year of ROME DCXXI. P. POPILIUS LÆNAS, & P. RUPILIUS, Conſuls.

§. I. EVER ſince the Conqueſt of *Sicily*, the *Romans* had always looked on it as the Nurſery of *Italy*, and the Refuge of *Rome* in Time of Want: And as Lands were therefore much coveted in ſo fruitful an Iſland, the Rich Men of the Country, and the *Roman Knights*, a wealthy People, who had the Management of all the Revenues of the Publick, either poſſeſſed themſelves of the beſt Eſtates in the Iſland, or had them cultivated for the Uſe of the Publick. Theſe Proprietors, and Maſters, as well Iſlanders as *Romans*, found their Account in employing Slaves rather than hired Servants of free Condition, in the Culture of their Lands; and multiplied theſe People taken in War, or brought by Violence from *Aſia*, to ſuch a degree, that they became almoſt as numerous as the *Sicilians* themſelves. The youngeſt were appointed to watch the Flocks and Herds; and the more robuſt employed in Tillage. And tho' they rigorouſly exacted hard Labours from theſe unfortunate People, they were ſo covetous, as not to allow them Neceſſaries for Clothes and Proviſions. So that being obliged to provide for themſelves as they could, they learnt to live by Rapine. The Shepherds met together in Companies, cloathed themſelves with the Skins of Wolves or Bears, and arming themſelves with Javelins, knotted Staves and Clubs, ſometimes robbed the Travellers on the great Roads; and ſometimes, guarded by a Company of Dogs, went in Bands and attacked the Houſes in the Country, and plundered them. The Huſbandmen, who could not ramble ſo much as the Shepherds, often made Sallies from the Holes where they were ſhut up, in the Night, and diſperſing themſelves in the Villages, committed all kinds of Violence. In ſhort, nothing was talked of in *Sicily* but Robberies and Murders.

Diod. Sic. in Eclog. Florus B. 3. c. 19.

The *Roman* Republick ſent a *Prætor* every Year to govern, and adminiſter Juſtice there; and theſe all left *Rome* with Reſolutions to reform theſe Abuſes, puniſh the Malefactors, and extirpate the Aſſaſſines and Robbers. But as ſoon as they arrived, theſe fine Schemes vaniſhed. Their Reſpect and Fear of the Maſters, ſecured the Slaves from Puniſhment. The *Prætor* durſt not correct Men, whoſe Protectors were in Credit at *Rome*; for the Order of *Knights* was formidable there. Some of the Judges in Affairs of Conſequence were now choſen out of this illuſtrious Body; and to exaſperate *them*, was to expoſe themſelves to their Reſentments, which they might have Cauſe to repent. Thus the Evil was increaſed by Impunity, and the fatal Effects of it were ſoon felt by thoſe who had been the chief Authors of it. Theſe Slaves, who began to ſet no Bounds to their Licentiouſneſs, often met together, and diſcourſed among themſelves of the Advantage of ſetting themſelves at Liberty, and of the Eaſe wherewith they might compaſs it. *Are we*, ſaid they, *of a different Nature from our Maſters, that we ſhould be enſlaved to them like Beaſts? There is no difference between them and us, unleſs it be that they are enervated by Pleaſures, whilſt the Hardſhips we have ſuffered have preſerved us in that ſtrength of Body and martial Vigour, which make good Soldiers. There have been Inſtances of Slaves that have freed themſelves from the Dominion of their Maſters. Let us then get the better of our Fears, and our Courage will raiſe us beyond our Hopes. Every Man has a natural Right to repell Force with Force. Do our Maſters do us that common Juſtice which is due to all Men? It is true, we owe them our Services, but then*

Epit. Liv. B. 56. c. 27.

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hey owe us a Subſiſtence. Whereas they leave us without either the meaneſt Food, or the coar-ſt Cloaths, and we can have no recourſe for any but to Robbery? Is not then a lawful War better than unjuſt Depredations, which are ſhocking to us even in Slavery? Let us remember, that we have borne the Buckler and weilded the Sword!

§. II. This Spirit of Rebellion was univerſally ſpread among the Slaves in *Sicily*; they only wanted a Head, to aſſume an Authority over Men of ſo very different Tempers, and Natives of ſo many different Countries; and a *Sicilian* Lord, had without his Knowledge, kept one in his Service, who was a very proper Perſon to appear at the Head of a Conſpiracy, and to ſupport it. The Name of the *Sicilian* was *Antigenes*, and that of his Slave *Eunus*. The latter was a Native of [1] *Apamea* in *Syria*, and having been taken Priſoner in War, had paſſed through the Hands of ſeveral Maſters, till at length he was brought into *Sicily*. He was a vigilant, active Man, full of Fire, and his chief Talent was that of impoſing on the Multitude, by pretended Divinations. He gave himſelf out for a Magician among his Comrades; and pretended to have a ſettled intercourſe with the Gods, in Dreams by Night, and in Apparitions by Day. The better to counterfeit Inſpiration, he was not only expert at Agitations of Body, and contortions of Face, but had one particular Artifice to give Weight to his Deluſions. He held in his Mouth, a hollow Nut, which had two Holes in it, and was filled with Sulphur, and other burning Materials; and by this Means, Fire and Smoak came out of his Mouth, when ever he opened his Lips to ſpeak. By theſe Tricks he got himſelf Credit, increaſed the Number of his Admirers, and was conſulted as an Oracle. He foretold good Fortune to all that came to him; promiſing ſome their Liberty, and others a diminution of their Sufferings; and they all eſteemed him for theſe random Predictions. As for himſelf, he flattered himſelf with nothing leſs than a Crown, and continually gave out that he ſhould be a King. *Antigenes* his Maſter took pleaſure in hearing him talk of his future Regal Authority; and when he gave Ent ertainments, brought him into the Hall to divert the Company with it. They examined him about the different Treatment he would ſhew to the Perſons preſent, when he ſhould be in Poſſeſſion of a Throne; and upon his different Anſwers, ſome laughed at him for a Fool, and others ſent him ſome of the Meat that ſtood before them, and deſired his future Protection. And in proceſs of Time the Jeſt was but too ſeriouſly verified. He revenged the Inſults of the former, and acknowledged the Civilities of the latter, at the Head of an Army, when the pretended Prophecies of this *Syrian* Slave had been brought to paſs, in the following manner.

The *Sicilians*, in general, all exerciſed a kind of Tyranny over their Slaves; but a Burgher, named *Damophilus*, had made himſelf more odious than the reſt, by his Cruelties to a great Number of theſe poor Wretches, who cultivated his Lands. He was a Man of neither Birth, nor Letters, but was richer than the greateſt Lords of the Country; and his uſual Place of Reſidence was *Enna* [2], a City in the Center of the Iſland. He was very intent on making the beſt Improvements of the vaſt Eſtates he poſſeſſed; and at the ſame time enjoyed his immenſe Wealth, in all ſorts of Delights. His Houſe was a Palace, adorned with the richeſt Furniture, the moſt ſtately Vaſes, and the moſt valuable Carpets; and he never appeared Abroad, but mounted on a Chariot, and attended by a Company of Paraſites and young Slaves, who were the Inſtruments of his Luxury, and his Pleaſures. Theſe were the only Slaves to whom he ſhewed the leaſt Regard; all the reſt, who were very numerous, were treated with great Inhumanity. Thoſe he kept in the Country, were all, without diſtinction, marked with an hot Iron in their Foreheads; ſhut up in cloſe Priſons every Night; and lead out very early in the Morning to their daily Labour in the Fields, there to ſuſtain the Heats of the Day, tho' at the ſame time both ill fed, and ill cloathed. On the other hand, *Megallis*, the Wife of *Damophilus*, was a great Manager, and naturally Quarrelſome and Cruel. She had the Care of the Slaves of her Sex, whoſe Taſks ſhe required of them with inſupportable Rigour, and often had them ſeverely laſhed, for nothing. This termagant Woman had by *Damophilus* only one Daughter, who was yet young; but of an Age ſufficient to be able to ſee the Miſeries of the Afflicted, and of good-nature enough to have Compaſſion for them. She was the only Refuge of the unhappy Slaves; and ſhe often alleviated their Sufferings, appeaſed her furious Mother, and ſupplied, as far as ſhe was able, the Wants of the Neceſſitous; and we are ſorry the Hiſtorians have not tranſmitted to us, the Name of this virtuous young Woman.

Diod. in Excerptis apud Valeſ.

1 There were ſeveral Cities of this Name in *Aſia*. That here ſpoken of, was built by *Seleucus Nicanor*, on the Banks of the *Orontes*. See Vol. 4. p. 535. Note 126.

2 See Vol. 2. p. 562. Note 72.

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Nevertheleſs, *Damophilus* and *Megallis* carried their Injuſtice and Barbarity to their Domeſticks to ſuch an Exceſs, that it could no longer be borne. The Women-Slaves communicated their Diſcontents to their Huſbands, and theſe entered into a Plot to deſtroy the Authors of their Miſery. In order to aſſure themſelves of Succeſs in it, they went to the Houſe of *Antigenes*, to conſult *Eunus* the Oracle of the Country; and the *Syrian*, who foreſaw the Deſign of the Slaves, not only pronounced, with a ſolemn prophetick Tone, That the Enterprize they had in their Heads was agreeable to the Gods, and would ſucceed, provided they did not delay the Execution of it; but offered himſelf to conduct it. The Slaves therefore, on *Damophilus*'s Eſtate only, aſſembled in great haſte, to the Number of 400; armed themſelves with Forks, Hooks, and other Inſtruments of Huſbandry, and marched directly to *Enna*, to ſurprize the Burgher in his fine Houſe. *Eunus*, at the Head of this Company, aſſumed the General, entertained his Soldiers with the Expectations of a ſignal Victory, and amuſed them with his uſual Predictions. When they came to *Enna*, they entered it without difficulty in this ſurprize; and by way of Prelude to their Work, pillaged it. The Citizens were murdered; the Women diſhonoured; and the Children at the Breaſt, daſhed on the Ground, and trodden under foot. And then all the Slaves in the City joined the Plunderers, and much increaſed the Number of the Rebels. *Damophilus* and his Wife were both gone to take the Air with their Daughter, in a Garden near the City; and *Eunus* ſent a Detachmentto ſeize them in their Pleaſures, and bring them to him bound Hand and Foot: which was done with Circumſtances of great Barbarity. The Violences theſe Brutes offered both to the Huſband and the Wife, are not to be deſcribed. But they treated the Daughter with all the Reſpect and Regard which were due to her Virtue, or which Gratitude could require of them. So true is it, that Good-Nature and Compaſſion for the Miſerable, often meet with their Reward, where leaſt expected, and command Regard from the moſt furious.

§. III. *Eunus*, now victorious, and Maſter of *Enna*, began to erect a kind of Polity there, and ſet up a ſort of a Method for adminiſtring Juſtice. He aſſembled the Slaves he commanded, in the publick Theatre, ordered *Damophilus* and *Megallis* to be brought before him, and began their Trials in Form. Some of the Slaves were Accuſers, others Witneſſes, and the Multitude Judges. *Eunus* preſided, and gave the Accuſed leave to ſpeak in his Defence, and his preſent Condition was his ſtrongeſt Plea. He endeavoured to raiſe Compaſſion, by repreſenting the melancholy Change, between the Splendor in which they had ſeen him, and the Miſery to which he was now reduced: And ſeveral of thoſe, whoſe Hearts were more tender, or who had ſuffered leaſt from his Cruelties, began to have ſome Pity for him. But is it to be conceived, That in ſo tumultuous an Aſſembly, they ſhould be able to obſerve all the Forms of regular Proceedings, or even proceed to a regular Vote? On the contrary, *Hermias* and *Zeuxis*, two Slaves who were more exaſperated with their Maſter, and at the ſame time more bold than the reſt, came up to the Supplicants, and after caſting on them many Reproaches, one ſtabbed the Huſband with a Dart, the other gave him a great Blow on the Head with an Hatchet; and thus periſhed a Wretch, whoſe Death would have been more affecting, if he had not drawn it on himſelf, by his own Conduct. The Wife was reſerved for another kind of Puniſhment: And the Daughter was kept with a Decency ſuitable to her Education, and with the unanimous Conſent of all, ſafely conducted to [3] *Catana*, and there delivered into the Hands of her Relations.

However, *Eunus* was diſpleaſed with the Precipitation of *Hermias* and *Zeuxis* in killing *Damophilus* before they had his Orders for it; and found, that he muſt neceſſarily firſt get himſelf declared King, before he could pretend to aſſume a perfect Authority over ſuch untractable People. To this end, he multiplied his Divinations, counterfeited Inſpiration, aſſured them that *The Goddeſs* [4] *of Syria* had told him, That he muſt be crowned:

3 See Vol. 2. p. 542. Note 35.

4 It is not eaſy to gueſs, what Divinity the People of the Eaſt worſhipped under the Title of *The Goddeſs of Syria*. They called her ſo by way of Eminence, to diſtinguiſh her from the other inferiour Goddeſſes of the Nation. But did they mean *Juno*, or *Venus*, or *Minerva*, or *Luna*, or *Iſis*? *Lilio Giraldi*, *Selden*, *Bochart*, and *Voſſius*, have endeavoured to ſolve this Problem. But the Reſult of all their Enquiries is, a vaſt Collection of Paſſages, which only ſerve to make the main Point in Queſtion ſtill more obſcure. The beſt way therefore to ſpare the Reader the trouble of this ſort of Diſcuſſions, is to adopt the Opinion that *Lucian* gives us, in a Treatiſe on this Subject. He ſays, he was informed by a credible Perſon, That *The Goddeſs of Syria*, was the ſame Divinity as the *Greeks* and *Romans* worſhip-

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crowned: and at length, by his Intrigues, and by theſe Diſcourſes, prevailed on them to proclaim him King. Not that he had more Experience in War, or more Valour, or more Regal Qualities of any kind, than his Comrades: He ſurpaſſed them in nothing but his prating and his Artifices. Only it is ſaid, that his Name was thought an happy Omen of Succeſs; it ſignifying in the *Greek* Language *a Man of a good Mind and a good Heart*. This was enough to induce Fanaticks, who wanted a Leader, to chuſe him who had been the Author of this Rebellion; and the firſt Orders the new King gave were cruel, tho' his Council thought them neceſſary. All the Inhabitants of *Enna* having not been killed in the firſt Eruption of the Slaves, the Survivors were all brought into the Theatre; and there it was determined, that how much ſoever theſe miſerable People might pretend to be of the Side of the Conquerors, there never could be any real Concord, between Men born Free, and Men delivered out of Slavery. And for this Reaſon, they were all condemned to die, and the Sentence was executed on the Spot. *Eunus* ſpared only thoſe who had formerly ſent him Meat from his Maſter's Table, as has been before related. A piece of Gratitude very worthy of ſuch a King.

And now *Megallis*, whoſe Trial had been poſtponed, was brought forth, amidſt the ſhouts of the Aſſembly. The King himſelf was her Judge; and by an Act of Equity which was much applauded, his Sentence was, That ſhe ſhould be delivered up into the Hands of thoſe Women-Slaves, whom ſhe had treated without Mercy. Theſe Furies, (whoſe Cruelty may eaſily be judged of, by that of their Huſbands) ſpared their Miſtreſs no Puniſhment which they could invent; tried all the Means they could to prolong her Life in Torments; and at laſt threw her down a Precipice, which put an end to it. A memorable Inſtance of a juſt Puniſhment on her; tho' unjuſt from thoſe who had no Authority to inflict it.

§. IV. Then the King came down from his Tribunal, to put to death with his own Hands *Antigenes* and *Pithon*, who had ſucceſſively been his Maſters. After this, he mounted a Throne, put on the Royal Fillet and other Regalia, changed his Name, and ordered himſelf to be called *Antiochus*. He likewiſe gave the Title of Queen to his Wife, who was a *Syrian* and a Slave as well as himſelf; and then applied himſelf to ſettling a Form of Government among his Subjects. He choſe out of the *Aſiatick* Slaves, of whatever Country, ſome favourite Companies of Guards, which he called *His Syrians*. He appointed himſelf a Council of ſuch as he thought prudent Men, well ſkilled in Buſineſs, and very ſubmiſſive to his Will. And he gave the Command of his Troops to an *Achæan* by Birth, who had been a Soldier before his Slavery; and who was very capable both in point of Valour and Experience, to have commanded a much better Army, than ſuch a tumultuous Aſſembly of Slaves.

Theſe Regulations drew other Slaves to *Enna*, in Companies, from all Parts of *Sicily*. In leſs than three Days, there came above 6000, armed with ſuch Weapons as came firſt to hand, as Swords, Spits, and Darts. Others, who came from the Country, brought Saws, Axes, and Poles hardened in the Fire. All that was at preſent conſider-

worſhipped as *The Mother of the Gods*, under the Name of *Rhea*, or *Cybele*. They had both the ſame Symbols, Prieſts, and Worſhip, and were repreſented in the ſame manner. He was an Eye-witneſs of what he ſays of the former; having himſelf viſited her ſtately Temple at *Hierapolis*, one of the chief Cities of *Syria*. The chief Thing he obſerved there, was the Image of the Goddeſs; who was repreſented ſitting in a Chariot drawn by two Lions. She held in her Hand *a Tympanum*, which was a ſort of Drum; and her Head was crowned with Towers. Which is the ſame Repreſentation which the ancient Pagans give us, of the *Cybele* of *Greece* and *Rome*. Beſides, the moſt authentick Medals we have, give us a very deciſive Proof in favour of *Lucian*'s Opinion. On the Reverſe of one, which bears the Name and Figure of the Emperor * *Philip*, we ſee a Woman crowned with Towers, ſitting on a Lion, and holding in one hand a ſort of Scepter, the Symbol of Power: Which is exactly the Figure and Attitude which the *Pagans* gave to *Cybele*. Indeed, it might be eaſy to be miſtaken in this; but the *Greek* Inſcription ΘΕΑC CYPIAC ΙΕΡΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ tells us, That this Medal which was ſtruck at HIERAPOLIS repreſents *The Goddeſs of Syria*, to whom that City paid a particular Worſhip. And laſtly, we cannot but diſcover *Cybele*, in the Deſcription *Lucian* gives of the Miniſters dedicated to the Service of the tutelar Goddeſs of the *Syrians*. We there find the effeminate Prieſts of *The Mother of the Gods*, the ſame abominable Myſteries, the ſame Ceremonies; and in ſhort, another *Atys*, in the Perſon of a young mad Fellow, who kills himſelf, and whoſe Madneſs *Syria* conſecrates. But to avoid Repetitions, we refer the Reader to *Lucian's Hiſtorical Treatiſe of The Goddeſs of Syria*, and to our Remarks on the Worſhip of *Cybele*, and the Offices of the *Galli*, and *Archigalli*. Vol. 3. Suppoſing then, as we have proved, That the two pretended Goddeſſes differed only in Name, we may reciprocally take each for the other; and affirm of *The Goddeſs of Syria*, what we have remarked of *Cybele*, That ſhe is *The Mother of the Gods*; and That under this Title, the Pagan Theologiſts deſcribed *Nature*, the common Mother of all Beings. And agreeably to this Explication, we find in both Goddeſſes, ſome Particulars in which they agree with *Juno*, *Ceres*, *Proſerpine*, *Iſis*, &c; whoſe different Attributes all unite in *Nature*, or in the different Parts of the World conſidered as one great *Whole*.

* *Pl.* 4. N. 6. *Page* 60.

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ed was Numbers; and when he thought he had Men enough to venture to take the Field, *Eunus* gave Orders for his military Expeditions. They ſpread themſelves in the Plains, plundered Barns, burnt Villages, and ſurprized and ſacked ſome Cities. The Deſolation was great in the Heart of the Iſland, and the maritime Cities feared theſe Robbers would extend their Incurſions into their Neighbourhood. In all Places, their Fears made the Inhabitants double their Precautions; and the ruined People came and implored the Aſſiſtance of the *Roman Prætor*, who was the Guardian of the whole Iſland.

Florus, B. 3. c. 19.

This Sedition began in the Year of *Rome* 615, when *Manilius* governed *Sicily*, with only one *Legion* under his Command; the uſual Army of *Prætors*, who reſided in peaceable Provinces. But the *Roman Legion* was not ſtrong enough to ſuppreſs theſe audacious Mutineers. *Publius Manilius* was beaten in 616, and his Camp plundered. In 617, the ſame Misfortune happened to the *Prætor*, *Publius Cornelius Lentulus*; and in 618, the Republick not ſending a ſufficient Body of Troops to reduce *Eunus*, the *Prætor Caius Calpurnius Piſo*, who attacked him in that Year, was worſted. So that the new King, now victorious over three *Roman Prætors*, threatened the whole Iſland; and the Revolt was no longer to be played with. The Enemy's Forces increaſed daily; and the *Legionaries* fled before a Multitude of Banditti and Slaves, who filled their Maſters with Terrour.

Diod. Sic. in Excerpt. apud Valeſ.

§. V. And the Conſternation became ſtill greater, when *Eunus* received a conſiderable Reinforcement from one *Cleon*, a Native of *Cilicia*, who after many Changes in Life, had been brought in Slavery to *Sicily*. This Man followed *Eunus*'s Example. He had been a Robber from his Youth; ſince his being a Slave, his Maſters had appointed him to keep their Flocks; and his being a Shepherd did not hinder him from purſuing his old Trade. He found it eaſy to aſſociate to himſelf in the Country a great many People of his own Stamp, and became formidable in his Neighbourhood. Theſe Shepherds had inured themſelves to Fatigues; the Multitudes of Dogs they carried with them even to their Engagements, made them very terrible Enemies; and the News *Cleon* heard of the Succeſs of *Eunus*, emboldened him to attempt the like Expeditions. With a Body of united Shepherds and Huſbandmen, he ventured to attack the City of *Agrigentum*[5]; pillaged it, and laid waſte its Territory. However, this additional Calamity gave the Governours of *Sicily* ſome Hopes, that the two Factions would now attack and deſtroy one another. But the Affair took a very different Turn. The Uſurper of *Enna* pretending to be King of all the Slaves in the Country, ſent to ſummons *Cleon* to bring his Troops to him; and the *Cilician*, with a more ready Submiſſion than he would probably have ſhewn to a lawful Sovereign, immediately joined him upon the firſt Orders, with 5000 Men, which he had gathered together in two Months Time.

Idem. in Eclog.

This was the Situation of Affairs about the Year 619, when *L. Plautius Hypſæus* landed in *Sicily*, to take upon him that Government; and upon his Arrival, he ſoon found that *Rome* was very ill informed of the State of a Province which ought to be ſo dear to her. There were 70000 Slaves in Arms, under *Eunus*'s Command, beſide thoſe in other Places; ſo that the whole Number of theſe armed Rebels in the Iſland, was not reckoned to be leſs than two hundred Thouſand. Whereas *Hypſæus* had not more than 8000 Men in his Army, both *Romans* and *Latins* included. Theſe were too inconſiderable a Body to hold out againſt ſuch Numbers of the Enemy; and as ſoon as the little Army appeared in the Field, it was vanquiſhed, and routed. The *Prætor*'s Camp was alſo abandoned, and given up to be plundered, and the Enemy continued Maſters of the Field. Then theſe Robbers committed inexpreſſible Devaſtations in this rich and fruitful Country, and ſeized many Cities. Among others, they, in this Campaign, firſt conquered[6] *Tauromínium*, a ſtrong Place, and ſituated on a ſteep Hill; and then made it their Magazine of Arms, and their Place of Refuge.

§. VI. At length therefore, *Rome* opened her Eyes, and found it was Time to put a ſtop to an Evil, which could not have become a Matter of ſuch Importance to her, but by her own Negligence. In the beginning of the Year 619, when *The Second Africanus* was choſen *Conſul*, and appointed to give the finiſhing Stroke to *Numantia*, his Colleague *C. Fulvius* was ordered to go into *Sicily*, and ſuppreſs this Conſpiracy which began now to be ormidable to the Republick. The Example of the Slaves in *Sicily*, was already become contagious in all the Countries in *Italy*, and *The Levant*. In *Rome* itſelf, 150 of theſe unfortunate Wretches had been condemned to die for ſeditious Plots.

5 See Vol. 2. p. 473. Note 8.
6 See Vol. 2. p. 542. Note 34.

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at *Sinueſſa* [7], about 4000 of them had been put to Death. 450 had been crucified at *Minturnæ*. 1000 of thoſe who worked in the Mines near *Athens*, had been lately ſentenced to die. Some Companies of Slaves had committed incredible Devaſtations in *Macedon*: And the Iſland of *Delos* [9] had been purged of a Company of theſe Villains, by the Diligence of their Maſters. But after all, *Sicily* was the Source of all theſe Evils; and thither *Fulvius* came with a *Conſular* Army. But whether this *Conſul* gained any Advantages over the Rebels, the Hiſtorians have not informed us. He ſeems to have contented himſelf with diſpoſing the Iſlanders to take up Arms in defence of their Eſtates; with providing the Cities with Men and Proviſions; and in ſhort, with making all the neceſſary Preparations to make the Victory eaſy to his Succeſſors.

In the Year 620, *Sicily* fell to the Lot of the *Conſul*, *Lucius* [10] *Calpurnius Piſo*. He found the *Roman Legions* there ill-diſciplined; and it was very agreeable both to his natural Temper and his uſual Conduct, to reform their Diſorders. He was the firſt of his Family who bore the Name of *Frugi*, that is, of *an abſtinent and frugal Man*, and tranſmitted it to his Poſterity. He brought his Soldiers to their Duty by ſevere Puniſhments. The Commander of a Troop of Horſe, named *C. Titius*, ſuffered himſelf to be ſurrounded by a Detachment of Slaves; and to ſave his Life, the *Roman* Officer and his Men threw down their Arms, and returned to their Camp. This the *Conſul* thought a baſe Act; and not only mortified theſe Cowards with very ſevere Reproaches, but ordered them to continue whole Days under Arms, in their *Tunics* only, without their Belts, and bare-foot. *Titius* himſelf was interdicted the publick Feaſts and the Uſe of the Bath; and his Horſemen were diſmounted, and put on a level with thoſe poor Wretches, whoſe whole Buſineſs it was, to ſling Stones at the Enemy, before the Battle. And as ſoon as *Piſo* had reformed his Troops, he immediately led them to Victory. The *Syrians*, for ſo the Subjects of the King of *Enna* were commonly called, hated [11] *Meſſana* more than any other City in the whole Iſland. Not one Slave had come to his Army from this City or its Neighbourhood. The *Meſſanians* had always treated their unfortunate Domeſticks with Humanity; and the Fidelity of the Slaves had been anſwerable to the good Treatment they had met with from their Maſters. *Eunus* therefore, followed by all his Troops, inveſted the City which ſo little favoured his Deſigns: And the Circumvallation was already finiſhed, and the Attacks ready to be begun, when *Piſo* came upon him with his *Legions*, leading his Son by his ſide, a Youth of great Hopes. However, *Eunus* flattered himſelf with conquering the *Conſul*, as he had ſucceſſively done four *Prætors*; and therefore refuſed not a Battle. But he found a great difference between thoſe *Roman* Troops which he had conquered, and theſe, which were well diſciplined, and under the Conduct of an able General. This formidable Army of Slaves was, for the firſt time, put to the rout, by Troops much inferiour to them in Number, and the Siege of *Meſſana* was raiſed. 6000 *Syrians* were killed on the Spot; and all that were made Priſoners of War, were treated as Villains, and crucified.

Front. in Stratag. B. 4. c. 1. Val. Max. B. 2. c. 7.

And as the *Conſul* had not ſpared Chaſtiſements when wanted in his Camp, ſo he was now as liberal, in beſtowing his Rewards, after the Victory. He diſtributed them to the brave who had deſerved them with great ſhew; and on this occaſion, diſtinguiſhed himſelf for that Abſtinence and Diſintereſtedneſs, which had given him the Surname of *Frugi*. His Son had ſignalized himſelf in the Battle, and all agreed, That no one had better deſerved an honourable Share in the Diſtribution of thoſe Rewards. The Father himſelf confeſſed his Merit, but his Scruples ſtopped his Hand. He thought it not agreeable to that rigid Probity which he profeſſed, for the Father to beſtow any of the Wealth of the Republick on his own Son. Nevertheleſs, as his Son had deſerved a Crown of

Val. Max. B. 4. c. 3. Cic. pro Fonteio.

7 The ancient City of *Sinueſſa* ſtood in the Country of the *Aurunci*, a People of *Latium*. Their Territory was part of the preſent *Terra di Lavoro*, which reaches from *Terracina*, to the other ſide of *The Garigliano*, No Footſteps of it are now remaining. See Vol. 2.

8 *Minturnæ* ſtood in *Latium*, a little above *The Garigliano*. There are now ſcarce any Remains of it left. See Vol. 2, or the *Index*.

9 *Delos*, now *Sdili*, one of the Iſlands of the *Archipelago*, was famous for the fabulous Birth and Oracle of *Apollo*. See the preceding Volumes.

10 This *Lucius Calpurnius Piſo* is not the ſame who was *Conſul* in the Year of *Rome* 614. The *Conſul* here ſpoken of, was *Prætor* of *Sicily* in that Year. To him is aſcribed the famous Law *De repetundis*, againſt the Avarice of Magiſtrates who robbed the Publick. While he was *Prætor*, there was a great Scarcity of Corn in *Rome*, and the Senate had recourſe to him, and charged him to buy up a great Quantity of Corn all over *Sicily*. Which he did with ſuch Diſintereſtedneſs, as acquired him the glorious Surname of *Frugi*, that is, *The Honeſt*. He remitted back to the publick Treaſury a conſiderable Part of the Money which had been ſent him for this Purpoſe, having managed the reſt ſo prudently and frugally, as to make it ſufficient to provide for the Wants of the People. *Cicero* relates this Fact, in his *Third Oration againſt Verres*.

11 Now *Meſſina*: See Vol. 2. p. 470. Note 6.

Gold, of three Pounds Weight, it was not juſt to detain it from him. The *Conſul* therefore found out a Medium. He only gave his Son the Honour and Title of the Crown he deſerved, on the Part of the Publick; and that he might not loſe any thing, aſſigned him ſuch an Addition out of his own Eſtate, as was equivalent to the Value of it. Thus even in the decline of the *Roman* Virtue, there ſtill was found one great Mind, formed after the Models of the firſt Ages of the Republick.

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§. VII. But tho' *Piſo* had vanquiſhed the Rebels in *Sicily*, he had not entirely ſubdued them. This Honour was reſerved for *P. Rupilius*, who was choſen *Conſul* for the preſent Year 621.

P. Popilius Lænas, & P. Rupilius, Conſuls.

The Troubles raiſed by *The Sempronian Law* were not yet appeaſed, when *Rupilius* made his Preparations for his *Sicilian* Expedition; and in theſe agitations of Mind, the *Sybilline* Books were conſulted, and it was there found, That it was neceſſary to have recourſe to the moſt ancient Temple of *Ceres* then in the World. There was a very ſtately one at *Rome*, but the *Roman* Superſtition would be content with nothing leſs, than making Oblations in the Place where the Cavern was, through which the God of Hell was ſaid to have aſcended to the Earth. In ſhort, the whole City of *Enna*, and all the charming Plains about it, were conſecrated to *Ceres*, and *Libera*, that is, *Proſerpine*. But it unfortunately happened, That this ancient City, whoſe Origine was carried up to the fabulous Times, was in the Power of *Eunus*, and the chief Place of the Rebels. Nevertheleſs, the Orders of the Senate to the *Conſul*, were in nothing more expreſs than this, That he ſhould make a way with his Sword to *Enna*, and there preſent to *Ceres* the Offerings of the Republick.

Cic. Verr. 6.

When *Rupilius* was landed at *Meſſana*, and had taken upon him the Command of *Piſo*'s Army, he made it his firſt Care exactly to follow the Conduct of his Predeceſſor. He began with Acts of Severity, thereby to keep his *Legions* in Diſcipline. Being informed that *Q. Fabius* his Son-in-Law had, in a cowardly manner, delivered up the City of *Tauromenium* to the Enemy; he, immediately, without any regard to him as a Relation, drove him out of *Sicily*, and ſent him to *Rome*. And from that time, all Officers and Soldiers kept ſtrictly to their Duty, under a General, who made no difficulty of diſcarding even his own Relations; and the *Legions*, who were well diſciplined, were deſirous of finiſhing the War in one Campaign. The chief Point *Rupilius* had in view, was to take *Enna*; but the difficulty was how to penetrate thither, as long as *Tauromenium* furniſhed the *Ennates* both with Men and Proviſions.

Val. Max. B. 2. *c.* 7.

The pretended *Syrian* had put ſtrong Garriſons into many Places; and to take them all one by one, would prolong the War, and only weaken the Enemy without deſtroying them. *Rupilius* therefore preferred the ſhorteſt and moſt dangerous Way, to that which would be longer, tho' more eaſy. He began with the Siege of *Tauromenium*, in order to end with the taking of *Enna*. The former was a maritime City, perched like a Neſt, on a high Mountain; and being difficult of acceſs on all Sides, the *Conſul* reſolved to reduce it by Famine. And as Proviſions might be continually brought in by Tranſports, at the Port, which was to the Eaſt of the Iſland, it was neceſſary to make uſe of a *Roman* Fleet, to inveſt it on the Side next the Sea. By Land, *Rupilius* ſurrounded the Mountain with a large Line of Circumvallation, and cut off all Communication that Way. The Garriſon was numerous, and ſoon conſumed their Magazines of Proviſion, tho' large ones; and then Want, added to their Obſtinacy, produced many tragical Events among theſe brutal Slaves. They firſt killed their Friends, and then eat them. This Madneſs was univerſal; but as they could expect no Pardon, they ſtill perſiſted in their Defence, not ſo much from Valour as Deſpair. The Governour of the City, named *Comanus*, a Slave of ſome Reputation, and Brother to that *Cleon*, who was ſecond Man in the new Kingdom, endeavoured to make his eſcape out of the Place; but he was ſurprized by the Centinels, and put under a cloſe Confinement. At length, the City, (as might well be expected from ſuch Men) was ſold to the *Romans*, by a *Syrian* Traitor named *Sarapion*; and then the Governour and his Garriſon being all condemned to die, were thrown down headlong from the top of a Rock.

Diod. Sic. in Eclog.

§. VIII. From thence, the *Conſul*, to ſatisfy the Deſires of the Senate, and in purſuit of his own Scheme, led his Army to *Enna*, which was ſtill to be taken. And it being grown a Faſhion, ſince the Reduction of *Numantia*, to reduce Cities by Famine, rather than take them by Aſſault, *Rupilius* did the ſame here. The pretended King with his Court, *Cleon*, and the choiceſt of his Troops, were all ſhut up in the Town; and the Multitude of the Slaves ſoon conſumed the Proviſions in it. The beſieged therefore made Sallies, attempting

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P. POPILIUS LÆNAS, & P. RUPILIUS, Conſuls.

attempting to break their way through the Enemy; and it muſt be allowed, that the *Syrians* fought like Men in deſpair. *Cleon* himſelf fell alive into the *Conſul*'s Hands, covered with Wounds and Blood; but did not long ſurvive his Captivity. He ſoon died of his Wounds, and his empaled Body was expoſed to the view of the Beſieged, to increaſe their Terrour. At length, *Enna* had the ſame Fate as *Tauromenium*. Among theſe Numbers of Slaves who are naturally perfidious, it cannot be imagined, but ſome might be found, who would ſell the City to the *Romans*. It was very advantageouſly ſituated in a fine Country, and on an Eminence; which nevertheleſs was watered with ſeveral Fountains of the fineſt Water in the World: And the new Fortifications with which *Eunus* had been continually improving it, for ſix Years, made it almoſt Impregnable. But the *Romans* were received into it by ſome Cowards, who made no ſcruple of being guilty of Treachery, in order to ſave their Lives. When the Enemy approached, and were even Maſters of the Walls, *Eunus* ſtill acted up to his Character of a King. With his Guard of about 600 Men, he broke his way through the *Romans*, fled for Refuge to a ſteep Part of the Iſland, and there prepared to ſell his Life dear. In the mean time, the *Legionaries* made an horrible Maſſacre in *Enna*. The Streets ran with Streams of Blood. It is ſaid, that at the taking of the two Cities, above 20000 of theſe Rebels periſhed. As for the *Conſul*, as ſoon as he was in Poſſeſſion of *Enna*, he immediately [12] paid his Homage in the Name of the Republick, to the Goddeſs which was worſhipped there. The Barbarians who had ſeized the City had ſpared her Temple; and the ancient Statue of *Ceres* was found as entire as ever. *Rupilius* was very religious. Before his departure, he viſited the Country; rebuilt the Altars formerly erected in the Fields, in honour to *Jupiter* [13] *Ætnæus*, and lately deſtroyed by the Rebels; and walled them in; forbidding all Perſons to enter within them, except the Families, which had an ancient Right to come and offer Sacrifices there.

§. IX. As for *Eunus*, he did not long continue quiet in his Retreat. He was immediately ſurrounded by the *Conſular* Troops: And in this imminent Danger, pulled off the Maſk. He ſhewed, that there was more of Oſtentation than true Grandeur of Spirit in his ſervile Soul. The Soldiers of his Guard had Courage enough to agree to kill one another. But their King hid himſelf in the Holes of Rocks, and ſeveral times changed his Place of Retreat; and at laſt, was taken alive out of a Cave, to which he had fled for Refuge with four of his Domeſticks; and was delivered up alive to the *Conſul*. And what ſhews the true Character of this pitiful King is this, That he kept with him to the laſt Extremity, his Cook, his Baker, his Bath-keeper, and a kind of Buffoon, who diverted him at his Meals. Theſe unfortunate Wretches were ſent in Chains to [14] *Murgantia*, there to be ſtrictly guarded, till the Departure of the *Roman* Army: And *Rupilius* reſerved *Eunus*, not ſo much to adorn his *Triumph*, as to ſhew the *Romans* this Chief, whom they had ſo much dreaded, and with ſo little Reaſon. But he had been too much enervated by Pleaſures for ſix Years together, to be able to bear the Rigours of his Priſon. He fell ſick and died there, worn out with trouble, and eaten up of Vermin. An exit worthy of a miſerable Slave, who like a theatrical King, had for ſome time acted a great Part, which ended at laſt in a tragical Death.

In the mean while, *Rupilius* continued ſome time in *Sicily*, with the Title of *Pro-Conſul*; and at the Head of ten Commiſſioners, which *Rome* ſent to him, he ſettled the Affairs of the Province, which had been brought into great Confuſion by the late Troubles. He retook the Cities which were yet in the Hands of the Rebels; reſtored the fugitive Slaves to their Maſters; and ordered the latter to double the Weight of their Chains, and give the Renegado's leſs Liberty than ever. And laſtly, he drew up a new [15] *Code* of Laws for *Sicily*, which made the People very happy, and were always obſerved,

Cic. Verr. 2.

12 Upon the Report which the *Decemviri* made to the Senate, after they had conſulted the *Sybilline* Books, ſome of them were ſent to *Enna*; and there they carried the Preſents and Offerings of the Republick to the Temple, which the *Ennates* had conſecrated to *Ceres*, the tutelar Goddeſs of the Country, for the Reaſons beforementioned, in Vol. 2. p. 562. Note 72. [The *Epitome of Livy* aſcribes likewiſe to theſe *Decemviri*, what is in the Text above aſcribed to *Rupilius*, concerning the Altars of *Jupiter Ætnæus*. *B.* 59. *c.* 27.]

13 The topical Name of *Ætnæus* was taken from a famous Temple which the neighbouring People had built to *Jupiter* on Mount *Ætna*.

14 The Name of *Murgantia* was formerly common to two Cities; one which is here ſpoken of in *Sicily*, the other in *Latium*. Nothing now remains of it. See Vol. 3. or the *Index*.

15 By the new *Code*, it was regulated, That both civil and criminal Cauſes ſhould be tried according to the ancient Laws of *Sicily*, provided the Parties were both Citizens of the ſame City. But if a Diſpute aroſe between the Inhabitants of different Places, as for Inſtance, between a Burgher of *Catanea* and an Inhabitant

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ſerved, to the Satisfaction of the Publick. By theſe Means, the whole Iſland was made very peaceable, ſo that there remained not the leaſt Spark of War unextinguiſhed; and then *Rupilius* took his Leave of a Province, from whence he brought nothing but Eſteem and Affection. He was one of thoſe noble and diſintereſted Men, who were worthy of the firſt Times. The only Glory he ſought in his Exploits, was that of promoting the publick Good; and the only Reward he deſired, was the Conſciouſneſs of having ſerved his Country. When he returned to *Rome*, he might have obtained a *Triumph* if he had deſired it. Both the Importance of his Expedition, and his perſonal Conduct ſpoke in his Favour. But he refuſed to triumph; becauſe, he was aſhamed (as he confeſſed) to have it recorded in the *Triumphal Tables*, That *He had overcome Slaves*. Nevertheleſs, he did not refuſe an *Ovation*, which probably *Rome* forced him to accept; for fear ſo great Merit ſhould ſeem to have been left deſtitute of any Reward.

§. X. Thus ended the Rebellion of the Slaves in *Sicily*: And as it was the Fate of *Rome*, to have one War beget, or at leaſt uninterruptedly ſucceed, another; an Affair of great Conſequence to the Republick, now called for her Arms in *Aſia*. It was neceſſary for her to defend her new Acquiſitions; and ſupport her Rights which were juſtly founded, but hitherto much neglected by the Senate. We have already obſerved, That the laſt King of *Pergamus* left his whole Kingdom to the *Romans*, by *Will*; and That *Attalus* had thereby fruſtrated the Hopes which *Andronicus*, his Brother by his Father's ſide, might have entertained of that Crown. But *Andronicus*, tho' the Son of *Eumenes*, could lay no Claim to it, becauſe illegitimate, and born of a Slave, a Native of *Epheſus*, and the Daughter of a Muſician. So that the *Will* of the late King, which was made in due Form, gave the *Romans* a good Title to one of the fineſt Sovereignties in *Aſia Minor*. The Kingdom of *Pergamus* was deemed one of the moſt extenſive [16] States, and moſt fruitful Countries in all this vaſt Region, which reached from the *Ægæan* Sea to Mount *Taurus*; and theſe very rich and fruitful Dominions well deſerved the utmoſt Regard of its new Proprietors. They had indeed a conſiderable Authority in *Aſia* [17] *Major*, which was more remote on the Continent; but it was founded only in the voluntary Submiſſions of the People. The *Roman* Republick had not the Property of one City in this Continent, till *Attalus* gave her a Country as large as that of *Macedon*; the Conqueſt of which had coſt her ſo much Blood and Treaſure.

In the two Years ſince the Death of *Attalus*, *Rome* had taken no other Steps to ſecure her Succeſſion, but that of ſending *Scipio Naſica* thither, to take care of her Intereſts. And this *Scipio Naſica* was indeed a zealous Republican; but as far as we can judge by his Conduct in *Aſia*, was ſo much afflicted at his being removed ſo far from his own Country, after the Maſſacre of *Tiberius Gracchus*, that he did nothing but ramble in Diſcontent from Country to Country, till at laſt he came and ended his Days at *Pergamus*. So that *Ariſtonicus* had time enough to carry on his Intrigues, aſſemble Troops, and put himſelf in a Condition to maintain his Pretenſions. He entered into an Alliance with the *Thracians*, and brought ſome to *Pergamus* from beyond *The* [18] *Boſphorus*; and he

bitant of *Palermo*, the Cogniſance of it ſhould belong to the *Roman Prætor*. *Cicero* in his *Second Oration againſt Verres*, and his Commentator *Aſconius*, prove this Practice.

16 The State of *Pergamus* contained at firſt little more than the City and its Territory. King *Attalus the Firſt*, began to extend its Territory, under the Protection of *Rome*. His Son, *Eumenes the Second*, the moſt faithful Ally of the *Romans*, in the Wars with *Antiochus the Great*, got great Part of the Spoils of that Monarch, from whom the Republick took the richeſt Countries in *Aſia Minor*. In return for the Services he had done *Rome*, ſhe put him in Poſſeſſion of the two *Myſia's*, the two *Phrygia's*, *Lydia*, *Lycaonia*, and in a Word, of the greateſt Part of the Provinces beyond Mount *Taurus*, beſides ſome Cities in *Thrace*, and thoſe of *Epheſus*, *Trallis*, and *Telmeſſa*, which had been formerly ſubject to *Antiochus*. So that the laſt *Attalus*, when he made the *Romans* Heirs to his Kingdom, did little more, than return them a Country, which they had formerly given his Anceſtors.

17 Under the Name of *Aſia Major*, or *Great Aſia*, was formerly comprehended thoſe immenſe Regions, which reach from North to South, to the Eaſt of Mount *Taurus*. So that *Syria*, *Meſopotamia*, *Aſſyria*, *Phœnicia*, &c. which were formerly ſubject to *Antiochus*, made a conſiderable Part of that vaſt Continent. The Provinces ſituated on this ſide Mount *Taurus* belonged to *Aſia Minor*, now called *Natolia*. This modern Name is taken from the *Greek* Term Ανατολη, which ſignifies *the Eaſt*, to ſhew its Eaſtern Situation with reſpect to *Greece*, from which it is ſeparated by *The Archipelago*; tho' it is, at the ſame time, the moſt Weſtern Country of *Aſia*. It is bounded to the North, by *The Euxine Sea*; to the Eaſt, by the two *Armenia's*; to the South, by *The Mediterranean*; and to the Weſt, by *The Ægæan Sea*, or *Archipelago*, and *The Propontis*, or *Sea of Marmora*. In length, it contains about 360 *French* Leagues, from the 51ſt Degree of Longitude to the 62d; and in breadth near 200 *French* Leagues, from the 36th Degree of Latitude to the 45th. *Aſia Minor* therefore, in its greateſt extent, contained the two *Myſia's*, the two *Phrygia's*, *Caria*, *Lydia*, *Ionia*, *Æolis*, *Piſidia*, *Lycia*, *Pamphilia*, *Gallo-Græcia*, *Lycaonia*, *Paphlagonia*, *Cappadocia*, the Kingdom of *Pontus*, and *Bithynia*.

18 *The Thracian Boſphorus*, is now known by the Names of *The Channel of Conſtantinople*, *The Channel of*

he took a good Number of *Phocæans* [19] into his Service. With theſe Succours, and ſome *Pergamian* Troops, which ſubmitted to him, he became formidable in his own Country. Beſides, the Nobility and Inhabitants of *Pergamus*, being accuſtomed to a Monarchical, dreaded a Republican Government; and without much ſcruple about the Stain in the Blood of their new Head, they preferred his Authority, to that of different foreign *Prætors*, to whoſe Caprices they muſt otherwiſe be ſubject. Then *Ariſtonicus*, as ſoon as he ſaw himſelf at the Head of a great Army, beſieged the Places which were for maintaining the late King's *Will*, and the Right of the *Romans*; and took by Force the Cities of [20] *Samos* and *Colophon* [21] in *Ionia*, and that of [22] *Myndos* in *Caria*. The other Cities ſurrendered upon Terms; and being thus become Maſter of the Kingdom, with little Reſiſtance, he filled his Treaſury with the Revenues of the Kings his Predeceſſors, and was now in a Condition to maintain a War with *Rome*. *Eutrop. & Florus B. 3. c. 10.*

§. XI. This News came to *Italy* when the People were about chuſing new *Conſuls*; and among the Candidates, were two Men of very great Weight, but whoſe publick Employments ſeemed to render them incapable of making War in *Aſia*. One was *P. Licinius Craſſus*, on whom Fortune had beſtowed all thoſe Advantages which ſhe rarely heaps upon one Man. In point of Birth, he was deſcended from a noble Family which was without diſpute one of the moſt Illuſtrious in *Rome*. With regard to Wealth, he was richer than any other *Citizen*, and with the other Hereditary Surnames of his Family, bore that of *Dives*, that is, *the Rich*. And his perſonal good Qualities were not inferior to theſe Gifts of Fortune. He was a very diſcreet, learned, and ſubtle *Civilian*; and very eloquent. The Favour of the People had therefore raiſed him by degrees to all the Offices of Diſtinction in the Republick. In his *Ædileſhip*, his Riches had enabled him to entertain *Rome* with magnificent Shows, to the Satisfaction of all the Commons. Then, advancing gradually through all the *Curule* Dignities he was already become *Pontifex Maximus*, which gave him a general Superintendence over all the Prieſts of the *Roman* Religion. So that nothing being wanting to compleat his Honours, but the *Conſulate*, he now ſtood for it, and obtained it. The moſt critical Obſervers on his Conduct could find but one Fault in this illuſtrious Man, which was a little too much tendency to Avarice.

Year of *ROME* DCXXII.

P. Licinius Crassus, & L. Valerius Flaccus, Conſuls. *Aulus Gell. B. 1. c. 13.*

His Collegue was *Lucius Valerius Flaccus*, who was alſo devoted to the Service of the Gods, but in an inferior Rank. He was *Flamen* [23] *Martialis*, or in other Words, *The High-Prieſt* of *Mars*. They were both very deſirous of leading the Armies of the Republick into *Aſia*, no Commiſſion being more profitable than that of commanding in thoſe diſtant Countries, which abounded with all manner of Riches: And both made Intereſt to the Senate for it, and earneſtly contended for Succeſs. The Diſpute was ſo warm, that *Craſſus*, as *Pontifex Maximus*, ſet a [24] Fine on *Valerius*, who was his inferior in the Prieſthood, and commanded him not to quit the Functions of his Office. On the other hand, *Valerius* pretended that *Craſſus* was incapable of going into *Aſia*; there having been no Inſtance of a *Pontifex Maximus* who had commanded an Army in foreign Countries, tho' they had ſometimes done ſo in *Italy*. At length, as the Conteſt grew more violent, it was brought before the People to determine it; and then there ſtarted up a third Party, in favour of *Scipio*, *The Second Africanus*. He was lately returned from *Spain* with great Glory in having taken *Numantia*, and had been honoured with *a Tri-* *Cic. Phil. 2.*

of St. George, and *The Channel of the Black Sea*. This famous Streight divides *Aſia* from *Europe*. It is ſaid to be about 5 or 6 *French* Leagues long. *The Black Sea* diſcharges it ſelf by this Mouth, into *The Sea of Marmora*, and from thence into *The Archipelago* by *The Helleſpont*.

19 The *Phocæans* inhabited the Territory of *Phocæa*, a City of *Æolis*, according to *Ptolomy*. But *Pliny* and *Mila* place it in *Ionia*; perhaps, becauſe built by the *Ionans*, or becauſe it bordered on that Province. It is now only a little Village, ſituated on the Coaſt of *The Gulph of Smyrna*, near the Mouth of the River *Hermus*, which is called by the Natives *The Sarabat*. It is now called *Fochia-Vechia*, or *Old Phocæa*. Two Miles from it ſtands a pretty populous City, fortified with a Port and Caſtle, which is called *Fochia-Nova*. We have already ſpoken of theſe *Phocæans*, and of their Tranſmigrations to the Coaſts of *Provence*.

20 The City of *Samos* is the capital of the Iſland of that Name, near *Ionia*, from which it is ſeparated by a little Streight. We have already mentioned it, Vol. 2. The Geographers make the Iſland to be about 87 Miles in Circumference. It was conſecrated to *Juno*. *Strabo* ſpeaks of an ancient Temple dedicated to that Goddeſs in this City. Which Temple the People of *Aſia* and *Greece* looked on as an inviolable *Aſylum*.

21 *Colophon*, a City ſituated on the Coaſt of *Ionia*, between *Smyrna* and *Epheſus*, ſtood near the Place which is now called *Alto-Boſco*. See Vol. 4. p. 209. Note 30.

22 *Myndos* is ſtill in being near *Old Halicarnaſſus*, and is now called *Menteſe*.

23 See Vol. 1. Of the Offices and Duty of the *Flamines*.

24 *Valerius*, according to *Cicero*, in his *Eleventh Philippic*, was diſcharged by the People from the Fine which *Craſſus* had ſet upon him.

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umph on that Account; and ſome very ſenſible People thought no one ſo capable of putting a ſpeedy end to the War in *Aſia*, as this great Man. The only Objection to their Deſires was, That *Scipio* was now only a private Perſon, not having any publick Office; and they therefore ventured to propoſe him in the *Comitia*, and put him in Competition with the *Conſul Craſſus*. But the Multitude had regard to the old Regulations; and *Scipio*, only becauſe he was not in Office, had the Suffrages of but two *Tribes*. The reſt voted in favour of *Craſſus*; and it was determined, That he might, tho' *Pontifex Maximus*, command the *Roman* Armies in Countries beyond the Bounds of *Italy*. His Collegue was appointed to continue at *Rome* to ſettle Affairs there; and he was ordered to diſpoſſeſs *Ariſtonicus* of the Kingdom he had uſurped from the *Roman* People. But this extraordinary Privilege afterwards turned to the Diſadvantage of the Republick, and likewiſe of *Craſſus* himſelf.

In the mean time, the popular Factions, ſince the bloody Tumult on the *Capitol*, were not yet appeaſed. The Death of *Tiberius Gracchus* was deeply engraven on the Minds of many. The Senate indeed endeavoured to calm the People; and it ſeems to have been in order to ſoften them, that they ſuffered them to uſurp another Privilege, not heard of till this Time. For theſe 220 Years laſt paſt, it had been an invariable Cuſtom in *Rome*, to chooſe one of the *Cenſors* out of the *Patricians*, and the other out of the *Plebeians*. But now, *The Conſcript Fathers* carried their Complaiſance ſo far, as to ſuffer *Q. Cæcilius Metellus* ſurnamed *Macedonicus*, and *Q. Pompeius*, both *Plebeians*, to be promoted to the *Cenſorſhip* together; which nothing but the Neceſſity of the Times could have extorted from them. In the *Cenſus* which theſe two *Plebeians* took of the *Citizens* of *Rome*, and which was reckoned the 59th from their Inſtitution, they found 317823 *Citizens* in a Condition to bear Arms; and their *Cenſorſhip* was famous for a Law, which *Auguſtus* afterwards revived. *Metellus*, in a laboured Speech, which was in being after the Deſtruction of the Republick, perſuaded the People that it was neceſſary to rectify the Abuſes of *Cælibacy*. The Love of Debauchery, and unlawful Intrigues, diverted many *Romans* from Marriage: And it being thought neceſſary both for the Reformation of Manners, and the Preſervation of noble Families, many of which were become extinct by this Licentiouſneſs; a Decree was paſſed, That at a certain Age, all then ſhould be obliged to marry.

Epit. Livian.

Suetonius, in Vit. Auguſti.

§. XII. Nevertheleſs, the Commotions about the Diſtribution of Lands, according to *The Sempronian Law*, were not yet at an end. In the Execution of this Law, the Rich by their Chicaneries, were continually throwing freſh Obſtructions in the Way of the moſt juſt Pretenſions of the Poor; and this brought continual Complaints from the Commiſſioners choſen by the People, to take care of the Diſtribution. *C. Gracchus*, the Brother of the murdered *Tribune*, was one of the moſt zealous in maintaining the Rights of the Populace againſt the Injuſtice of the great Men; and this Injuſtice furniſhed him with an inexhauſtible Fund for Invectives. He was continually ſounding it in the Ears of the People in the *Comitium*; and thereby both ſignalized his Zeal for their Intereſts, and vented his own Hatred, againſt the Authors of the Murder of his Brother. And in this, he was admirably well ſeconded by a *Tribune of the People*, named *Caius Papirius Carbo*. This *Tribune* was one of the moſt violent Men in *Rome*, and moſt like to *Tiberius Gracchus*. *Carbo* made him his Pattern; ſeemed to have inherited his factious Spirit; and his Speeches were always full of him. He exaggerated the Benefits the Commons had received from him. He magnified his Conſtancy, in withſtanding the Efforts of the Rich and Senate, tho' at the Hazard of his Life. He ſometimes invoked the *Manes* of *Gracchus*; returned him the moſt humble Thanks for his Services, in the Name of the *Roman People*; and aſked his Pardon, in the Name of the whole Republick, for the unworthy Treatment with which thoſe Services had been repaid. And one Day, when the furious *Tribune* was grown warmer than uſual, as he was painting the Death of *Gracchus* in the moſt lively Colours, with all its Circumſtances, a ſudden kind of Enthuſiaſm ſeized him; and he ordered *The Second Africanus*, the Hero who was the Admiration and the Delight of *Rome*, to be brought into the Aſſembly.

Cic. de Leg. B. 3.

Carbo did not doubt, but *Scipio*, who was ſo nearly related to the Family of the *Gracchi*, would ſpeak in Favour of his Brother-in-Law, and at leaſt condemn the Cauſe and the Authors of his Death. But the *Tribune* knew little either of the true Character of the brave *Roman*, or of his private Diſagreement with his Wife. He therefore publickly aſked him, what he thought of the Murder of his Brother-in-Law; imagining, that the Anſwer he muſt receive would be ſuch, as would well nigh bring the People to an

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an Inſurrection againſt his Murderers. But, to his great Surprize, *Scipio*'s Anſwer was, *That if* Gracchus *had endeavoured to ſow Diſcord in the Republick, he thought him lawfully put to Death.* Upon this unexpected Reply, the *Tribune* [35] ſtirred up the People to inſult the moſt venerable Man in *Rome*; and a Murmur was heard among them, which ſufficiently diſcovered their Indignation. *Scipio* was ſhocked at it, and aſſuming that Aſcendant over the Multitude, which a long Command of Armies gives an old General, he replied, *Be ſilent, ye untractable People! Does it become you to treat* Italy *as if ſhe was your Step-Mother, and rigorouſly extort all her Effects from her? Or think ye, that I am afraid of your Murmurs, who have ſo often been unconcerned at the Fury of our Enemies?* At this, the common People only increaſed their Hiſſings; and then, *Scipio*, who could contain no longer, thought himſelf obliged to exalt his Voice. *Miſerable Wretches as you are*, ſaid he, *What would have become of you, had it not been for my Father* Paulus Æmilius, *and my ſelf? You would have been enſlaved, or at leaſt, ſubject to our Enemies; and muſt have ſpent your Lives in a State of Dependence. And is this the Reſpect you owe your Deliverers?* At which Words there followed a deep Silence in the Aſſembly which looked like Conſternation. Theſe fierce *Romans* ſeemed to have forgotten at once, even that they were free. The Voice of one ſingle Man made them tremble like Slaves. The *Comitia* were immediately diſſolved, and every one returned home with more Eſteem, but leſs Affection, for the great *Scipio*. And it is thought, that the illuſtrious *Roman* choſe this turbulent Time, to retire to one of his Country-Houſes, at *Cajeta* or *Laurentum*, with his dear *Lælius*. There theſe two grave Friends, who had filled the higheſt Offices with Dignity, and been indefatigable at the Head of Armies, condeſcended to amuſe themſelves with the ſame innocent little Pleaſures which had diverted them when Children. They walked by the Sea-ſide, entertained themſelves with picking up ſmooth flat Stones, and throwing them on the Surface of the Water; and enjoyed more Pleaſure in this ſweet Retirement, than in the Glory they had acquired, by ſerving an ungrateful People.

Vell. Paterc. Cic. pro Milone & B. 2. de Orat. Val. Max. B. 6. c. 2. Author. de Vir. Illuſtr. Plut. in Apophteg.

Cic. de Orat. B 1.

§. XIII. In the mean time, *Carbo* was more active than ever, both in ſupporting the Intereſts of the People, and in promoting his own. He was reſolved to imitate *Gracchus* in all his Steps, and now propoſed like him, to get himſelf continued in his Office another Year. And in order to ſucceed the better, he at firſt kept within Bounds. The Law he firſt propoſed in the *Comitia* was tolerable; it enacting only, That when the People accepted or rejected the Edicts propoſed by their *Tribunes*, they ſhould not give their Suffrages *viva voce*, but in Writing; and it paſſed without Contradiction. It was indeed only a repeated Eſtabliſhment of the Cuſtom of voting only by *Tablets* or Tickets. However, this Succeſs made *Carbo* more enterprizing. He drew up, and propoſed a ſecond Law, which was, That the ſame Perſons ſhould be continued *Tribunes*, during the Pleaſure of the People, without coming to an annual Election. This was a direct Attack on the Nobles, who always found their Account in the continual Changes of theſe Officers. The Effect of the frequency of thoſe Elections was, that the moſt ſeditious *Tribune* had but his Year to torment them in; and they often found Means to prevail on the Succeſſors, to remedy the Evils done them by their Predeceſſors. The Flower of the Senate therefore, and the moſt diſtinguiſhed of the Nobility, vehemently oppoſed the new Law; and pretended, That it was no more lawful for the People to prolong the *Tribunate*, than for the whole Republick to confer the *Conſulſhip* two Years ſucceſſively on the ſame Perſon. Among the reſt, *Scipio* and *Lælius*, upon the Report of this new Storm, haſtened to *Rome*, where the Affair was brought into the *Comitia*, and there diſputed with much Warmth. *Carbo* and *C. Gracchus* joined together in promoting it; and whilſt the former applied himſelf to Sollicitations, and all the Arts of Flattery and Inſinuation; the latter adhered chiefly to the Strength of his Reaſoning, and ſpoke thus.

Cic. in Eruto.

The preſent Queſtion, Romans, *is not concerning what you ought to do; but your very Power of Acting is diſputed. The Nobles don't at preſent offer you their Advice, they diſpute your Right. Shall then the Senate be able to rob you of a Privilege which you have pur-*

[35] What moſt Hiſtorians aſcribe to *Caius Carbo*, *Plutarch*, in his *Apophthegms*, imputes to *Caius Gracchus*; and adds, That the latter cried out in his Fury, That *Scipio* was a Tyrant, and deſerved to be put to Death. To theſe Clamours he replied with a noble Pride, which ſtruck the moſt enterprizing with Awe and Reverence. *Men*, ſaid he, *who are ſworn Enemies to the Republick, have Reaſon to attempt my Life. It nearly concerns them that I ſhould die, in order to their ſucceeding in their pernicious Deſigns. They know That on my Life depends the happy Deſtiny of* Rome; *and That* Scipio *will not ſurvive the Ruin of his Country.*

chaſed

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chaſed with ſo many Labours? Remember the ſacred Mount, *and the famous* Seceſſion *which delivered you from Slavery. The Fruit your Forefathers reaped from it was, the Power of chuſing your own Defenders, who ſhould be watchful of your Intereſts, preſerve you from Oppreſſion, preſide in your Aſſemblies, and protect your Lives and Eſtates from the Artifices and Attempts of the Nobility. You then inſiſted on the Right of chuſing* Tribunes, *that is Protectors, to whom you might always have recourſe in Time of Need. But did you then limit the Time, which theſe your Magiſtrates ſhould continue in Office? Had the Power which you gave them, any other Bounds, in point of Duration, than their Faithfulneſs in ſerving you, and the good Will and Pleaſure of your Aſſemblies? In thoſe firſt Ages, the* Tribunes *were continued in their Offices, for ſeveral Years, without ſo much as a Murmur from the* Patricians. *Shall then the rich Men in our Days, aboliſh what the* Camilli, *the* Carii, *and the* Coſſi, *eſtabliſhed in theirs?* Carbo's *Law is no Innovation. All that is new in this Affair is, their diſputing your Right, which is as Ancient as it is Juſt; and to rob you of it, is to ſtrike at the very Foundation of all your Security. To limit the unbounded Power you now enjoy, of continuing the* Tribunes *you like in their Offices, during your Pleaſure, is in effect leſſening your Strength, and encroaching on the free Liberty of your Elections. Of what Weight is a College of Magiſtrates, whoſe Authority expires in a Year after their Creation? What Succeſs can they promiſe themſelves in Enterprizes which require Time to put them in Execution? Such Deſigns muſt neceſſarily prove abortive, almoſt the inſtant they have been contrived. Of this your Adverſaries are very ſenſible by Experience; the Aſcendant they have gained over you, was originally founded in the continual Changes of your Defenders. Of what uncommon Abilities muſt they be Maſters, who are able to ſupport you againſt the Plots of a formidable Senate, whoſe chief Concern is to weaken you? An Age does ſcarce produce one Man, who is equal to the Burden of ſo difficult an Office. How many, and how great are the Talents neceſſary to enable a Man to appear with Credit in ſo delicate a Situation? He ought to have a Genius ſo extenſive, as to be able to know what is paſt, to penetrate into what is to come, and to provide Remedies for all preſent Evils: He ought to have a Courage and Intrepidity, above both Menaces and Dangers; a Diſintereſtedneſs, proof againſt Promiſes and Expectations; a Penetration, ſufficient to ſee through all falſe Lights, to diſcover in Matters of the greateſt Intricacy, where your true Intereſt lies, and to prefer ſolid Advantages to Appearances: And he ought to have ſuch a lively and eaſy Eloquence, as to be able to perſuade, without leaving any ill Impreſſion on the Mind, and effectually to gain upon the Affections, without appearing to govern them. Such a Man is indeed a great Treaſure; a Bleſſing which Heaven very ſeldom grants to the World. And when you have it, you cannot take too much care to preſerve it. But it often happens, that the moſt able Men are ſucceeded by others of little Abilities; and the latter aboliſh in an inſtant, Schemes which the former laid, and entered upon with difficulty. By this Means, the greateſt Deſigns come to nought; and your Rivals triumph at it. However, your* Tribunes *would, at leaſt, have leſs Cauſe to complain of the ſhort Continuance of their Offices, if you knew how to defend them, or avenge the Injuries they ſuffer in your Service. O ye great Gods, can I forget the Fate of my Brother* Tiberius! *The Tears will flow, and interrupt me, at the ſad Remembrance!* Romans, *You had in him one of thoſe* Tribunes *of uncommon Merit, who had nothing in view but your Grandeur; no Intereſt at Heart, but that of enriching you, at the Expence of his own Fortune. He died as it were in the Arms of our Gods; an innocent Victim, who freely fell a Sacrifice to the Fury of your Enemies, to preſerve you from it. His Blood was ſpilt on the* Capitol; *his Body thrown a Prey to Fiſh, was denied the Honour of a Burial; and, if I may be permitted to ſay it, theſe Outrages, to your Shame, are ſtill unpuniſhed. Grant then ye Heavens, that ſuch of your* Tribunes *as ſhall equal him in Merit, may meet with a more happy Fate, and a more adequate Reward!*

This Speech would have made Impreſſions on the Minds of the People, if *The Second Africanus*, and the wiſe *Lælius*, had not oppoſed it, both with their Authority, and their Eloquence. But they remonſtrated to the Commons, That nothing was more dangerous in a Republican State, than to continue Men long in Office, whoſe Power fell little ſhort of that of Sovereigns: And they repreſented thoſe ſudden Commotions, which ſeditious *Tribunes* had too often raiſed, in a very odious Light. *What would have become of* Rome, ſaid they, *if theſe Tyrants of a Year, had been perpetual! We ſhould long ſince have ſeen the* Tarquinian *Age revived, and the publick Liberty ſwallowed up, by their ſacred and inviolable Authority. The more powerful you have made theſe Preſidents of your Aſſemblies, the more formidable they ought to appear, even to yourſelves. If*

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erpetuated, they would ſoon turn this delegated Power againſt their Benefactors, and make themſelves independent. You grant it as Matter of Favour; they preſerve it by Flattery; and will ſoon maintain themſelves in it by Violence. The Tribunate, *ſhort as it is, has already raiſed but too many Storms in the State: And will you ſuffer it to advance thoſe to be Kings, whom you have inveſted with it? Go then, and offer yourſelves the Royal Fillet to theſe inferior Magiſtrates whom you have choſen. They want nothing in order to reign, but to be perpetuated in their Employments; and if they can by Artifice and Addreſs perſuade you to grant them repeated Prolongations, they will hereafter extort the reſt.* And indeed theſe Fears were not without Foundation: And therefore the Speeches of *Scipio* and *Lælius* prevailed. The Law propoſed by *Papirius Carbo*, tho' a very popular one in itſelf, and ſupported with the Eloquence of young *Gracchus*, was rejected by the Suffrages of the People themſelves. *Scipio* gained the Glory of this memorable Event; but he thereby incurred the Diſpleaſure of the Family to which he was allied, and much increaſed the Hatred of his Wife.

§. XIV. However, theſe inteſtine Broils did not detain the *Conſul Licinius Craſſus* at *Rome*. Tho' *Pontifex Maximus*, he marched out of *Italy*, with the full Conſent of the People. The War in *Aſia* became daily more and more difficult, as *Ariſtonicus* was continually increaſing his Conqueſts in the Kingdom of *Pergamus*. Nevertheleſs, the Hiſtorians have not informed us, that *Craſſus* carried with him to *The Levant* a *Conſular* Army, which conſiſted of two *Legions*, and at leaſt an equal Number of other Troops raiſed in *Italy*; neither do they ſo much as mention the Preparations uſually made for ſuch Expeditions in Countries beyond the Seas. Not a Word is ſaid of any Fleet, or Embarkation, or Proviſions ſent from *Africa*, or elſewhere, for the Support of ſuch Armies. And we therefore think it probable, that the *Conſul* only took with him a few Friends, and ſome choſen Troops. He took it for granted, that the Eaſtern Kings, and Nations in Alliance with *Rome*, would furniſh him with ſufficient Forces upon the Spot, to drive out the Uſurper. In his Voyage, the *Conſul* viſited all the Nations of the Eaſt, which either were ſubject to the *Roman* People, or in Alliance with them. He was a learned Man, and ſpoke *Greek* fluently; and before his departure, had perfected himſelf in that Language. That he might be able to converſe with the more People, he learned the five Dialects, then in uſe, on the Coaſts of *Europe* and *Aſia*, and far on the Continent; and was thereby qualified to negotiate Buſineſs himſelf, in all the Places where he ſhould touch. *Val. Max. L. 8. c. 7.*

Upon his Arrival in the Eaſt, he found the Nations little altered with regard to their Affection for his Republick. They were all faithful in their Attachments to her, and cultivated her Friendſhip; but were not all in a Condition to aſſiſt her againſt *Ariſtonicus*. In *Syria*, the two Brothers, *Antiochus Sidetes*, and *Demetrius* [25] *Nicanor*, had given themſelves the Title of King; tho' the latter, who had long been detained Priſoner among the *Parthians* was only nominally ſuch; whilſt *Antiochus* ruled alone in *Syria*. And after the latter had diſtreſſed the *Jews* with the cruel War before-mentioned, and had ſuddenly ſtruck up an Alliance with their High-Prieſt; he had then turned his Arms againſt the *Parthians*, in order to recover ſome Territories formerly belonging to the Kings of *Syria*, from *Phraates*, the Son and Succeſſor of *Arſaces*. This was the Expedition in which he had engaged the High-Prieſt of the *Jews* to follow him; and from which *John* afterwards took the Surname of *Hyrcanus*, becauſe it is ſaid, he had penetrated as far as to *Hyrcania*. In the mean time, Effeminacy and Pleaſure had weakened the [27] Army of *Antiochus*; and the impious Prince, to have a Pretence for Plundering the *Juſtin, B. 18* *Joſeph. B. 13*

26 *Demetrius Nicanor*, tho' a Priſoner in *Parthia*, had all the Honours paid him due to a crown'd Head. He had married *Rhodogune*, the Siſter of the King of the *Parthians*; and ſeemed to live very happily with his Princeſs, ſurrounded with Wealth and Pleaſures. Nevertheleſs, the Happineſs he enjoyed, and the great Civilities of a fine Court which was attentive to pleaſe him, did not make him amends for the Loſs of a Throne. In the midſt of all this Pomp and Show, he ſtill conſidered himſelf as a Captive and deprived King; and in his melancholly Hours, he ſeveral Times attempted to eſcape, but always without Succeſs. He was purſued, brought back, and more narrowly confined: And *Phraates* began to make him feel all the Shame of his Captivity. See the 39th Book of *Juſtin*.

27 *Juſtin* tells us, That the Army of *Antiochus* conſiſted of 80000 Men; *Oroſius*, of 100000. According to the latter, and *Athenæus*, the King of *Syria* had 300000 People in his Train, including Servants, Sutlers, Players, Buffoons, Cooks, and others of this Sort, whoſe Buſineſs was not ſo much to ſupply the Wants of the Troops, as to promote Luxury and Effeminacy. Fortune favoured him in his firſt Enterprizes. Upon the Report of his March, the People of *Aſſyria* came to meet him, and acknowledged him for their lawful Sovereign. Having been accuſtomed to live under the Government of the Succeſſors of *Alexander the Great*, their firſt King, they bore the Yoke of a foreign Governour with Impatience. The King of *Syria* had already defeated the Army of *Indates*, the *Parthian* General,

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the Temple of the Goddeſs [28] which the *Parthians* worſhipped, declared that he would marry her. He demanded the Treaſures in the rich Temple built in Honour to *Nanea*, for her Portion; and entered it, in order to take Poſſeſſion of them. But the Prieſts of the Goddeſs killed him with Stones thrown from the Roof [29], cut his Body in pieces, and threw them out of the Temple which he had prophaned. So that *Demetrius*, who had been ſo generouſly delivered out of Captivity [30] by *Phraates* himſelf, and ſent back into *Syria*, to diſpute the Crown with his Brother, was now become the ſole Poſſeſſor of it. But neither *Demetrius*, nor the High-Prieſt of the *Jews*, tho' both in Alliance with the *Romans*, could aſſiſt *Craſſus* with their Forces. The former was ſcarce ſettled in the Throne; and the latter was not yet returned from *Media*, whither the unfortunate *Antiochus* had drawn him after him.

2 *Mac.*

Juſtin, B. 28. *Epit. Liv.*

Egypt was more embroiled than *Syria*. *Euergetes* had diſhonoured that Throne with the moſt monſtrous Inceſt. After he had married *Cleopatra*, his Brother's Widow, as has been before obſerved, he had offered Violence to her Daughter and his own Niece, divorced *Cleopatra*, and married the young Princeſs whom he had diſhonoured. This infamous Conduct filled the *Alexandrians* with Horrour; and they took up Arms, ſet fire to the ancient Palace of their Kings, forced *Ptolomy* to flee to *Cyprus* for Refuge, and put the Crown on *Cleopatra*'s Head. Then the dethroned King, fearing leſt the Queen ſhould recall the Son he had had by her from *Cyrenaica*, and cauſe him to be crowned, prevented her, and ordered him to be brought to the Iſland of *Cyprus*. In the mean time, the Inhabitants of *Alexandria* being exceedingly incenſed againſt the Fugitive, exerciſed their Revenge upon his Statues, ſince they could not reach his Perſon. They broke them down, trod them under foot, and beat them in pieces. But *Ptolomy* aſcribed all theſe Inſults to *Cleopatra*; and in the Heat of his Rage againſt her, he repeated the Crime of *Thyeſtes*. He cut his unfortunate Son, whom he had by her, in pieces, ſhut up his Limbs in a ſtrong Box, and found Means to have it preſented to *Cleopatra* when ſhe was at Table, as a Preſent ſent from far, in Compliment to her Birth-Day.

on the Banks of *The Lycus*. Two other Victories likewiſe, which were followed by the taking of *Babylon*, had paved the Way for new Conqueſts, when his Death put an end to theſe promiſing Hopes.

28 According to *St. Thomas* and *De Lyra*, *Diana* was the Goddeſs which the *Medes* and *Perſians* called in their Language *Nànea*; and *Luther* and *Melanchon* were ſo fully perſuaded of the Truth of this, that they put *Diana* inſtead of *Nanea*, in their Verſion of the Bible, which they publiſhed, in the 16th Century. But may it not be ſaid, that *Venus*, or the Goddeſs of Pleaſure, was the *Nanea* of the *Pagans?* At leaſt, *Athenæus*, *B.* 13. mentions ſeveral times a debauched Woman, whoſe Name was *Nannium*, and another named *Nanno*. *Strabo*, *B.* 11, 12, and 15, ſays, That the *Armenians* worſhipped a Goddeſs, named *Nais*, or *Anaitis*, whom *Clemens Alexandrinus* makes to be the ſame as *Venus*. This Father ſays, That *Artaxerxes* the Son of *Ochus*, firſt erected Statues to this Goddeſs, in the City of *Babylon*, in *Perſia*, in *Bactriana*, at *Damaſcus*, and at *Sardis*. And what *Strabo* adds of the indecent Ceremonies uſed in the Temple of *Nais*, can only agree with *Venus*. Beſides, the Similitude of the Names, *Nanea*, *Nannium*, *Nanno* and *Nais*, ſeem to favour this Conjecture; which nevertheleſs is ſubmitted to the Judgment of the Reader.

29 The prophane Hiſtorians neither agree among themſelves, nor with the Text of *The Maccabees*, concerning the Cauſe of the Death of *Antiochus Sidetes*. According to *Joſephus* and *Juſtin*, he was ſlain in a Battle with the King of the *Parthians*. According to *Athenæus*, *Phraates* ordered funeral Honours to be paid him, with all the Pomp that was due to a King, but would have the Pleaſure of ſeeing the dead Body of his conquered Enemy; which, ſays the Hiſtorian, was to inſult his Memory, by tacitly reproaching him with his Raſhneſs and his Debaucheries. And then *Phraates* being much ſmitten with the Beauty of a Daughter of *Demetrius Nicanor*, married this Princeſs, who had attended her Uncle, in his Expedition againſt the *Parthians*. *Appian*, in his *Hiſtory of the Syrian Wars*, ſays, That *Antiochus*, after the Loſs of the Battle, killed himſelf in Deſpair. *Euſebius* pretends, That *Phraates* had himſelf ſtabbed *Antiochus* in the Heat of the Battle. And if we believe *Ælian*, This unfortunate Prince, being overwhelmed with Grief, threw himſelf headlong from the top of an high Place, that he might not ſurvive his Misfortunes. Without regarding therefore ſuch inconſiſtent Authorities, we have diſcovered the Truth of a Fact of which the prophane Hiſtorians were ignorant, from the pureſt Sources of Hiſtory. Nevertheleſs, it muſt be confeſſed, That ſome Commentators on the Holy Scripture have applied to *Antiochus the Great*, or *Antiochus Epiphanes*, what we have related of the Death of *Sidetes*, on the Authority of the Book of *Maccabees*. But beſides that, we have followed the greateſt Number of Interpreters, the bare reading of the ſacred Text is ſufficient to ſhew, that neither the Time, nor the Circumſtances, nor the manner of this Death, can agree with either of the former. And what we have ſaid of the unfortunate end of thoſe two Princes, after the ſacred Hiſtorians, in Vol. 4. is an indiſputable Proof of our Opinion. Of all the *Antiochus's* that reigned in *Syria*, *Sidetes* is the only one, to whom the Series of Events mentioned in the firſt Chapter of the 2d Book of *Maccabees*, can reaſonably be applied. But as this Diſpute is foreign to the Hiſtory of *Rome*, we refer the Reader to the Commentaries of *Serrarius*, *Mariana*, *Menoch*, and *Tirin*.

30 When he received the News of the melancholy Death of *Antiochus Sidetes*, *Phraates* repented of having given *Demetrius Nicanor* his Liberty. This Prince was lately ſet out from *Parthia* for his own Dominions; and the King of the *Parthians* ſent ſome Detachments of Horſe, who took different Roads, to bring him back. But they were too late. The King of *Syria*, fearing *Phraates* might change his Mind, made very long Marches, till he came to the Frontiers of his own Kingdom.

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The Queen ſhewed the People the mangled Body of her dear Son, and having loſt in him all Hopes of Poſterity, ſhe had recourſe to *Demetrius* King of *Syria*, and promiſed him the Succeſſion to the Crown of *Egypt*, if he would revenge her Quarrel upon *Ptolomy*. This was the Situation of Affairs in that Kingdom, when *Craſſus* was preparing to begin the War in *Pergamus*; and conſequently, neither *Ptolomy* nor *Cleopatra* could well be in a Condition to furniſh him with Succours. So that the two moſt powerful Monarchies in the Eaſt, *Egypt* and *Syria*, not to mention *Judæa*, could do the *Conſul* no manner of Service, in his new Expedition.

§. XV. *Craſſus* therefore turned his Negotiations elſewhere. *Pontus* [31] in *Aſia*, was a large Kingdom, bordering on *The Euxine Sea*, between *Bithynia* and *Paphlagonia* [32]; and the preſent King was *Mithridates* [33], Son of the illuſtrious Prince of that Name. This *Mithridates* very readily complied with the Deſires of the *Conſul* [34], and ſhewed himſelf to be as ſincere in his Friendſhip to *Rome*, as his Son was afterwards implacable in his Hatred to her. He gave the *Conſul* leave to raiſe what Troops he pleaſed in *Pontus*, and lead them into *Pergamus*. And [35] *Ariarathes* King of *Cappadocia* [36] did more. He marched in Perſon at the Head of an Army to aſſiſt the Republick, not diſdaining to follow the Standards of a *Conſul*; and he loſt his Life in the Battles he fought for the Service of *Rome*. *Nicomedes* alſo, the Pupil of the *Romans*, who governed *Bithynia* ſince the Death of *Pruſias* his Father, and *Pylæmenes* [37] King of *Paphlagonia*, both complied with the *Conſul*'s Deſires. So that he advanced at the Head of a nu-

31 *Pontus*, a Country of *Aſia*, lay along the South Coaſt of *The Pontus Euxinus*, or *Euxine Sea*, from which it took its Name. *Pliny* and *Ptolomy* make it the ſame Province as *Cappadocia*. *Strabo*, with more Reaſon, takes them to be two different Countries, divided by high Mountains, and governed each by its own King. The Ancients comprehended under the Name of *Pontus*, that Part of *Lower Mœſia* which is bounded on one Side by the Mouths of the *Danube*, and on the other, by Mount *Hæmus*, which is in *Europe*. *Tomos*, ſo well known by *Ovid*'s *Elegies*, was the Capital of this Province.

32 *Paphlagonia* lay between *The Euxine Sea* and *Galatia*, from the River *Parthenius* now *The Parthe-*, or *Dolap*, according to *Noir*, to the River *Halys*. In *Ptolomy*'s Time, this Province was divided into two parts, one of which was joined to *Galatia*, the other to *Bithynia*. *Strabo* confines it within very narrow bounds. It had loſt much of its Extent, after the Conqueſts of *Mithridates*, who had uſurped a conſiderable Part of this Province. In *Paphlagonia* was contained the Country of the *Old Heneti*, whom ſome ancient Authors have brought from *Aſia Minor*, to the Coaſts of *The Adriatick Sea*, and made the Founders of the City of *Venice*. *Conſtantinus Porphyrogenites* ſays of the *Paphlagonians*, That *They were infamous for their Wickedneſs and Filthineſs, and were the Refuſe of Mankind.*

33 This *Mithridates*, ſurnamed *Euergetes*, or *The Beneficent*, continued long to be one of the moſt faithful Allies of the *Roman* Republick. According to *Appian*, he had ſignalized his Zeal for the Intereſts of *Rome*, in the Year 606, by ſending Succours and Galleys to *Scipio Æmilianus*, againſt the *Carthaginians*.

34 What all the Hiſtorians ſay here, of the Aſſiſtance which *Craſſus* obtained of *Mithridates*, *Eutropius* falſly aſcribes to his Son and Succeſſor, *Mithridates the Great*, who became ſo famous for the Wars he maintained with the *Romans*. The latter did not mount the Throne, till about the Year 631, after his Father had been killed by the Treachery of thoſe who had the greateſt Share of his Confidence; according to *Strabo*, in his 10th Book.

35 This *Ariarathes* was the ſixth of the Name. His Affection for his Father procured him the Name of *Philopator*. From the beginning of his Reign, he declared zealouſly for the *Romans*. He ſent Ambaſſadors to *Rome*, to renew the Alliance his Father had entered into with the Republick. He was a Lover of polite Learning and Philoſophy; and drew a great many learned Men into *Cappadocia*. We have ſpoken of his Diſputes with *Orofernes*, Vol. 4.

36 *Cappadocia* is that Province of *Aſia Minor* which is ſurrounded by *Cilicia*, *Armenia*, *Colchis*, *Paphlagonia*, and *Galatia*. *Strabo* ſays, That the *Perſians* divided it into two *Satrapies*; and that the ſame Diviſion ſubſiſted under the Empire of the *Macedonians*. Theſe two Governments became afterwards two Kingdoms, that of *Pontus* or *Cappadocia Pontica*; and that ſimply called *Cappadocia*, or *Great Cappadocia*. The latter was governed ſucceſſively by the *Ariarathes's*, till it was reduced to be a *Roman Province*, after the Death of *Archelaus*, the laſt King of this Country. The People who inhabited it, were called *Syrians*, and *Leuco-Syrians* according to *Herodotus*, *Pliny*, and *Strabo*. This Name was given them in the moſt early Times.

37 The little the Hiſtorians have tranſmitted to us of the Kingdom and Kings of *Paphlagonia*, is involved in ſo much Darkneſs, that it is impoſſible to diſcover the Origin and Succeſſion of the Sovereigns that governed this Province of *Aſia Minor*, before the Time of this *Pylæmenes*, who offered his Troops to *Craſſus*, againſt *Ariſtonicus*. Nevertheleſs, amidſt all this Obſcurity, *Homer* mentions in the Second Book of the *Iliad*, a Leader of the *Paphlagonians* named *Pylæmenes*, who ſignalized his Valour at the famous Siege of *Troy*.

Παφλαγόνων δ' ἦγεῖτο ΠΥΛΑΙΜΕΝΕΟΣ λάσιον κῆρ.

The intrepid Pylæmenes commanded the Paphlagonians;

and in his fifth Book, the Poet makes him die by the Hands of *Menelaus*. It was therefore, doubtleſs, on *Homer*'s Authority, that *Strabo* and *Livy* ſay, That he was originally one of the *Heneti*, a People of *Paphlagonia*, and that he died in a Battle with the *Trojans*. *Dictys of Crete* gives him the Title of King, and ſuppoſes him to have been of the Race of *Agenor*, whoſe Daughter named *Amalixo*, had married *Dardanus*. And conſequently he was related by Blood to the Houſe of *Priam*. And laſtly, *Dictys* puts him among thoſe who were killed by *Achilles*, under the Walls of *Troy*. But tho' Time, or the Silence of Authors, have robbed us of the Names of moſt of the *Paphlagonian* Kings, yet *Juſtin* informs us of one remarkable Particular concerning them. He ſays, That *Nicomedes* King of *Bithynia* would have his Son called *Pylæmenes*, as the Kings of *Paphlagonia* were. Whence, it is natural to conclude,

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a numerous Army, or rather of four Armies, towards the Frontiers of the Kingdom which he was going to take from the Uſurper: And it being now grown cuſtomary, for the *Roman* Generals to begin their Enterprizes with ſome exemplary Puniſhment, thereby to keep their Officers and Soldiers in ſtrict Obedience, *Craſſus* reſolved to do the ſame. He was making Preparations for the Siege of [38] *Leuca*, a City of *Ionia*, which had ſurrendered to *Ariſtonicus*, and which it was neceſſary to recover; and when he came to give Orders for the building of a Ram of an extraordinary Strength for batter-

Aul. Gell. B. 1.

ing down a very thick Wall, he remembered that he had ſeen at *Elea* [39], in his Paſſage,

Juſtin, B. 38. *Epit. Liv.*

two Pieces of Timber, both of a conſiderable length and bigneſs, tho' not of the ſame. He therefore ſent Orders to the Engineer of the Place, to ſend him immediately to his Camp the largeſt of the two. But the Man, who well underſtood his Art, knowing the other to be ſufficient for the Purpoſe, was willing to ſave the Expence of tranſporting the heavieſt. And indeed the Engineer was right, and the *Conſul* was ſenſible of it; but he was reſolved to make him an Example. He ſent for him, reprimanded him for not having exactly followed his Orders, and condemned him to be ſcourged. It might therefore from thence be concluded, that a General who underſtood ſo well how to enforce Obedience to his Commands, would ſurely finiſh the War in one Campaign. But his predominant Paſſion ruined the *Conſul* himſelf, and gave great Uneaſineſs to his Republick.

Ariſtonicus had already ſettled himſelf on the Throne, by Exploits worthy of a more lawful King. Indeed *Epheſus* [40], the moſt conſiderable City in *Aſia*, had fitted out a Fleet in favour of the *Romans*, attacked that of *Ariſtonicus*, and defeated it. But the young Prince had recovered this Loſs, and penetrated into the *Epheſian* Territory, ſurprized *Thyatira* [41]; conquered *Apollonia* [42]; and now appeared before the Gates of the Capital. He was at the Head of a very numerous Army, which partly conſiſted of Slaves, whom he had ſet at Liberty. The Philoſopher *Bloſius* never left him; and that Deſerter from the *Roman* Cauſe, was worth a whole Army to him. The *Conſul*, in the mean time, made it his chief Care to plunder the Kingdom he came to conquer; and

Epit. Liv. B. 59. *c.* 48.

when his Year was almoſt at an end, he began to retire from *Leuca* towards *Italy*, and was much intent on preſerving thoſe Spoils, which he thought more valuable than Victory. But as the Seaſon was advanced, and the Roads, at all Times difficult, were now

That this Name was common to all the Sovereigns of this Country, from the firſt *Pylæmenes* whoſe Praiſe is ſung by *Homer*, to him here ſpoken of. Thus the Names of *Ariarathes*, *Mithridates*, *Ptolomy*, *Arſaces*, *Abgarus*, &c. were given by the People of *Cappadocia*, *Pontus*, *Egypt*, *Parthia*, and *Oſrhoene*, to all their reſpective Monarchs.

Pliny confirms this Teſtimony of *Juſtin*, when he ſays, That *Paphlagonia* was anciently called *Pylæmenia*. Nevertheleſs, it muſt be owned, That *Xenophon* and *Plutarch* have preſerved the Memory of ſome *Paphlagonian* Kings, under other Names. The former, relating the Expedition of young *Cyrus*, ſpeaks of one *Cotylas*, who governed *Paphlagonia*, and of one *Otys*, a King of that Country. *Plutarch* calls the latter *Cotys*, in his *Life of Ageſilaus*. But it may be ſaid, that this Province of *Aſia Minor*, was then divided between ſeveral Maſters; or that *Cotys* and *Cotylas* were proper Names added to that of *Pylæmenes*. At leaſt, its certain, That among the *Parthians*, the Kings *Orodes*, *Pacorus*, *Phraates*, &c. all retained the Name of *Arſaces*, the Founder of their Empire. In a Word, it ſeems evident, That *Pylæmenes* was always the moſt common Name of the Kings of *Paphlagonia*. Perhaps they preſerved it, in Memory of the firſt, whoſe heroic Actions *Homer* ſo much extols, as to compare him with the God of War. We find on a Medal *, a King *Pylæmenes* ſurnamed *Euergetes*; but cannot gueſs who was the particular Perſon deſigned to be here repreſented by him that ſtruck it. The *Caduceus*, the Symbol of Peace, as we have before obſerved, gives room for the Conjecture, That the Reign of this Prince was a quiet and peaceable one. The Ox's Head, on the other ſide of the Medal, may perhaps, be deſigned to point out the Worſhip, which the *Egyptians* paid to *Iſis*, the *Io* of the Fabulous, under this Figure of an Heifer, as appears both by Hiſtory and ancient Monuments. By this, the *Pylæmenes* probably ſignified, that they came originally from *Egypt*, under the Conduct of a Son of *Agenor* a King of *Phœnicia*, named *Phineus*, who led a Colony of *Egyptians* into *Paphlagonia*. *Conſtantinus Porphyregenites* and *Stephen of Byzantium* are our Authorities for this Fact. To which they add, That *Paphlagon*, the Son of *Phineus*, gave his Name to the Province. *Joſephus* had ſaid before them, That the *Paphlagonians* carried up their Origin to *Riphus*, the Son of *Gomer*; and That then uniting with a Colony of *Egyptians*, they and the New-comers made but one People. We ſhall have frequent occaſion to mention the Kings of *Paphlagonia* in the courſe of this Hiſtory.

38 *Pliny* and *Mela* place the City of *Leuca* near *The Gulph of Smyrna*, on the Banks of the River *Hermus*, now called *The Sarabat*.

39 *Elea* was formerly ſituated between *Æolis*, and *Great Myſia*, ſo that it might be ſaid to belong to either of thoſe Provinces. According to *Strabo*, it was watered by the River *Caïcus*, which ſome now call *Caſtro*, others *Girmaſti*, and ſeveral *Ghiay*.

40 See what we have ſaid of the City of *Epheſus*, Vol. 4. p. 96. Note 39. We ſhall have occaſion, in the Courſe of this Hiſtory, to give a full Account of the Temple built in this City, in honour to *Diana*.

41 *Thyatira* was formerly one of the moſt conſiderable Cities of *Lydia*. See Vol. 4. p. 215. Note 37.

42 *Apollonia*, formerly a City of *Aſia Minor*, was in *Great Myſia*, on the Banks of the River *Rhindacus*. It is thought to have ſtood in the ſame Place where we now find *Lupadi*, a Town or Village of *Natolia*, near a River of the ſame Name.

* See *Pl.* 4. *No.* 7. *Page* 60.

become

become almoſt impaſſible; the Army could advance but ſlowly. Beſides, the great Number of the Waggons loaded with the Riches of *Pergamus* retarded their March ſtill more; and *Ariſtonicus* therefore lay in Ambuſh for the *Roman* Army, near *Leuca*, and ſurprized it in a narrow Paſſage between ſteep Hills, where the *Conſul* did not expect him. Yet after all, *Craſſus* might have recovered this falſe Step, if his Avarice had not governed him. But he thinned his Lines, in order to put the ſtronger Guard on his Baggage and Treaſures; and by that Means, the Allies, when they came to be briſkly attacked, were entirely routed. In his flight, the *Conſul* himſelf was taken Priſoner between *Elea* and *Myrina*[43], by a Squadron of *Thracians*; and they were carrying him in Triumph towards the Conqueror's Camp. Then *Craſſus* was ſtruck with Shame at the Thoughts of this unexpected Adventure: he conſidered the Reproach it would caſt both on himſelf, and on his Republick, for a *Conſul*, and a *Pontifex Maximus*, to become a Slave to the deſpicable *Ariſtonicus:* and if he had not been diſarmed, the proud *Roman* would have killed himſelf. But he had only a Rod in his Hand, for guiding the Horſe on which he was mounted; and in a Fit of Rage, he ſtruck the Soldier who was neareſt him ſo violently with it, that he beat out one of his Eyes. The *Thracian* finding himſelf wounded, drew his Sword, and without further deliberation, ſtabbed the *Conſul*, and left him dead on the Place. By this Means, the pretended King of *Pergamus* was deprived of the Pleaſure of having an illuſtrious *Roman* in his Power, who muſt have paid dear for his Redemption; and only the Head of the *Conſul* was carried to the Enemy's Camp; his Body was honourably buried at *Myrina*.

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Epit. Liv. *Ibid. c.* 49. *Front Stratag.* *L.* 4. *c.* 5. *Juſtin. L.* 36. *Florus L.* 2. *c.* 20. *Val. Max. L.* 3. *c.* 2.

§. XVI. When the News of the Defeat of the *Romans* was brought to *Italy*, *The Tribes* promoted two Perſons to the *Conſulate*, who were very unequal in Rank. The firſt was one *C. Claudius Pulcher*, a Man of an illuſtrious Family; the other one *M.*[44] *Perperna*, a Soldier of Fortune, who is ſaid not to have been ſo much as a *Roman Citizen*. What induced the *Comitia* to overlook the Laws, and in the Language of an ancient Writer, thus to proſtitute the *Conſulſhip*, is not known; but it is certain, that the Republick found a great deal of difference between *Perperna*, and that *Terentius Varro*, a Butcher's Son, whom ſhe formerly ſent againſt *Hannibal*, at the Battle of *Cannæ*, and had now no Reaſon to repent of her Choice. As to the Provinces of the two *Conſuls*, they probably were not choſen by Lot; it ſeems more likely, that *Rome* raiſed *Perperna* to the *Conſulate*, on purpoſe to ſend a Man of no Birth, to oppoſe the Conqueror of one of the moſt noble and moſt dignified *Citizens*, and to put an End to the War in *Pergamus*. At leaſt, it is paſt doubt, that *Perperna* went to *Aſia*, where he found a large Field of Glory opened for him; and *Claudius Pulcher* was confined to *Italy*, which was diſturbed with thoſe Commotions which *The Tribunes of the People* had now, for many Years, continued to raiſe there.

Val. Max. L. 3. *c.* 4.
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C. Claudius Pulcher, & M. Perperna, Conſuls.

As ſoon as it was determined that he ſhould ſucceed *Craſſus*, whoſe Death had brought Diſhonour on the Republick, the former embarked without delay: But it is not ſaid that he took with him two *Legions*, or a *Conſular* Army. Without doubt therefore he contented himſelf with the ſame Troops of the Allies in *The Levant*, of which his Predeceſſor had made ſo bad an Uſe. The *Syrians*, *Egyptians*, and *Jews*, gave him no more Aſſiſtance than they had given *Craſſus*. *Egypt* and *Syria* were ſtill in great Confuſion. King *Demetrius*[45] was gone from *Syria* to revenge the cruel Inſults *Cleopatra* had

43 The City of *Myrina* belonged to *Æolis*. Modern Geographers ſay it was the ſame Place, as the preſent *Gircona*, or *Martiani*, in *Natolia*. But *Davity* pretends, That this City is well known by its Trade, and is now called *Sebaſtopoli*.

44 The *Greek Tables* make one *Lentulus* Collegue to *Perperna*. *Cuſpinian* diſplaces both theſe *Conſuls*, to put in their Room *Lentulus* and *Nepos*. *Marianus*, *Caſſiodorus*, and *Julius Obſequens* agree as to the *Conſulſhip* of *Claudius*, but give him the Forename of *Appius*. But we have the Authority of *Cicero* againſt theſe Annaliſts. In his *Third Book of Laws*, and his *Oration for Plancus*, he mentions no other *Conſuls* for this Year, but *Caius Claudius Pulcher*, and *Marcus Perperna*. The Family of the latter muſt have been very obſcure, ſince his proper Name is not tranſmitted to us. He is here diſtinguiſhed only by his Surname, which was common to all of the ſame Family. *Claudius* and *Perperna* had *Lucius Rupilius*, the Brother of *Publius*, one of the *Conſuls* for the Year 621, for their Competitor; and *Cicero* tells us, That *The Comitia* would not chuſe him. *Scipio*, ſays he, in his *Treatiſe of Friendſhip*, had Intereſt enough to procure the *Conſulſhip* for *Publius Rupilius*; but the People had no regard to his Recommendations, when he preſented to them *Lucius*, the Brother of *Rupilius*, in hopes of obtaining the *Conſular* Dignity for him.

45 *Demetrius* had beſieged *Peluſium*, a City ſituated near the Mouth of the *Nile*. The Inhabitants of *Antioch* and *Apamea*, took Advantage of his Abſence, and joined in an Inſurrection againſt their lawful Sovereign. Upon the News of this Rebellion, the King raiſed the Siege which he had begun, and returned, by long Marches, to his Dominions. So that *Cleopatra*, being deprived of all Aſſiſtance, was forced to abandon *Egypt*. After ſhe had put on Board her Ships the Trea-

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had received from her Brother and her Husband. On the other hand, *Ptolomy* had sent a Merchant's Son, named *Protarchus* [45], into *Syria*, to make a Diversion there. The young *Egyptian* Impostor had taken the Name of *Alexander Zebina*, called himself the adopted Son of *Antiochus* who was killed in *Media*, as he was plundering the Temple of *Nanea*, and already had brought over to his Interest a great many Cities in *Syria*. And as for the *Jews*, they were busy in reconquering the Places which the last *Antiochus* had taken from them. With the free Consent of the *Romans*, *John Hyrcanus* [47] retook *Joppa* and *Gaza* [48], which the *Syrian* had forced the *Jews* to give up to him, before his unfortunate Expedition against the *Parthians*. So that the Kings of *Pontus*, *Bithynia*, *Cappadocia*, and *Paphlagonia*, were again the only *Asiatick* Princes who lent the *Roman Consul* Forces; tho' it is to be presumed, that he had likewise some *Roman Coborts*, and some Troops from the *Grecian* States in *Europe*, which were subject to the Dominions of the Republick.

Justin. B. 39. *Joseph. B.* 13. *c.* 16.

The sudden Arrival of the new *Consul* surprized *Aristonicus*, who was wholly intent on enjoying the Fruits of his Victory. Feasts and Entertainments, after the *Asiatick* Fashion, took up all his Thoughts and Time; but he was soon rouzed out of this Lethargy, by the surprizing Expedition of the *Consul*. The *Roman* owed all the Advantages he reaped in the Campaign, to his unexpected Marches, and sudden Attacks. Without amusing himself with pillaging, he was continually at the Heels of his Enemy, often made him change his Post, and at length vanquished him in a pitch'd Battle. This forced the Usurper to take Refuge in *Stratonica* [49]; where he had no sooner imprudently shut himself up, than the Conqueror was before the Place; and besieged it in the manner now in use among the *Roman* Generals. They would not expose Thousands of Men to the Dangers of an Assault, or in the Attack of a Breach, whereby the Besiegers often suffered a greater Loss, than the taking of the Place would repair. The Siege of *Strato-*

Oros. B. 5. *c.* 10. *Eutrop. B.* 40.

fure and richest Spoils of the Palace of the *Ptolomies*, she embarked for *Syria*, where she found a Retreat from her Brother's Fury, with her Daughter *Cleopatra*.

46 The Insurrection of the *Syrians* was become general. The People tired out with the Tyranny of a Prince, whom a nine-Years Captivity had made still more wild and cruel, applied themselves again for Protection to *Ptolomy Physcon*, and desired him to give them another King of the Race of the *Seleucidæ*. The King of *Egypt* seized this fine Opportunity to revenge the Injuries he had received from *Demetrius*, his declared Enemy; and sent *Alexander Zebina* into *Syria* with a formidable Army. This General, to conceal the Meanness of his Extraction, which was expressed in his Surname of *Zebina*, persuaded the People, That *Antiochus Sidetes* had adopted him, and that by virtue of this Adoption, he had an unquestionable Title to the Crown. *Ptolomy* himself spread this gross Fable; and it passed for a certain Truth among the Rebels, who only wanted a Pretence to authorize their Revolt.

Whilst all Things seemed to conspire to favour the new King, the Body of *Antiochus*, inclosed in a Silver Coffin, was brought to *Antioch*, by Order of *Phraates*; and the Grief *Alexander* expressed, and the artful Tears he shed, at this mournful Sight, confirmed the People in their Belief of his pretended Adoption. And then all the Cities went over to the Usurper. However, *Demetrius*, tho' deserted by most of his Subjects, still supported himself with a little Army. At length the two Rivals came to a Battle, and *Alexander* was victorious. The vanquished King fled with a small Number of faithful Servants, and made the best of his way to *Ptolemais*, where his Wife *Cleopatra* then was. But this Princess had been exceedingly exasperated at the News of *Rodogune*'s being become her Rival, and married to *Demetrius*; and in her Resentment, she ordered the Gates to be shut against the fugitive King. He had therefore now no Resource in his Misfortunes, but *Tyre*, where was a Temple which his Brother *Antiochus* had made a Place of Sanctuary. There he thought, that under the Protection of a Place sanctified by Religion, he might wait for a Turn of Fortune. But he was strangely deceived, says *Justin*, when the Walls of *Tyre*,

when the Traitor, to whom he had committed the chief Government of that City, gave him a mortal Blow, of which he instantly died. *Porphyry* makes him die in fight of *Ptolemais*. *Josephus* says, That he fell alive into his Enemy's Hands; and That after he had undergone the most unworthy Treatment, he ended his Life in a tragical manner. *Livy* and *Appian* pretend, That *Cleopatra* herself had him sacrificed to her Resentments, the fourth Year after his Return from *Parthia*.

Alexander, when sole Possessor of the Kingdom of *Syria*, gained the Affections of his Subjects by the mildness of his Government, during a Reign of a few Years. One of his Medals * shews, That the *Syrians* acknowledged him to be their King, in the 184th Year of the *Greek* Empire. This Date is set down in the *Greek* Characters ΡΠΔ. On the Reverse is a *Bacchus*, holding a Bowl in his Right Hand, and a *Thyrsus*, in his Left. The second Book of *Maccabees* informs us, That the God of Wine was one of the favourite Gods of *Syria*.

* *See Pl.* 4. No. 8. *Page* 60.

47 *John Hyrcanus* took Advantage of the Troubles in *Syria*, to reconquer a great Number of Cities, which the Kings *Demetrius* and *Antiochus* had taken by Force from *Judæa*.

48 *Gaza* a City situated at a little distance from *Joppa*, near to the Sea, was the Boundary of the Country of the *Philistines* towards the North. We have spoken of *Joppa* elsewhere.

49 The ancient Geographers mention three Cities in *Asia* called *Stratonica*. The first which is here spoken of, stood in *Caria*. *Strabo* says it was originally a Colony of *Syro-Macedonians*. According to *Stephen of Byzantium*, it took its Name from *Stratonice* the Wife of *Antiochus Soter*. The Kings of *Syria* displayed their Magnificence in the fine Buildings, with which this City was adorned. The Emperor *Adrian*, who was the Restorer of it, would have it called *Adrianopolis*. But in the ancient *Notitiæ*, it has retained its old Name. *Strabo* speaks of another *Stratonica* near Mount *Taurus*, without fixing its Situation. And *Ptolomy* speaks of a third City of this Name, which he places in *Mesopotamia*.

nica was carried on more ſlowly, but more ſurely. *Perperna* reduced it by Famine: And *Ariſtonicus* was like the other *Aſiatick* Princes, who ſeldom had Courage enough to diſpatch themſelves, even in the moſt calamitous Circumſtances. After the Surrender of the City, he ſuffered his Philoſopher *Bloſius*, to fall by his own Hands; but ſurrendered himſelf at Diſcretion to the *Conſul*, who kept him to grace his *Triumph*. He had doubtleſs deſerved that military Honour, and the Republick, notwithſtanding his Birth, would not have refuſed it him [50], tho' the greateſt: But he had unfortunately exhauſted himſelf with Fatigue, in hurrying through all the Cities of his new Conqueſt, in order to reduce it to the State of a *Roman Province*; and he died at *Pergamus*. An illuſtrious *Conſul!* who ſhewed the Republick, that there were great Men in the World, who were not *Roman Citizens*. But his Virtue and his Services were very ill rewarded after his Death. His Father was yet alive; and being a *Sabine* by Birth, his Diſtrict claimed him, and forced him to leave *Rome*, and enroll himſelf among his Country-men. The *Roman* People were baſe enough to ſacrifice him to them; and to deny even the Right of *Citizenſhip*, to a Man whoſe Son had juſt conquered a Kingdom for them. As for *Ariſtonicus*, he was carried to *Rome*, and reſerved for the *Triumph* of the *Conſul*, who ſhould compleat the Reduction of the *Pergamian* State.

Year of *ROME* DCXXIII.

C. Claudius Pulcher, & M. Perperna, Conſuls.

Val. Max. B. 3. c. 4.

Oroſius & Eutrop.

§. XVII. In the mean time, the Diſturbances were ſtill carried on at *Rome*, from *Tribune* to *Tribune*; and theſe Protectors of the popular Faction, carried their Violences to the greateſt Exceſs. They had, by their Abuſes of their Authority, made themſelves inſupportable to the Nobility in general, and even to the greateſt Magiſtrates. One *Caius Atinius Labeo*, was now at the Head of the *Tribunate*, (for the College had their Head, who was uſually either the firſt choſen, or he that was moſt eloquent, and could beſt harangue the People) and he was no ſooner in Authority, but he abuſed it, to revenge his perſonal Quarrels. The *Cenſor*, *Cæcilius Metellus*, had ſtruck his Name out of the Liſt of Senators, or at leaſt, had refuſed to give him a Place in it; and the *Tribune* took his Opportunity to vent his Rage againſt one of the moſt conſiderable Magiſtrates in *Rome*, next the *Conſul*. He waited in *The Forum*, for *Metellus*'s return out of the Country, at Noon-day; which was the moſt favourable Time for the *Tribune*'s Deſigns. In the Heat of Summer, the *Citizens* all retired to their Houſes, in the middle of the Day, ſo that the Streets were as empty as in the dead of the Night. As ſoon as *Metellus* appeared, *Labeo* ordered his Attendants to ſeize him, immediately pronounced Sentence of Death upon him, and commanded them, to go and throw him headlong from *The Tarpeian Rock*. The Officers caught the *Cenſor* by the Throat, and almoſt choaked him. The Blood flew out at his Noſe and Ears, when a Slave who followed him, ran to inform his Relations of the Violence offered to his Maſter. They all came, and found the *Cenſor* almoſt lifeleſs: but they durſt not take even a Relation, or a Father, by Force, out of the Hands of a *Tribune*; whoſe Authority was Sacred, and his Perſon Inviolable. But they ran in all haſte, and brought one of *Labeo*'s Collegues, who oppoſed the unjuſt Sentence the *Tribune* had pronounced; and without this Aſſiſtance, which came time enough to ſave the Remains of *Metellus*'s Life, this old *Conſul*, this triumphant Victor, this Conqueror of *Macedon*, who was therefore honoured with the Name of *Macedonius*, muſt have died the Death of a State-Criminal. Acts theſe of ſuch exceſſive Violence, as muſt ſufficiently ſhew to diſcerning Men, the approaching Ruin of the publick Liberty.

Plin. L. 7. c. 44.

Nothing could more ſtrongly prove the deſpotick Power the *Tribunes* had uſurped, during their Office, than the Impunity of *Labeo*, after this cruel Inſult on *Metellus*. So far was this ſeditious Man from being puniſhed, that he had Intereſt enough to get a Law paſſed, whereby it was enacted, That for the future, *The Tribunes of the People* ſhould all have Votes in the Senate. So that, notwithſtanding the Mark of Infamy ſet on him by the *Cenſor*, *Labeo* took his Place in the Senate-Houſe in ſpight of *Metellus*, and not content with this, carried his Violences yet farther. Since he could not take away the *Cenſor*'s Life, he ordered his Eſtate to be confiſcated. He went in State to the *Forum*, when the Market was at higheſt, and then and there ordered, by ſound of Trumpet, That his Effects ſhould be ſold to the beſt Bidder, and the Produce appropriated to the Temple of *Ceres*. All theſe Attempts of the *Tribunes*, which were unknown till theſe latter Times, were plainly the Forerunners, and Preſages of thoſe Civil Wars, which

Aull. Gell. B. 14. c. 8.

Cicer. pro Domo ſua.

[50] *Valerius Maximus* is the only Hiſtorian who ſays, That *Marcus Perperna* received the Honours of a *Triumph*.

not long after broke out. The Diſſentions between the People and the Nobility were at laſt carried to ſo great Exceſs, that *Rome* was in a manner, forced to have recourſe to one ſingle Maſter, to preſerve any Government in it.

Year of *ROME* DCXXIV. C. Sempronius Tuditanus, & M. Aquillius, Conſuls.

§. XVIII. The Election of new *Conſuls* did not at all abate theſe domeſtick Broils. *C. Sempronius* [51] *Tuditanus*, and *M. Aquillius* were promoted to the *Conſulate*; and both, as was uſual, had their Provinces allotted them in foreign Countries. *Sempronius* was ordered to *Japidia* [52], where ſome Diſturbances had been raiſed; and *Aquilius* [53] to *Aſia*, there to finiſh the Conqueſt of the Kingdom of *Pergamus*, ſettle it in Peace, and reduce it to the State of a *Roman Province* governed by the *Roman* Laws. Accordingly the latter ſet out immediately for his Province; but his Collegue continued ſome time in *Rome*, there to be a Witneſs of the freſh Troubles which the new *Tribunes* would raiſe.

The Law *Tiberius Gracchus* had paſſed for the Diſtribution of Lands, was an inexhauſtible Source of Diſputes. Of the three Commiſſioners formerly named by the People, to direct that Diſtribution, and to judge of all Diſputes that ſhould ariſe upon it, there was only *C. Gracchus* now left. *Tiberius* his Brother had been murdered on the *Capitol*, and a Fit of Sickneſs had carried off *Appius Claudius*; and in the room of theſe, the People had choſen two Men of the ſame Character; at leaſt, full as factious. One was this *C. Papirius Carbo*, whoſe *Tribuneſhip* was a Mixture of Broils and Chicaneries; and the other, one *M. Fulvius Flaccus*, a fiery *Plebeian*, who had imbibed the true Spirit of his Collegues. And theſe three Firebrands of civil Diſcord, were ever raiſing Combuſtions in the State, with the Help of the College of *Tribunes*, who were ever ready to foment them. Complaints were brought from all Quarters, either of the Reſiſtance of the Rich when they came to be diſſeiſed, or of their Artifices to evade the Law, or of the Inequality of the Diſtributions made among the poor *Citizens* of *Rome* and the Inhabitants of the aſſociated *Provinces*, eſpecially *Latium*. All *Italy* was full of the Violences, Frauds, and Murmurs of thoſe, who either pretended that they were injured, or elſe that they were entirely forgotten in the Diſtribution.

App. L. 1. de Bell. Civ. Epit. Liv.

Sometimes Complaints were made of the Violence uſed by the Rich, who kept themſelves in Poſſeſſion of their ancient Eſtates by Force; ſometimes of their Artifices, in altering the Nature of their Lands, and turning arable Fields into Ponds, or Paſtures; ſometimes of their Injuſtice, in extending the Boundaries of their Territories, without regard to the Laws of Equity or Religion; and ſometimes of their deſignedly mixing and confounding together the Lands of the Publick and of private Perſons. But what cauſed ſtill greater Clamours, was the Inequality of the Diſtribution between the People of the Provinces and the Inhabitants of *Rome*. It may well be imagined, that the Diſtributors were moſt favourable to thoſe whoſe Votes might be of Service to them; and the poor Country-People therefore, being deprived of their juſt Claims, ſought for ſome great Man to be their Protector, and thought they found one in *Scipio*, *The Second Africanus*. He was the Light of the Republick, the Oracle of the Senate, the Defender of

51 *Caius Sempronius Tuditanus* had been *Prætor* in the Year 621, in the *Conſulſhip* of *Publius Rupillius* and *Publius Popilius*. This *Cicero* ſays expreſly, in the 32d Letter of the 13th Book of his *Epiſtles to Atticus*; and adds at the ſame time, That we muſt not confound this Magiſtrate with another *Caius Tuditanus*, who was one of the ten Commiſſioners ſent to *Mummius* after the taking of *Corinth*. The Perſon here ſpoken of, had improved his Mind with the Study of Hiſtory and Eloquence. He wrote ſome *Commentaries*, or *Annals*, of which *Pliny* and *Aulus Gellius* quote the 13th Book. The latter, *Aſconius*, and *Macrobius*, have collected ſome Fragments of this Work. The third Book related to the Magiſtracies of *Rome*. *Cicero* ſpeaks honourably of this *Conſul* in his Treatiſe of *Famous Orators*. He ſays, That he joined Politeneſs of Manners with Elegance and Gracefulneſs of Style. The Surname of *Tuditanus*, which was perpetuated in this Branch of the Family, was a Nick-name, which according to *Feſtus*, was taken from the *Latin* Word *Tudes*. One of this *Conſul*'s Anceſtors had this Surname firſt given him, becauſe his Head was ſhaped like *a Mallet*. *Sempronius* had a Daughter named *Sempronia*, who was the Mother of *Fulvia*, the Wife of the famous *Publius Clodius*, *Tully*'s ſworn Enemy.

52 *Japidia*, or *Japodia*, is one of the Weſtern Countries of *Illyricum*. *Strabo* gives it four Cities, and makes it a ſeparate Canton in *Liburnia*, between *The Gulph of Trieſte* and Mount *Alpius*, a Part of *The Alps* on the Side of *Iſtria*. The ſame Geographer pretends, That the *Japydes* anciently poſſeſſed near 1000 *Stadia*, or about 45 *French Leagues*, on the Sea-Coaſt. They were, according to him, Warriours, and lived on little, having ſcarce any other Food, but Millet. See Vol. 4. p. 401. Note 42. The *Japydia* of the Ancients, is now called *Croatia*, and is a Part of *Iſtria* and *Vindiſmarck*.

53 *Cicero* ſays, in his *Firſt Oration againſt Verres*, That *Marcus Aquillius* was accuſed by one *Publius Lentulus*, a *Prince of the Senate*; but we know neither the Year, nor the Subject-matter, of his Accuſation. Nevertheleſs, there is Reaſon to believe, that he accuſed him of being corrupted by *Mithridates*'s Money, and of having ruined the People of *Pergamus* by his crying Oppreſſions. At leaſt, *Aſcanius*, and *Appian*, *B. 1. Of the Civil Wars*, reckon him among the famous Extortioners. The latter adds, That *Aquillius*, tho' guilty, found Favour with his Judges.

the

Year of *ROME.* DCXXIV.

C. Sempronius Tuditanus, & M. Aquillius, Conſuls.

he afflicted, and the Refuge of the defenceleſs. And he ſpoke very warmly in the Senate, in favour of theſe poor Allies, whoſe Valour had been of ſuch Uſe to him in the Wars of *Spain* and *Africa*. His Point in view was only to obtain more Juſtice for them, and to prevent their being deprived of the Advantages they might reap from the *Sempronian Law*; and therefore he did not ſo much as propoſe the Abrogation of it. He only deſired, That the Execution of it might be transferred from the preſent, into other Hands; and he at length prevailed to have the *Conſul Sempronius* nominated, to be the Diſtributor of the Lands, and the Judge of the Controverſies that might ariſe upon it.

A *Conſul* was the propereſt Perſon that could be choſen, to induce the three Commiſſioners to reſign up their Office without Murmurs; and perhaps Peace would have been hereby reſtored, if *Sempronius* would have complied with the Deſires of *Scipio* and the Senate. But it unfortunately happened, that the *Conſul* dreaded the Confuſion of civil Broils at home, as much as he loved the Glory of Arms abroad: And as it had fallen to his Lot to command a *Roman* Army in *Japidia*, he put on the General's Mantle in the Temple of *Jupiter*, departed without delay, and thereby avoided the Storm which he both foreſaw and feared. So that *Scipio* was left alone to bear all the Odium of the Populace, and the Reſentments of the three turbulent Commiſſioners; who left no Means unattempted to diſcredit him, both in the Senate, and among the Commons. They repreſented him as an Enemy to the People; an Incendiary, who was endeavouring to diſannul *Gracchus*'s Law, in order to cauſe Inſurrections; and ſo very ambitious, as to labour to raiſe a Contention between the Nobility and People, in order to oblige *Rome* to make him *Dictator*.

§. XIX. And indeed, whatever bad Deſigns might perverſly, and without Reaſon, be imputed to *Scipio*; it is at leaſt very probable, that he had ſome Inclinations for the *Dictatorſhip*. This was the only Diſtinction he could deſire, in order to compleat the Honours he had merited by his Virtues. Having been twice *Conſul*, and twice honoured with a *Triumph*, he wanted nothing but to be promoted to this temporary Sovereignty; which no Man would more faithfully employ in reconciling the People to the Nobility, and reſtraining the Licentiouſneſs of the *Tribunes*. And if there was ſome Ambition blended with his Deſire of ſettling Peace in the Republick, what Stain is this upon his Honour? One of the moſt famous Writers among the Ancients, who has not been ſparing of this Hero's Praiſes, makes *The Firſt Africanus* foretell, of his adoptive Grandſon in a Dream, *That he ſhould be* Dictator, *if he could avoid the Snares of his Relations*. By which the great Orator, who wrote after the Death of *The Second Scipio*, can perhaps mean nothing leſs, than that the *Dictatorſhip* would have been agreeable to *Scipio*, and that he aſpired at it, towards the end of his Days. But whatever his Aims might be, *Gracchus* and his two Collegues declared open Enmity with him. His ſeditious Brother-in-Law told him to his Face, that *He ought to be put to death for a Tyrant*. To which the illuſtrious *Conſul* only coldly replied; *There is ſcarce any Man who is not an Enemy to his Country, that deſires it*. In ſhort, the three Commiſſioners, who had perhaps penetrated into his Deſigns, made it their Buſineſs to report every where, That *Scipio* aimed at the *Dictatorſhip*: But theſe Diſcourſes did not hinder him from purſuing his Point. He preſſed the Senate to deprive *Gracchus* and his Collegues of their Commiſſion; appearing not even to know, that he was ſuſpected of deſiring to be put into their Room, with the Authority of *Dictator*: And both the Senators and the People were ready to concur in giving him that independent Power, in order to ſettle Peace in the Country, and Tranquillity in the City, and to take Care that the Lands ſhould be equally diſtributed. This was the only Expedient that could reconcile Men's Minds, and put an End to thoſe Diviſions, which were ſpread all over *Italy*.

Cic. in Somnio Scipionis.

However, the Care of publick Affairs was for a time ſuſpended, by the Application of the People to religious Ceremonies. An extraordinary Storm of Hail had fallen, which had ſpoiled the Corn, uncovered the Temples of the Gods, damaged the Roofs of the Houſes in the City, and killed ſome Men in the Country. It was therefore thought neceſſary to appeaſe the Wrath of Heaven, by publick Devotions. The Senate ordered, That all the Temples ſhould be opened for nine Days, That Sacrifices of Expiation ſhould be offered up in them, and That all the Courts of Juſtice ſhould be ſhut up. And this Interval of Leiſure *Scipio* choſe, to entertain himſelf with Philoſophy, with *Lælius* and ſome other Friends. A Garden was their *Lycæum*; and there *Scipio* made excellent Diſcourſes, on the preſent State of Affairs at *Rome*, and the want of a Reformation in the Republick; and after having long diſcourſed on ſeveral Points of Morality, he came

Idem in Fragmen. L. 6. de Rep.

Idem in Lælio, & Somnio Scipionis.

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at length to the Immortality of the Soul. His Sentiments on this Subject were pretty found for a *Pagan*; and the Remorses of his own Conscience gave him no Reason to wish, that the whole Man perished with the Body. He contended, That the Souls of Men are Particles[54] of the Divinity; and That after Death the most virtuous Souls were reunited to *The Whole* from which they had been separated, and were purified and made Perfect in the Bosom of God himself. On these Principles he reasoned; and talked like a Man inspired, on the Subject of Death.

As soon as the Sittings of the Senate were renewed, the Disputes grew more warm; and *Scipio* renewed his Complaints against the *Triumviri* nominated for the Distribution of the Lands. *Their Employment*, said he, *is both Gainful and Honourable; and to maintain them in it, is to entertain a perpetual Source of Divisions in the Republick. The* Consuls *change; The* Tribunes *have only a transient Power: Why then should we suffer these new Commissioners to prolong their Authority without limit; and to foment endless Law-Suits, in order to maintain themselves in a Jurisdiction, which does them Honour? They have been made the Dispensers of the Estates, and Arbiters of the Fortunes of the Populace, who already adore them, on purpose that they might ingratiate themselves with them. And indeed, they very liberally offer them something, which, if I may so speak, is more than Incense. All our illustrious* Romans *vanish before these Idols. The People flock about them in such Multitudes, that the Houses of our greatest Magistrates are deserted. Men naturally apply there only, where they have the greatest Hopes; and from thence it is, that the Courts of Sovereign Princes are less crowded, than those of these three Men, whose Grandeur is wholly founded in the Covetousness of the Vulgar. Where will the Disorders end, which they raise both in the City and the Provinces? Shall we see the* Citizens *of* Rome *take up Arms against their* Allies, *and all* Italy *swim in Blood? These unfortunate Provincials have applied themselves to me, and I now present their Supplications,* Conscript Fathers, *to you. Procure them, at least, the Advantages which the* Sempronian Law *gives them;*

54 *Scipio* here plainly follows the Doctrine of the *Stoicks*, concerning the Existence of a God. He had been prepossessed in favour of this Opinion by his Master *Panætius*, a zealous *Stoick*. According to these Philosophers, there is nothing that exists, but is a Part of that immense WHOLE, which is called the Universe. And because, among the different Beings that compose this WHOLE, some are endowed with Thought, Reason, and Wisdom; they from thence conclude, That Intelligence, being the most noble Faculty, must therefore be the superior and governing Part of the World. But if you ask them, what is the Source or Cause of these intelligent Beings, and of the Wisdom that so eminently appears in all the Parts of the Universe; they answer, That it is *Æther*, that is, the most refined and subtle Part of that Matter, or Celestial Fire, which passes through, and vivifies all Nature, and frugally distributes to every Part of it, such a Degree of Motion as it wants. This is what the *Stoicks* call *The Soul of the World*, the Principle or rather Source, and as it were, the Ocean of Souls. Such is the God, or rather, that Phantom of a Deity, which the *Stoicks* acknowledge. And in Consequence of this impious Doctrine, they looked upon the Soul of each individual Man to be, as it were, a Spark, or Emanation, or Particle, of this Universal Soul, to which they impiously gave the Title of Supream Being. So that, they who embraced this strange System were forced to say, That when the Souls of Men were disengaged from the Body by Death, they were again united to *the Soul of the World*, to *Æther*, in a Word, to the Divine Substance, as the Particles of Matter adhere to their Center. They compared animated Beings to Vials full of Water, swimming in the Sea, which are no sooner broken, but the Water they contain mixes and incorporates it self with that of the Ocean.

According to these Principles, *Æther*, or this intelligent and active Fire, was the God of the *Stoicks*; and as the World itself is penetrated with this Flame, it partakes of the most noble Attributes of the Divinity: And *a fortiori*, therefore, the Stars and all those Substances, in which the Activity and Operations of this *Æther* do more sensibly appear, must, with more Justice claim the Title and Præeminence of the Deity. Which may be admitting the Existence of a God in Terms; but it is, in reality, denying that there is any such Being.

Pythagoras, *Xenophanes*, *Parmenides*, and *Plato*, first vented this Scheme of *Theology*, and were in this Particular before *Zeno*, the Head and Founder of the *Stoick* School. *Virgil* has given us this System in a clear Light in his 6th *Æneid*; and expresses it yet more accurately, in his 4th *Georgick*. *Some have thought*, says he, *that the Souls of Bees, were Parts of God himself, and an Emanation from on high. They were of Opinion, That the Divinity is spread through all the Earth, the Seas, and the Heavens; and That Men and Animals of all sorts, derive their Motion and their Life from the Divine Substance within them. And when their Souls*, as he goes on, *are disentangled from Matter, by the Dissolution of the Body, they take their flight to Heaven, and are there incorporated with God, and make one* WHOLE *with him.*

Esse apibus partem divinæ mentis, & haustus
Æthereos dixere: Deum namque ire per omnes
Terrasque, tractusque maris, cœlumque profundum.
Hinc pecudes, armenta, viros, genus omne ferarum,
Quemque sibi tenues nascentem arcessere vitas,
Scilicet huc reddi deinde, ac resoluta referri
Omnia: nec morti esse locum; sed viva volare
Sideris in numerum, atque alto succedere Cælo.

Amaulri and *David of Dinant* his Disciple about the end of the twelfth *Century*, and *Cesalpin* in the beginning of the Seventeenth, revived this pernicious Doctrine. And lastly, *Spinosa* has, in our Days, made it as it were the Basis, and Foundation of his monstrous Hypothesis concerning the Existence of a God: with this difference, That the *Stoicks* did not destroy the Wisdom and Providence of a God, as this Atheist does; who allows him only a partial, successive, and very narrow kind of Knowledge.

and

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and remove theſe unjuſt Diſtributors who occaſion their Murmurs, from their Employment.

§. XX. At this Motion, *Marcus Fulvius Flaccus*, one of the *Triumviri*, who beſides his being involved in the ſame common Invectives with his Collegues, was *Scipio*'s perſonal Enemy, was highly exaſperated; and he very liberally caſt the moſt bitter Reflections that Rage could ſuggeſt, upon the leaſt blameable of the *Romans*. He cenſured both his publick and private Conduct, repreſented his Virtues in bad Lights, diminiſhed the Merit of his Valour, and even depreciated the Conqueſts of *Carthage* and *Numantia*. But he enlarged moſt on the pretended Ambition of his Adverſary, who according to him, had been twice promoted to the *Conſulate* irregularly. He warmly inſiſted, That the *Dictatorſhip* was his Point in view, and That he deſired it only, in order to uſurp a perpetual Tyranny; and in the ſame Speech called him all the reproachful Names, that a heated Mind could ſuggeſt. This was indeed the Cuſtom of theſe Harangues at *Rome*; inſomuch that, if the Terms they uſed in their Invectives, were then underſtood to have all that Energy, which we now aſcribe to them, theſe *Romans* muſt be thought the moſt unpolite People in the World. In ſhort, *Flaccus* omitted nothing, to decry the Rival who was for diſplacing him; and *Scipio* was not ſo great a Philoſopher as to be able to conceal his Reſentment. The whole day was ſpent in the Diſpute between him and his Adverſaries; and the Night came on, before any Decree was paſſed.

Nevertheleſs, both Senate and People ſeemed all to incline to favour *Scipio*'s Motion; and abundant amends was preſently made him, for the Reproaches caſt upon him by this angry Declaimer. The Honours he received at the Time when the greateſt Efforts were made to diſcredit him, were greater than thoſe of his moſt magnificent Triumph. All the Senators in a Body attended him to his Houſe; and the *Roman Citizens* and the *Allies* of the *Provinces* followed him, in Crouds. In ſhort, all *Rome* ſeemed determined to nominate him *Dictator*, the next Day.

App. L. 1. de Bell. Civ. Cic. in Lælio, pro Muræna, & alibi. Plut. in Romulo, & in Gracc. Oroſ. B. 5. Epit. Livian. Vell Paterc. Author. de viris Illuſtr. Diod. Sic. Val. Max.

This therefore could not but give great Uneaſineſs to the *Triumviri*; and they plotted together, and took private Meaſures to deſtroy this formidable Adverſary before the riſing of the Sun. However, *Scipio* retired to his Apartments; and there put his Tables in order, for taking Minutes the next Morning of what he intended to ſay in the Senate-Houſe. But when the Morning came, his Servants found him dead in his Bed: And great was the Surprize, many the Suſpicions, which were raiſed by this fatal and ſudden Accident. The *Romans*, generally ſpeaking, wept for him, as for a Father; and all ſhewed their Eſteem and Friendſhip for him, in the Honours they did his Memory, at his Obſequies. As ſoon as *Metellus* heard the News of his Death, he ſaid to his two Sons, *Go, attend the Funeral of the greateſt Man* Rome *has ever bred. You will never ſee the Death of his Equal* [35]. Yet this *Metellus* had been, all his Life-time, his Rival for Glory. But his Death put an end to the Competition between theſe two great Generals. Nay, the reſt of thoſe who were jealous of him, lamented it; and all were ſenſible, when it was too late, of what mighty Service it would have been to the State, to have made him *Dictator*. The Allies would never have revolted againſt *Rome*, if this illuſtrious Man had been inveſted with the ſovereign Authority, and had had Time to have appeaſed the Diſcontents of the *Italian Provinces*. He would, doubtleſs, have prevented thoſe civil Broils which enſued; and have ſaved the Republick from being torn to pieces, by inteſtine Wars.

§. XXI. However, all Preparations were now making for his funeral Pomp; and thoſe who viewed his Body moſt narrowly, found the Marks of a violent Death in his Neck. He ſeemed to have been ſtrangled. There were likewiſe ſome livid Spots upon his Lips; and for this Reaſon, it is ſaid, that his Face was covered, when he was carried to the Funeral-Pile. His Bones were depoſited in the common Sepulchre of the *Scipio's*, without the Gate *Capena*. And after the firſt general Concern, which his tragical End had raiſed, all gave free ſcope to their Suſpicions. Some charged his Death on *Cornelia*, the Mother of the *Gracchi*. But this was an unjuſt Suſpicion, which the Virtues of this Heroine, and her Abſence from *Rome*, made incredible. Others, upon better Grounds, imputed it to *Sempronia*, the Siſter of *C. Gracchus*, and the Wife of the Deceaſed. And laſtly; others thought the *Triumviri* the Authors of this Aſſaſſination, becauſe they were

[35] According to *Plutarch*, in his *Opuſcula*, *Metellus* added, that *The Gods could not make* Rome *a more valuable Preſent, than they had done by chuſing to give her a* Scipio, *preferably to any other Nation in the World.*

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the Perſons moſt nearly concerned in Intereſt to deſire it. It was reported, That the Slaves of *Papirius Carbo* had, upon the Torture, depoſed, That their Maſter, and *Gracchus* and *Fulvius Flaccus*, had all been Accomplices in the Crime, and had all been preſent, if not acting, in the Commiſſion of it. And what ſeems to us moſt probable is, That *Sempronia* was in the Plot; That ſhe opened the Door to the Murderers; and That *Carbo* murdered, whilſt his two Collegues held, him. However, the Authors of the Crime took great Pains to ſpread a Report, That *Scipio* deſpairing of obtaining for the *Allies*, the Advantages he had promiſed them, had laid violent Hands upon himſelf. And it is ſurprizing, that the People, when they heard this Report, ſhould neither have cited any Body to appear before them, nor made any Enquires after the Criminals. But the Commons loved *C. Gracchus*; and it was probably their Fears of finding him concerned in the Affair, that made them reſolve not to ſearch it to the Bottom.

Thus died, in the 56th Year of his Age, one of the moſt illuſtrious Heroes *Rome* had ever bred. He was little inferiour to the *Firſt Africanus*, to whom he was Grandſon by adoption; and not at all ſo, to *Paulus Æmilius* his own Father. Nevertheleſs, to his immortal Honour, he died poſſeſſed of very little elſe, but the Glory of his Exploits. He left his Heir, *Quintus Fabius Maximus*, (for he had no Children) ſcarce 32 Pounds Weight of Silver, and 2 Pound and a half of Gold. Surprizing Poverty! for a General, who might have enriched himſelf with the Spoils of *Carthage!* Agreeably to the ſettled Cuſtom at *Rome*, for the neareſt Relation of the Deceaſed to make his funeral Oration, *Lælius* wrote *Scipio*'s, and *Quintus Ælius Tubero* [56] ſpoke it. The former had been his inſeparable Friend, and was eſteemed a Man of as fine a *Genius* as any of his Age. The latter was his Brother, but had no Talent for Oratory. Nevertheleſs, there was one Turn in the Speech he ſpoke which ſtruck the whole Aſſembly. After he had returned Thanks to the Gods, both for giving the *Roman* Republick ſuch vaſt Dominions, and for bleſſing her with *The Second Africanus*, he added; *For it was meet, That the City which ſhould give Birth to* Scipio, *ſhould be the Miſtreſs of the World; and That* Scipio *ſhould not any where be born, but in the Capital of the Univerſe.* Praiſes not very extravagant, and

56 This *Quintus Ælius Tubero* was Nephew, by the Mother's Side, to *Scipio*; and Grandſon to *Paulus Æmilius*; and being deſcended from a Family, in which Virtue ſupplied the Place of Riches, and educated under the Care of a virtuous Father, he lived in the midſt of a luxurious and licentious People, with all the Simplicity of one of the firſt *Romans*. He learnt the Auſterity which he openly profeſſed, from the *Stoick* Philoſophers, and the Examples of his Anceſtors. No Conſideration could prevail on him to change his manner of Life; no regard to Decency, good Manners, or Cuſtom, induce him on any Occaſion to leſſen his Severity. And therefore *Cicero* ſays of him, That Virtue in him was ſtripped of all her Charms, and appeared cloathed in a forbidding Sourneſs and Rigour. And this gloomy and ſavage Temper diſcovered it ſelf in all his Converſation. He was ſo obſtinately inflexible, as to be paſt ſhewing any Civility or Regard to any Perſon whatſoever. He had ſo little deference for his Uncle *Scipio*, as flatly to contradict him, in a Matter of no manner of Moment, concerning the Prerogatives annexed to the *Cenſorial* Dignity; and this unſociable Temper, according to *Cicero* in his *Brutus*, excluded him from publick Honours. Nevertheleſs, *Pomponius* affirms, That *Tubero* was promoted to the *Conſulate*; but if he was, his Name has eſcaped the ancient *Annaliſts*. Tho', he might perhaps have been one of thoſe *Conſuls*, who were called *Suffecti*, becauſe choſen in the Courſe of the Year, to ſupply Vacancies which happened by Death, Depoſition, or ſome other unforeſeen Accident.

It was a received Cuſtom at *Rome*, for the Relations of the Deceaſed to cloſe their Obſequies with a pompous Feaſt. This *Quintius Fabius Maximus*, who was ſurnamed *Allobrogicus*, and Nephew to *Scipio*, did, and prepared a moſt elegant Entertainment for the People. And then *Tubero*, at the Perſuaſion, and after the Example of his Couſin, gave one of theſe funeral Feaſts. But his Proviſions were too mean to ſuit the Taſte of the Multitude, who were greedy of richer Fare. His Meats were too coarſe to quicken the Appetite. He made uſe of none but earthen Veſſels. The Beds prepared for the Gueſts were covered only with plain Goat-Skins. And the People thought this Appearance of Negligence and Poverty an Inſult upon them. They aſcribed his Frugality to a Sordidneſs of Temper, or a Philoſophical Pride which oſtentatiouſly affected to ſhew a miſplaced Abſtinence. Is this his way, ſaid the People, of honouring the Memory of an Hero, who ought to have been ſo dear to him, and whoſe great Qualities advanced him to ſo many Marks of Diſtinction? Surely this pitiful Entertainment was deſigned to celebrate the Funeral of that Wretch *Diogenes*, the moroſe Philoſopher, whom he ſeems to have taken for his Pattern. And it was not long e're the People who were thus offended at him, gave him Proofs of their Reſentment. The aſſembled *Tribes* refuſed to give him the *Prætorſhip* for which he ſtood Candidate. Nevertheleſs, *Cicero* confeſſes, That tho' he had his Faults, he was one of the graveſt Citizens in *Rome*, and inherited all the Virtues of his Anceſtors. *Pomponius* ranks him among the moſt famous *Civilians*; and he made himſelf no leſs famous for his Firmneſs in all the Diſturbances the *Gracchi* raiſed in the Republick, through the whole Proceſs of their Affairs. He oppoſed the Attempts of *Tiberius Gracchus* with Courage; and was not afraid openly to attack this formidable *Tribune*, in an Harangue which he ſpoke againſt him, and which was extant in *Cicero*'s Time. *Tubero* contracted an intimate Friendſhip with *Panætius*; and it is ſaid this Philoſopher dedicated to him a Treatiſe on *Conſtancy in Affliction*, which he wrote on occaſion of *Scipio*'s Death. The Authorities from whence we have extracted theſe Particulars, are *Cicero*, *Seneca*, and *Valerius Maximus*.

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received with Applauſe. *Rome* herſelf could not eaſily determine, which *Africanus* was ſuperiour in Merit.

Indeed the *Firſt* was a Pattern for the *Second*; but the Copy was ſo exact, and the Imitation ſo juſt, that ſcarce a Feature was wanting. They were both, without all doubt, the moſt illuſtrious Warriours of their Times. They both made their firſt Campaigns at the Age of ſeventeen, and both ſignalized themſelves thus early in Life; the former againſt *Hannibal* in *Ciſalpine Gaul*, the latter againſt *Perſes* in *Macedon*. The one took up his Father who was fallen from his Horſe in Battle; the other purſued the Enemy ſo far, that his Father thought him loſt. Such were their firſt Eſſays in War! And at an Age, when others are only capable of obeying, *Cornelius Scipio* was ſent to command in *Spain*, and *Scipio Æmilianus*, tho' only a Subaltern in the ſame Province, eclipſed the Glory of his General. They both obtained the *Conſulſhip* before the Age preſcribed; were both nominated to their Provinces by way of Preference, without drawing Lots with their Collegues; and both had the ſame Scenes of Action, for the diſplay of their Valour. They both merited in *Africa* the Surname of *Africanus*; the latter by deſtroying *Carthage*; the former by conquering *Hannibal*, and humbling the *African* Republick. *Cornelius* conquered *Spain* by the Reduction of *New Carthage*; *Æmilianus* ſettled Peace there, by the Deſtruction of *Numantia*. And both Heroes had alſo equal Abilities for Negotiation. One attached *Maſſiniſſa* for ever to the *Roman* Party; the other cultivated his Friendſhip, and diſpoſed of his Dominions after his Death. Both were victorious in all their Enterprizes; and each was honoured with two *Triumphs*. Each had his *Lælius*, for his Friend, his Confident, and his Companion, in his Exploits. Both made a Voyage to the Eaſt; one to aſſiſt his Brother in conquering *Antiochus*, the other to viſit *Aſia*, *Syria*, and *Egypt*. The Virtues and mental Endowments of both were equally great; but their Tempers ſomewhat different. *The firſt Africanus* was liberal, even to ſome degree of Profuſeneſs; *The Second* was ſo, but with more Reſerve. The latter applied himſelf more to Philoſophy [57] than to Eloquence. The former was a Philoſopher only in Practice, and preferred the Love of polite Learning [58] to

57 *Cicero* ſays, *De Offic' L.* 1. That *Scipio Æmilianus* acquired by the Study of Philoſophy, that Equanimity and Modeſty which ſits ſo gracefully on great Men, when ſurrounded with Honours and Diſtinctions. He was never elated with the Splendor of his Glory, or the Pomp of his *Triumphs*. He uſed to ſay, That ſome Men were intoxicated with Grandeur, as ſome Horſes are with the Noiſe of Arms, which makes them return from the Battle more fiery than they went to it. And that as theſe Horſes are put into the Hands of thoſe who underſtand the Art of turning them, to make them tractable; ſo thoſe Men, who are ſwelled with Haughtineſs, and a preſumptuous Confidence on their Succeſs, ought to be put under the Diſcipline of Reaſon and Morality, which will reſtrain the impetuous Sallies of their Pride. This, ſaid he, will recover them from their Intoxication, and ſhew them the Uncertainty of human Affairs, and the Inconſtancy of Fortune. Theſe were the noble Sentiments *Scipio* always entertained, in the heighth of his Proſperity; and which were the Effects of much Reading, and juſt Reflection. The *Cyrus of Xenophon* was his favourite Book. He there found the Model of a perfect Hero, and thoſe Principles of Wiſdom by which he conducted himſelf through the whole Courſe of his Life. Nevertheleſs, if we may believe *Plutarch*, in his *Opuſcula*, *Scipio* was naturally proud. And in Proof of it, the Hiſtorian ſays, That he did not ſhew that Reſpect to *Quintus Mummius* the Deſtroyer of *Corinth*, which was due to a Man of his Rank, and who had been advanced to the *Conſular* Dignity. He would not vouchſafe to invite him to a magnificent Feaſt which he made for his Friends and the great Men of *Rome*, after he had dedicated a Temple of *Hercules*. This *Mummius* then could not be the ſame with that *Mummius*, who is ſaid by *Cicero* to have enjoyed the Friendſhip of *Scipio*. But if it be true, that Pride was the Fault which was laid to the Charge of this great Man, with what Truth can *Cicero* ſay of him, That he never aſſumed an Air of Superiority, either over his moſt intimate Acquaintance, or any of his Equals? He charmed all People, continues that Author, by his affable and engaging Behaviour. This is not the Conduct of a proud Man.

58 *Scipio* joined the Entertainments of polite Learning with the Study of Philoſophy. It is well known, that he honoured Men of Letters with his Protection and Friendſhip. At leaſt, it's certain, that *Terence* received great Favours from him and *Lælius*. It was taken for granted in his Time, that theſe two great Men had aſſiſted him in giving his Pieces that Politeneſs and graceful Simplicity, which we ſtill admire in them. *Valgius* and *Memmius* expreſly ſay, That *Scipio* publiſhed ſome Plays which himſelf wrote, under *Terence*'s Name. *Cornelius Nepos* inſinuates, That *Lælius* had a conſiderable Hand in the *Heautontimorumenos*. Nevertheleſs, *Santra* could not be perſuaded, that the Poet borrowed any Aſſiſtance from *Scipio* and *Lælius*, in conducting or perfecting his *Drama*'s. He ſays, That they were then too young, and could not yet have paſſed through the *Curule* Offices. Whereas, *Terence* himſelf ſays, in the Preface to *The Adelphi*, That the Perſons who had greatly aſſiſted him in his dramatick Performances, were Men come to Maturity of Age, and who had done the Republick important Services, both in War and Peace.

And this mention of *Terence* gives us an Opportunity to give up a Conjecture, which we offered as ſuch, Vol. 3. p. 571. Being deceived by the Authority of ſome Writers, we thought that *Terence* was one of the Captive *Africans* which appeared in the firſt *Triumph* of *Scipio*, the Conqueror of *Hannibal*. But, all things conſidered, we are forced to ſubmit to the Authority of *Feneſtella*, who is one of the moſt exact Hiſtorians, and beſt acquainted with the *Roman* Antiquities. He unanſwerably proves, That *Terence* was born after the *Second Punic War*, and died at *Rome*, in the Year 594. Now in the Year 552 ended the *Second War with Carthage*; and in 605, the *Third* began: And conſequently, *Terence*

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to moral Speculations. They were both good [59] Relations, conſtant Friends, and faithful Patrons. But the one diſcharged the Duties of civil Life, with an air of Grandeur and Majeſty; the other, with ſome ſort of Conſtraint and Diffidence. The latter was Juſt, but with ſome Severity. In the former, Clemency almoſt always prevailed over rigid Juſtice. There was I know not what Air of Confidence and Magnanimity, which ſhined throughout the whole Conduct of the Conqueror of *Hannibal*. But in the Deſtroyer of *Carthage*, appeared more Slowneſs and Circumſpection. The former ſeemed more proper to govern a Kingdom with an unlimited Authority: The latter choſe the reſerved Deportment of a wiſe Republican. Upon the whole, the more free Behaviour of the firſt *Scipio* made him more amiable; and the more abſtruſe Character of the ſecond was perhaps more agreeable to the Time in which he lived. And laſtly, both theſe great Men died, one with Mortification in a kind of Exile, the other a violent Death in his Bed. Such are the Rewards of a Life ſpent with Glory, in a Republican State!

§. XXII. Whilſt *Rome* was thus agitated with Tempeſts, and theſe very tragical Things were acted there, the two *Conſuls* were abſent; *Sempronius Tuditanus* making War in *Japidia*; and *M. Aquillius* finiſhing the Conqueſt of the Kingdom of *Pergamus*. *Japidia*, a Country bordering on the *Adriatic Sea*, was peopled partly by *Illyricans*, and partly by *Gauls*. It reached on the Continent, croſs a mountainous Country, from the Springs of the *Timavus* [60] to *Illyricum*; its Capital was *Metulum* [61], ſituated on the eaſtern Extremity of the *Alpes*; and all this Country had likewiſe the Name of *Iſtria*. What was the Cauſe of this War which the *Romans* were obliged to make with the *Iſtrians*, who were ſo near to *Italy*, we are not told; and all we can conjecture is, that the firſt Diſturbances the *Allies* of *Rome* raiſed on account of the Diſtribution of Lands, were made by this mutinous Nation, among whom the *Gauls* had the Aſcendant, and who fought after the *Gallic* manner. But be that as it will, it is certain, That the Sedition of the *Japydes* was ſo conſiderable, as to draw a *Conſular* Army thither; and That *Tuditanus* carried with him for his Lieutenant General, the famous *D. Junius* [62] *Brutus*, who, by his Conqueſts in *Spain* had merited the Surname of *Galicius*, and the Honours of a *Triumph*. The Country they entered was rough, and the People brave even to Ferocity. And as it had been common for the *Roman* Generals, to ſuffer ſome Diſadvantages at firſt from a new Enemy, to whoſe way of fighting they were Strangers; *Tuditanus* was beaten and routed in the firſt Action. But *Brutus* kept up his Spirits, and by his Means, the *Conſul* obtained ſo compleat a Victory [63], that he immediately erected a Statue upon

Strabo, B. 7.

Epit. Liv.
App. in Iberic.
Vell. Pat.

Plin. B. 3. c. 19.
Faſt. Capitol.

Terence muſt have been born and died, within thoſe two Terms. Beſides, it's certain, that he died at 35 Years of Age; and conſequently, if we reckon that Number of Years back from the Year 594 in which he died, it will appear, that the Year 560 was the Year of his Birth.

59 There is one Paſſage which the Hiſtorians have preſerved of the Life of *Scipio Æmilianus*, which is a very ſtrong Proof of his conſtant Affection for his Relations. His Mother *Papiria*, the Daughter of *Caius Papirius Maſo*, *Conſul* in the Year 522, had been divorced by *Paulus Æmilius*. But *Scipio*, tho' affected with the Diſgrace, only took occaſion from thence, to be the more ſedulous in ſhewing her all Marks of Reſpect and Affection. A great Eſtate in Lands, Goods, Money, and Slaves, fell to him, upon the Death of *Æmilia*, the Widow of *The Firſt Africanus*, and Mother to him who had adopted him. But he took no Part of ſo conſiderable an Inheritance to himſelf. He conveyed all his Right to *Papiria*, and freely gave her the whole Eſtate: And this enabled her to ſupport her Rank with Dignity. Which was ſuch an Act of Generoſity, as never had been done before in *Rome*. The *Romans*, ſays *Polybius*, were not fond of giving away their Effects, even to their Relations.

After this, *Scipio*'s Siſters likewiſe experienced his generous Temper. He gave them all the Eſtate which by Law deſcended to him upon the Death of *Papiria*. To which *Polybius* adds, That the Splendor in which they lived, proclaimed the Beneficence of their magnanimous Brother, and put the World in Mind of his Virtues. Nor was he leſs reſpected and eſteemed by good Men, for the Reſpect and Deference which he always paid to *Fabius* his elder Brother.

60 The *Timavus* riſes in the Territory of *Aquileia*, at the Foot of a Mountain, near the Town of *Saint-Cazan*. There it buries itſelf, and runs the Space of 14 Miles under Ground to *St. Jean de Duino*. Near this Place, it leaves its ſubterraneous Channels, and breaks out in ſeven Mouths, according to *Polybius*, and *Strabo*; but *Virgil*, *Mela*, and ſome other ancient Authors, make them nine. All theſe Streams uniting in one Bed, at a little diſtance from the *Adriatick* Sea, make a River which was formerly Navigable, and falls into *The Gulph of Trieſte*, after it has watered a very ſmall Tract of Ground. We ſay nothing of ſome of thoſe Fountains which are ſaid to be ſalt, or of the hot Waters which riſe in ſeveral little Iſlands near the Mouth of the *Timavus*. The Reader may conſult *Strabo*, *Pliny the Naturaliſt*, and *Cluver*'s *Italy*.

61 *Metulum*, now known by the Name of *Metling*, ſtands on the Banks of the River *Colapis*, which the Natives now call *Kulp*.

62 This was the ſame *D. Junius Brutus*, who was *Conſul* in the Year 615. *Cornelius Nepos* was miſtaken, according to *Plutarch* in his *Life of the Gracchi*, in thinking that this *Conſul* had given his Daughter in Marriage to *Caius Gracchus*, the Brother of *Tiberius*.

63 *Appian*, in his *Hiſtory of The Illyrican Wars*, divides the Honour of the Victory gained over the *Japydes*, between *Sempronius Tuditanus*, and one *Tiberius Parnuſius*. But the latter ſeems to have been unknown to the other *Roman* Hiſtorians: at leaſt, they ſay not one Word of him.

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he Place, and engraved on the Baſe [64] of it, the Extent of the Country he had conquer-
d: After which he returned to *Rome*, and triumphed.

In the mean time, *Aquillius*, his Collegue, recovered the Cities which had ſub-
mitted to the Uſurper *Ariſtonicus*. It may perhaps ſeem ſurprizing that this Kingdom
f *Pergamus* ſo long deferred ſubmitting to the Government of the *Romans*. But the
Pergamians had at leaſt the Appearance of a King in *Ariſtonicus*; and could, with ſome
ppearance of Juſtice, maintain his Intereſts, ſince there appeared no other Claimant for
he Throne. Indeed, in ſtrict Equity, *Pergamus* belonged to the *Romans*, to whom the
te King had by *Will* deviſed it. But the Fear of ſerving new Maſters, and of receiv-
ng Laws from a foreign Republick, kept the People in their Revolt. So that *Aquillius*
ound it neceſſary to beſiege almoſt all the Cities in the Kingdom, and reduce them one
y one: And this obſtinate Reſiſtance from a People, over whom the Republick had an
ndiſputable Right of Dominion, obliged him to treat them with a Severity, which
Rome her ſelf did not approve. Moſt of the Cities of *Aſia* had no other Water than
what was brought them, from far, in Aqueducts; and *Aquillius*, inſtead of cutting off
he Channels, which was very uſual in War, choſe rather to poiſon the Springs. By this
Means, the publick Waters ſpread Death in the beſieged Places, and murdered more
People, than Attacks and Aſſaults would have done. But whether this was an Effect of
he general Depravity and Corruption of the *Romans*, or they had imbibed this Cruelty
with the *Aſiatick* Air, or *Aquillius* imitated the Perfidy of the People he came to con-
quer, all the Ancients declare their Deteſtation of this barbarous Stratagem, and condemn
it as the moſt cruel Infraction of the Law of Nations. Tho' *Rome* her ſelf does not ſeem
o have been ſo much offended at it; ſince ſhe ſuffered the Author of it to govern the
Kingdom of *Pergamus*, for three Years after his *Conſulſhip* expired, in Quality of *Pro-
Conſul.*

Florus B. 2. c. 20.

By theſe Barbarities *Aquillius* at laſt ſubdued this untractable People, and then kept
them in Awe by the bare Terrour of his Name. In the mean time, the *Roman* Senate ap-
pointed ten Commiſſioners of their Body, to ſettle the Kingdom of *Pergamus* as a *Præ-
torian Province*, and put *Aquillius* at the Head of the Commiſſion. The firſt Intention
of the *Roman* People had been, to let the *Pergamians* enjoy a perfect Liberty, under
their Dominion; but their Revolt occaſioned their Subjection. This great State was di-
vided into ſeveral Diſtricts, which all depended on the Metropolis. All Law-Suits were
carried on there, and thither all the *Pergamians* brought their Tributes. The whole
Province comprehended *Lydia*, *Caria*, *The Helleſpont*, and the two *Phrygia's*, which
were all ſubject to the *Roman* Laws, but not made equally dependent on the Republick.
Rome gave a few of theſe Countries to the four Kings who helped to conquer them.
Mithridates had *Great Phrygia*, but rather as a Purchaſe from *Aquillius* [65], than a free
Gift of his Republick. The Children of *Ariarathes* King of *Cappadocia*, who was
killed in this War, obtained of the Senate *Lycaonia* and *Cilicia*, for their Reward. But
ſoon after, *Rome* reclaimed all the Coaſt of *Aſia*, and took back what ſhe had given:
And then, *Ionia*, *Æolis*, *Caria*, *Lydia*, *Doris*, *Lycaonia*, *Piſidia*, and the two *Phry-
gia's*, were ſubject to no Authority but that of the *Romans*. Hence the perpetual Inter-
courſes between *Rome* and the *Aſiaticks*; and hence that Inundation of Vices of all kinds,
which over-run the whole State. Indeed the Republick gained a conſiderable Increaſe of
Power and Riches by this new Conqueſt; but ſhe paid dear for it, in that terrible Diſſo-
lution of Manners which it introduced.

Vell. Pater. Sex. Ruſus. Jornandes.

Juſtin B. 37.

As for *Aquillius*, when he had entirely finiſhed the Work allotted him, and had ſet-
led this great Kingdom in Peace, he was ambitious of a *Triumph*. He had certainly de-
erved one, if the Importance of the Service only was to be conſidered; but thoſe few
Romans who had ſome Remains of Humanity left, were for rejecting the Petition of a
Man, whom they looked on as a publick Priſoner. Nevertheleſs the Multitude, who
were not ſo ſcrupulous, prevailed. *Aquillius* entered *Rome* with the Pomp of a trium-
phant Victor, on *the Third of the Ides* of *November*, in the Year of *Rome* 627; and we
ere anticipate the mention of it, that we may have nothing more to ſay of one, who

64 The Inſcription was to this effect, That *Sempro-
ius Tuditanus* had conquered for the *Roman* Repub-
ck a Country of 1000 *Stadia*, or about 45 *French*
eagues, in length; from *Aquileia* to the River *Titius*,
ow the *Kerka*, which is the Boundary of *Liburnia*.

65 *Appian* ſays, That *Aquillius* ſold *Great Phrygia* to *Mithridates*, for a conſiderable Sum of Money, which the King paid upon the Spot. But he adds, That the Senate diſannulled the pretended Gift, and declared that for the future, *Phrygia* ſhould be free, and governed by its own Laws.

from

from the Time of that impious Fact, was execrable in the Sight of all Men of Probity. Some Authors pretend, that *Ariſtonicus*[66] was led in Chains before *Aquillius*'s Chariot; but we chooſe rather to ſay, with ſome other Writers, That *Ariſtonicus* was dead before this Time. Beſides, the whole Glory of having conquered the pretended King of *Pergamus* belonged to *Perperna*, who was no longer in a Condition to triumph.

Vell. Paterc. B. 2.

§. XXIII. And now, we may with Truth affirm, that the whole World ſtood in great Awe of the *Roman* State. Her Authority, which reached from the *Alpes* to the *Pyrenees* in *Europe*, all along the Coaſt of *The Mediterranean* in *Africa*, and as far as Mount *Taurus* and *The Euxine* Sea in *Aſia*, inſpired all Nations with I know not what Reverence and Dread, which kept them in preſent Subjection. There was not the leaſt Diſturbance or Commotion in any of the conquered Nations. So that when *Rome* choſe *Cn. Octavius*[67] and *T. Annius Rufus*, *Conſuls*, ſhe was in greater Tranquillity, than ſhe had known ſince the Eſtabliſhment of the Republick. *Ciſalpine Gaul*, the Coaſt of *Africa*, *Iſtria*, *Illyricum*, *Macedon*, *Greece in Europe*, and *Greece in Aſia*, were all obedient to the *Roman* Name, bore the Yoke without a Murmur, and received the Orders of the Senate, and the Deciſions of her *Prætors*, with great Submiſſion. The Time ſeemed come for ſhutting the Temple of *Janus*; ſince there was no military Expedition for either of the new *Conſuls* to undertake, within *Italy*, or without. Nevertheleſs, *Rome* did not think her ſelf at Liberty to omit raiſing new *Legions*, and forming *Conſular* Armies. Ever ſince the *Gracchian Law* for the Diſtribution of Lands, the Leaven of Sedition had daily ſpread more and more in *Italy*, and there was Reaſon to fear Inſurrections among the *Allies*. It is probable therefore, That the Senate ſtuck to their old Cuſtom, of not diſarming, in the moſt peaceable Times; and That one of the *Conſuls* had *Italy*, the other *Ciſalpine Gaul*, for his Province.

Year of *ROME* DCXXV.

Cn. Octavius, & T. Annius Luscus Rufus, Conſuls.

As to the People, they gave themſelves wholly up to Pleaſures and Luxury, in this great Tranquillity. The Spoils of *Pergamus* and the rich Furniture of King *Attalus* were expoſed to Sale. In the Times of the ancient *Roman* Auſterity, no *Citizen* would have had the Face to have bought ſuch fine Ornaments for his own Houſe. Theſe Riches would then have been conſecrated for the Decoration of the Temples. But now, every one preſſed to buy for himſelf; and was as ready to ſell again, at a higher Price. Luxury and Avarice had got Poſſeſſion of every Heart. Thoſe Men of ſolid Virtue, thoſe great Minds, which could both deſpiſe the vain Finery of the eaſtern People for themſelves, and put a ſtop to the Torrent of publick Extravagance, were all gone off. The two *Scipio's*, *Æmilianus*, and *Naſica*, were no more. Their Example and Authority would have at leaſt kept the Vanity of the *Romans* within ſome Bounds of Moderation. But being totally without Reſtraint, it ſpread it ſelf without Limits, and infected all without Exception. For this Reaſon, ſome wiſe Writers tell us, That *Aſia* revenged her ſelf abundantly on *Rome*, for the Cruelty of *Aquillius* and the Yoke her Conquerors had put upon her. The *Romans* indeed gave Law to the *Aſiaticks*; but they in return, taught the *Romans* Refinements in Debauchery, and Profuſeneſs in Entertainments and Furniture; which was all the Profits *Rome* reaped from this Interval of Repoſe.

Plin. B. 33. *c.* 11.

Juſt. B. 36.

Nor was the next Year remarkable for any thing elſe, ſo much as for the Increaſe of this Licentiouſneſs of Manners, and a perfect Madneſs for foreign Faſhions. When *L. Caſſius*[68] *Longinus*, and *L. Cornelius Cinna*[69] were promoted to the *Conſulate*, their only military Employment was to pitch Camps, one near *Rome*, the other in *Ciſalpine Gaul*. Nevertheleſs the Senate were not altogether idle. We have before obſerved, That the

66 If we believe the Teſtimony of *Velleius*, the unfortunate *Ariſtonicus* was carried back to Priſon after the *Triumph*, and there ſtrangled by Order of the Senate. But if that had been the Caſe, how comes it to paſs, that *Mithridates the Great* ſays not one Word of it, in the Letter he wrote to *Arſaces* King of the *Parthians*, to engage him to join with him againſt *an inſolent Republick?* In the ſame Letter, which *Saluſt* has preſerved, he repreſents *Ariſtonicus* as driven from his Inheritance, and ſhamefully tied to his Conqueror's Chariot; but he is utterly ſilent with Regard to the tragical End of this deprived King. Without doubt, he would not have failed of charging it as a Crime on the *Roman* Senate, whoſe Perfidies and Cruelties to crowned Heads he exaggerates with Indignation.

67 *Cicero de Orat. B.* 1, ranks *Curius Octavius* among thoſe who were famous for their Eloquence at the Bar. His Collegue *Annius* is thought to have been the Son of another *Annius*, who was *Conſul*, as we have ſeen, in the Year 600.

68 This *Lucius Caſſius* is the ſame whom we have ſeen *Tribune* in the Year 616; and who was the Author of the Law, which the *Latins* call *Tabellaria*.

69 It is not doubted, but *Cornelius Cinna*, the *Conſul* for this Year, was the Father of that *Cornelius Cinna* who made his Memory execrable, by the Cruelties he committed, in the Wars of *Marius* and *Sylla*.

Year of *ROME* DCXXVI.
L. Cassius Longinus, & L. Cornelius Cinna, Consuls.

Phocæans had lent *Aristonicus* Succours; That *Leuca*, one of their Cities on the Confines of *Ionia*, had taken up Arms against the *Romans*; and That the *Consul Crassus* had lost his Life as he was retiring from before that City. This was deemed an unpardonable Revolt in Allies; and the Senate had given Orders, after the Conquest of *Pergamus*, that *Leuca* should be razed, and all *Phocis* destroyed with Fire and Sword. This Commission was just come to the mercileſs *Aquillius*; and the *Phocæans* in their Despair, had recourse for Protection to the *Marseillese*, to whom they sent a Deputation, tho' at so great a distance. The Inhabitants of *Marseilles* had come originally from *Phocis*, and tho' in the extream Parts of *Gaul*, had still preserved the Language, Customs, and Form of Government, which they had brought from the East. They therefore interposed in Favour of the *Phocæans*, as their Fathers; and had Interest enough with the Senate of *Rome* to avert the Blow with which their old Country was threatened. This great Favour was obtained by the inviolable Attachment which the City of *Marseilles* had shewn to *Rome*, in dubious, as well as prosperous, Times. The Gratitude of the Senate got the better of their Love of Revenge; and *Rome* pardoned the *Phocæans*.

Justin. B. 37. *Strabo.*

Year of *ROME* DCXXVII.
M. Æmilius Lepidus, & L. Aurelius Orestes, Consuls.

§. XXIV. At length, the universal Tranquillity of the *Romans* was a little interrupted, when *M. Æmilius Lepidus*, and *L. Aurelius Oreſtes* were advanced to the *Consulate*. The *Sardinians* revolted, and found Employment for the *Consul Aurelius*. The Senate, (to whom it belonged to assign each *Consul*, *Prætor*, and *Quæstor*, their respective Functions, tho' they chose by Lot the Places where they were to exercise them) and all the Nobility, were well pleased that *Sardinia* had fallen to his Lot; and not less satisfied, that the *Quæstorship* under him fell to young *C. Gracchus*.

Plut. in Gracc.

This *Roman* was become the Idol of the People; insomuch that the chief Dependance of the Commons was upon him; who had indeed some very eminent Qualities. He was so great an Orator, that he led the Minds of his Auditors whither he pleased, with the Force and Rapidity of his Discourses: And he had very lately displayed this Talent to great Advantage, in the Cause of one of his Friends, named *Villius*. The Multitude who heard him, were in Raptures with him. Besides, he had gained the Affections of all the Populace, by favouring the *Citizens* of *Rome* more than the *Allies* of the *Provinces*, in the Distribution of the Lands. As much therefore as the Commons desired to hasten his Promotion to the *Tribunate*, so much did the Senate dread, to see him in that eminent Post. As for *Gracchus* himself, he had, for these two Years, retired to his own House, and lived in private there; being in all Appearance determined, not to intermeddle any more in publick Affairs. He had yet had only one Employment, that of the Distribution of the Lands; which, being a transient Commission, and undertaken when he was very young, could not be accounted a Magisterial Office. And of late, whether out of real Inclination, or only a feigned Love of Retirement, he had not appeared upon the Stage; so that the Republick had continued in Tranquillity. Indeed it was said, that he had retired, and resolved to bury his excellent Talents in Obscurity, for fear of his Brother's Fate. But whatever were his Motives, it was well known, that he applied himself closely to the Study of Eloquence in his Retirement; and Men of Understanding plainly perceived, That he only hid himself for a Time, that he might afterwards appear in the *Rostra* to the greater Advantage. And at length, he discovered the Secret, and ushered himself again into publick Life, by a Fable, which he is said to have related to the People.

Cic. de Divinat. *Val. Max. B.* 11. *c.* 7. *Plut. in Grace.*

Before he applied for the *Quæstorship*, he declared that his Brother *Tiberius* had appeared to him, in a deep sleep, and had accosted him thus. *Why do you delay returning to publick Business? Do what you will, you shall not be able to avoid a Fate like mine.* So that this was an Exhortation to him to leave his Retirement, and apply to the *Comitia* for Offices; and at the same time, a Prediction of the violent Death which Fate prepared for him, during his Administration. Possibly, young *Gracchus* had invented this Apparition, and published it for a Pretence for leaving his Retirement; and the Prophecy was doubtless a Circumstance added after the Event. *Cælius Antipater*, who first mentioned this Story in his History, only says, That *he had met with this Report before* Gracchus *died*; that is, when it was past doubt, that he would be destroyed, for the bad Attempts he had made in his *Tribuneship*. But be that as it will, *Gracchus* spread the Fable among the Multitude, who believed it on his single Authority; and then dressing himself in white, he appeared for the *Quæstorship*, which he obtained; and it was his Lot to attend the *Consul Aurelius*, into *Sardinia*.

Year of *ROME* DCXXVII.

M. Æmilius Lepidus, & L. Aurelius Orestes, *Cic. de Offic. & in Bruto.*

§. XXV. Before he ſet ſail for that Place, he was willing to give a freſh Proof of that Eloquence, to which he had cloſely applied himſelf for theſe two Years. An Opportunity offered, on occaſion of a Law, which *Marcus Junius Pennus* [70], the *Tribune*, propoſed to the People. The Deſign of it was, to clear *Rome* of that Multitude of Foreigners which came thither from all Parts, and corrupted the People. So that the Intention of *Pennus* was good. But whether only to ſhew his Talent for ſpeaking, or in order to keep a greater Number of ſeditious People in the City, who might hereafter be ſerviceable to his Deſigns, *Gracchus* oppoſed the Motion. He mounted the *Roſtra*, and repreſented to the Commons, how much it was for the Honour of *Rome*, to be filled with People of all Nations of the World. *Beſides*, ſaid he, *if we refuſe theſe Foreigners admiſſion into this City, and continuance there, we ſhall diſoblige them; and this did not* Romulus. *He opened the Gates of his City to all the Inhabitants of the neighbouring Countries, and by that means procured himſelf a People, who were always victorious. It is likewiſe owing to theſe Multitudes of Foreigners, That our Riches increaſe ſo faſt, and That* Rome *is thought the Miſtreſs of the World.*

Feſtus in voce Reſpublica.

This Speech was thought eloquent, but the *Tribune*'s Reaſons prevailed, and his Law was paſſed. What it was, the Ancients have not expreſly told us, but there is room to conjecture, that it contained theſe two Articles. 1*ſt*, That the Abode of Foreigners in *Rome*, ſhould be limited to a certain Time; and 2*dly*, That the Cities, whoſe Inhabitants had ſurreptitiouſly got themſelves included in the *Roman Cenſus*, might reclaim their Countrymen. And hence, perhaps, it was, that the Father of the *Conſul Perperna* was reſtored (as has been obſerved) to the *Sabines*, who claimed him.

Then *Gracchus*, not having ſuccedeed in his firſt Attempt in his *Quæſtorſhip*, left *Rome* with Pleaſure, in order to ſeek for Glory in *Sardinia*. And there, he ſignalized himſelf in Battle by his Courage; obliged all that depended upon him, in the diſcharge of his Office; and gained the Affections of his General, by his Punctuality, and ready Obedience. Aſſiduity, and even ſervile Compliances, coſt the ambitious little. When *Aurelius* arrived in *Sardinia*, he had a very ſevere Winter to paſs through; his Men at the ſame time had neither Cloaths nor Proviſions; and his military Cheſt was empty. In this Extremity therefore, he had recourſe to the Cities which ſtill continued attached to the Republick, and laid a Tax upon them, for furniſhing his Army with Stuffs to cloath them. But the Cities refuſed to pay the Tax, complained of it to the *Roman* Senate, and gained their Cauſe. And then the Service of his *Quæſtor Gracchus* was very uſeful to the General. He undertook to provide the Troops both with Cloaths and Subſiſtence. In order to the former, he went to the ſame Cities, which had been alarmed at the Name of a Tribute; and having a greater Talent of Perſuaſion than any Man of his Time, he brought them readily to furniſh as a Benevolence, what they refuſed to grant, as a Tax. And he ſent as far as to *Numidia* for Corn, and obtained enough of King *Micipſa* to fill all the Magazines of the Army. The Republick therefore would have thought her ſelf obliged to any one except *Gracchus*, for this double Service. But at *Rome*, his Deſigns were ſeen through, and the Conſequences of them dreaded. So that, when the Ambaſſadors of *Micipſa* appeared before the Senate, and declared what they had done for the Republick, out of their great Regard to *Gracchus*, they were but ill received, and diſmiſſed with Reproaches. The wiſe Men in the Republick already foreſaw, how prejudicial it would prove to their Country, if the ambitious *Quæſtor* ſhould be encouraged to purſue his Intrigues by too much Succeſs.

§. XXVI. And whilſt *Sardinia* was ſuffering by civil Flames, *Sicily* had like to have been utterly deſtroyed by a natural Conflagration. The Fire Mount *Ætna* vomited out was very terrible. Torrents of Flames came tumbling down the Sides of it, and ſpread themſelves far in the Fields. Subterraneous Caverns opened themſelves in the midſt of the Sea. At firſt, the Water round the Iſle of *Lipara* were ſeen to boil, and riſe higher than the Waves generally did. Then light Flames [71] were ſeen to play on the Surface of

Strabo B. 6.

70 *Cicero* tells us, in his *Brutus*, That *Junius Pennus*, the *Tribune*, was the Son of *Marcus*, who was *Conſul* with *Quintus Ælius Pætus*, in the Year 586. He had already been *Ædile*, and his Merit qualified him for ſtanding for the firſt Offices in the Republick, when Death took him off, in the midſt of his Courſe. *Cicero* adds, That he was famous for his Eloquence, and not inferiour therein to *Gracchus*.

71 According to the Authors quoted in the Margin, the hardeſt Rocks could not reſiſt the Power of theſe Flames; ſome of them were obſerved to be calcined. The Galleys, with the Heat and boiling of a burning Water, fell to pieces. The Seamen were ſuffocated with the hot Vapours exhaled from the Sea. Multitudes

Year of ROME DCXXVII. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS, & L. AURELIUS ORESTES, Conſuls.

of the Waters, and ſurround the whole Iſland; and a thick Mud or Slime was thrown up from the bottom of the Sea, which hardened by degrees, and at laſt turned into ſtones. *Titus Quinctius Flamininus*, then *Prætor* in *Sicily*, informed the Senate of this, and tho' nothing was more natural, Superſtition turned it into a Prognoſtick. The Senate were alarmed at it; and in order to appeaſe the Anger of the Gods, they immediately ſent Deputies to the Iſlands of *Lipara* [72] and *Hiera*, with Orders to offer Sacrifices to *Pluto* and *Neptune* [73].

Oroſ. L. 5. Julius Obſequens.

This done, their next Application was to the new Elections. But how could the *Tribes* be brought into *The Field of Mars*, in any Temper? Since the Shocks, which *Tiberius Gracchus*'s Law had given the Republick, a Spirit of Rebellion was ſpread among all Orders of Men in the City, and reached even to the ſmalleſt Villages in *Italy*. The Rebellion had indeed begun in *Sardinia*, but the rebellious *Sardinians* were not the worſt Enemies the Senate had to fear. The *Conſcript Fathers* thought the Aſcendant *Caius Gracchus* had gained over the *Roman Legions* which he had fed and cloathed during the Campaign, a Matter of much more Importance to them, than the Inſurrections of the People of the Iſland. The *Legionaries* under *Aurelius* were all *Roman Citizens*, whom *Gracchus* had inliſted under his Banners, by his Benefactions to them. What then had they not Reaſon to apprehend from a factious *Quæſtor*, who had made himſelf Maſter of an Army, and had them more under his Command than their General? This was a growing Evil, which called for a ſpeedy Remedy. However, the Senate did not attempt to put a ſtop to it, till after the Election of the new *Conſuls*.

Plut. in Grac.

Year of ROME DCXXVIII. M. PLAUTIUS HYPSÆUS, & M. FULVIUS FLACCUS, Conſuls.

The Perſons choſen were Men of very different Characters. The firſt, named [74] *Plautius Hypſæus*, who was choſen out of the Nobility, was of a mild and pacifick Spirit. The other, a *Plebeian*, had long buſied himſelf in the publick Diſſenſions, and was eſteemed a great Supporter of the popular Faction. His Name is ſufficient to ſhew him to have been one of thoſe turbulent Men, who cauſed the publick Diſorders. It was the ſame *M. Fulvius Flaccus*, who had been joined in Commiſſion with *Papirius Carbo*, and *C. Gracchus*, for the Diſtribution of the Lands; and who had been ſuſpected of the Aſſaſſination of *The Second Africanus*. The People whoſe Cauſe he maintained, prevailed at laſt to raiſe him to the higheſt Dignity; and the Senate had the Mortification to ſee on one hand *Gracchus* ruling in *Sardinia*, and on the other, *Fulvius Flaccus* ready to employ his *Conſular* Authority, to their Diſadvantage. The *Conſcript Fathers* therefore began firſt with endeavouring to leſſen the Intereſt which *C. Gracchus* had gained among the Troops. They made a Decree, That the Soldiers in the Army of *Aurelius*, ſhould be relieved by new *Legionaries*; and That *Gracchus* ſhould continue there in quality of *Pro-Quæſtor*, under the old *Conſul*, who ſhould ſtill command in the Iſland,

Plut. in Grac.

tudes of Fiſhes were caſt boiled on the Shore, or continued floating on the Water. The *Lipariots* ate them voraciouſly; but their Greedineſs coſt them dear. They were almoſt all ſeized with a contagious Diſtemper which ſpread into the neighbouring Countries. The poiſonous Smell of theſe Heaps of putrified Fiſh infected the Air, and killed Multitudes on all the Coaſt. When the *Aruſpices* were conſulted on theſe Prodigies, they perſuaded the People, That they were the Forerunners of an approaching Revolution.

72 *Hiera* and *Lipara* are two of the ſeven *Æolian* Iſlands which lay to the North of *Sicily*. The former is now called *Volcano*, the latter, which is the moſt conſiderable of all, is now called *Lipari*. See Vol. 1. p. 586. Note 65.

73 *Cenſorinus* ſays, *The Secular Games* were ſolemnized in this Year 627, which was the fourth Time of their Celebration, according to him; who quotes, in proof of this, the Regiſters of the *Decemviri*, who had the Care of the *Sybilline* Books. Upon the Authority of theſe Regiſters, he places the third Celebration of theſe *Games*, in the Year of *Rome*, 518; 110 Years before the *Conſulſhip* of *Æmilius* and *Oreſtes*. Indeed, *Varro*, *Valerius of Antium*, and *Livy*, place this fourth Celebration in the Year 605, when *Lucius Marcius*, and *Marcus Manilius* were *Conſuls*. But theſe three Authors falſly ſuppoſed, That theſe Shows were renewed every hundred Years. And laſtly, according to *Cenſorinus*'s Calculation, *Caſſius Hemina*, *Cneius Gellius*, and *Lucius Piſo* have alſo been miſtaken in placing this Celebration in the Year 607, the *Conſulate* of *Lucius Cornelius Lentulus*, and *Lucius Mummius*. See our Remarks on *The Secular Games*, Vol. 3.

74 It is conjectured, that *Marcus Plautius*, who obtained the *Conſulſhip* in the Year of *Rome* 628, was the Man who gave the *Romans* a moſt remarkable Example of conjugal Fidelity. The Fact, as related by *Valerius Maximus*, is this. He had been ordered by the Senate, to conduct into *Aſia* a Fleet of the *Allies*, conſiſting of 60 Ships. As ſoon as he landed at *Tarentum*, his Wife *Oreſtilla*, who accompanied him in the Voyage, fell ſick and died. When her Corpſe was on the funeral Pile, *Plautius*, after the uſual Libations, ſeized a Dagger, and killed himſelf, that he might not ſurvive his Grief. The Attendants laid him down in his Habit, by the Side of his Wife's Body, and they were both conſumed together by the Flames. An Inſcription on the Tomb in which their Aſhes were united, long preſerved the Memory of this Action. Theſe were thought heroic Acts by *Pagans*, who had no Notion of true Glory. The ſame *Valerius Maximus* relates a Story of the ſame kind of *Caius Plautius*, ſurnamed *Numida*. In the Deſpair into which his Grief threw him upon the Death of his Wife, he ſtabbed himſelf with his own Sword: And his Domeſticks in vain bound up the Wound; he tore off the Bands, and died bathed in his own Blood.

Year of *ROME.* DCXXVIII. M. Plautius Hypsæus, & M. Fulvius Flaccus, Conſuls.

in quality of *Pro-Conſul.* But if by this Change, they thought to apply a Remedy to the greateſt Evil, they, at the ſame time, encreaſed *Gracchus*'s Party in the City, by recalling thither thoſe who were devoted to him. Nevertheleſs, they thought this the wiſeſt Expedient they could uſe, to fruſtrate the Scheme of the intriguing *Pro-Quæſtor.*

§. XXVII. In the City, the Proceedings of the new *Conſul Fabius* were more violent, and not leſs odious to the Senate. He appeared the ſame Man in the *Conſulate*, as he had been in the Commiſſion for the Diſtribution. Only as he had then exaſperated the People of the *Provinces*, by not admitting them to an equal Share of Lands with the Inhabitants of *Rome*, he now endeavoured to reconcile himſelf to them. He had now obtained of the People the Place he deſired; and he had nothing more to do, but to appeaſe the Minds of the *Allies* of *Italy.* To this end, he perſuaded thoſe who had not had any Share in the Lands, to deſire, That the Right of *Roman Citizenſhip* might be granted them, by way of Satisfaction. The Petition was a Matter of Importance, and in all Appearance could not be agreeable to the Senate. But the ſeditious *Conſul* promiſed to ſupport it; and he kept his Word. He drew up the two following Laws; and flattered himſelf that he ſhould be able to get them paſſed in the Aſſembly of the People. The firſt was, *That the Right of* Roman Citizenſhip *ſhould be granted to all thoſe, to whom the Commiſſioners could not aſſign any Share in the divided Lands.* The ſecond, *That all ſuch of the* Allies, *as had been ſent into their own Countries, by vertue of* Junius Pennus's Law, *but thought they had a juſt Claim to continue at* Rome, *in quality of* Citizens, *might appeal to the* Comitia, *who would judge of their Pretenſions.* Theſe Laws he ſupported with a Fury, which ſhewed him determined to exaſperate the Senate. For nothing could be more intolerable to *The Conſcript Fathers*, than to ſee a Mob of Plough-Men, who had juſtly been denied Lands, put upon a Level with the moſt ancient Families in *Rome.* The Senate therefore, in a Body, intreated him to drop the two Laws, and preſſed him to give them his Promiſe. But the proud *Conſul*, who would not vouchſafe even to give them an Anſwer, ſhocked the whole Aſſembly with his Silence.

App. L. 1. De Bell. Civ. Val. Max. L. 9. c. 5.

It was therefore to be feared that theſe mutual Animoſities of the *Conſul* and Senate would immediately break out into an open Rupture. But a new Incident intervened, which kept the Republick in Tranquillity, at leaſt for a Time. Some Ambaſſadors from *Marſeilles* came to *Rome*, to claim the Aſſiſtance of the *Roman* People, againſt the *Salvii*, or *Salyes*[75]; who had ravaged the Country about *Marſeilles*, and ſeemed to threaten this favourite City of the *Romans.* The Senate heard them graciouſly, and gladly ſeized the Opportunity of ſending *Fabius* beyond the *Alpes.* They ordered him to lead his *Conſular* Army to the Relief of *Marſeilles*, and make War with the *Tranſalpine Gauls*; and this new Proſpect of Glory made the *Conſul* lay aſide his ambitious Schemes. He readily accepted of the Commiſſion, and looking on Conqueſt as certain, aſpired at the Honours of a *Triumph.* Nor were his Hopes fruſtrated; tho' he found more Enemies aſſembled, than had been imagined; for all *Liguria beyond the Alpes*[76] was in Arms. This Diſtrict of *Tranſalpine Gaul*, which was called *Liguria*, was the Country from whence the *Ligures* in *Italy* originally came, and contained the Country of the *Marſeilleſe*, at leaſt the Diſtricts of the *Salyes* and the *Vocontii*; that is, what is now called *Provence*, and the Territories of *Vaiſon* and *Die.* Theſe People ventured to enter the Liſts with a *Roman Conſul*, and long diſputed for Victory with him. He did not return to *Rome* till two Years after his Departure; but then indeed it was to triumph, on account of the Conqueſt of the *Ligures*, the *Vocontii*, and the *Salvii.* His Abſence and that of *Gracchus* might have given the Republick an interval of Reſt, if the ſeditious *Conſul* had not, before he went, ſown the Seeds of a Rebellion, which broke out as ſoon as he was gone.

Epit. Liv.

Faſt. Capitol.

§. XXVIII. When he was embarked, the *Italian Allies* loſt all Hopes of obtaining the Right of *Citizenſhip*, with which he had flattered them; and then the *Provinces* near the Capital murmured loudly, held private Aſſemblies, and entered into Cabals againſt the Republick. Theſe Commotions alarmed the Senate; but they did not think the riſing Evil yet paſt Remedy. In order to ſuppreſs it, they proceeded firſt in a judicial Way; by citing a certain Number of the Inhabitants of the moſt rebellious Cities to ap-

75 *Pliny* ſays, That the *Salyes* were the moſt powerful People of all *Provence.* *Ptolomy* makes their chief Cities to have been thoſe of *Arles*, *Aix*, and *Taraſcon.* See Vol. 2. p. 5. Note 24.

76 The Ancients gave the Name of *Liguria Tranſalpina* to all that Country which reaches from the *Var* to the *Rhone.* See Vol. 2. p. 5. Note 24.

ear at the Tribunal of *L. Opimius* the *Prætor*, there to be tried, as State Criminals. Year of
regellæ [77] a City of the *Volſci*, now wealthy, and advantageouſly ſituated on the *Liris*, *ROME*
d been the firſt to erect the Standard of Rebellion. The Head of this *Colony*, was one DCXXVIII.
Numitorius Pullus, a bold Man, well able to form State-Intrigues, but indiſcreet in Conver- M. PLAUTIUS HYPSÆUS, & M. FULVIUS FLACCUS, Conſuls.
tion; and this Man being ſuſpected of having laid the Plot which had juſt broke out
his own Country, was accuſed before the *Prætor*. When he came to be interrogated, *Epit. Liv.*
pimius firſt endeavoured to intimidate him; and afterwards gave him Hopes of Favour, *Vell. Paterc.*
he would diſcover the whole Plot: And the Fears of the Criminal prevailed over *Jul. Obſeq.*
s Oaths of Fidelity to his Countrymen. He diſcovered every Circumſtance of the Con-
iracy, named the Authors and Accomplices in it, and opened all the Iniquity of the
regellani. That they were in Arms ſeems paſt doubt, ſince the Republick con-
mned their City to be razed. Nevertheleſs, the Decree was executed with Precaution.
pimius firſt ſent *Numitorius* home, as if he had been acquitted of the Crime laid to his
harge: And then the *Prætor*, who from a Judge ſoon became a General, immediate-
followed him and appeared before *Fregellæ*, at the Head of an Army. So that the
habitants were taken upon a Surprize. Tho' they had already made ſome Preparati-
s for declaring War with *Rome*, they did not expect to be ſo ſoon inveſted, and there-
re wanted Proviſions for a Siege. And now, *Numitorius* who had betrayed them,
mpleated his Treachery. He adviſed them to throw themſelves without Reſiſtance
the Clemency of the *Prætor*. They took the Traitor's Advice, ſurrendered up their
ity, and it was immediately demoliſhed. The Heads of the Conſpiracy were brought
Rome; and without much Deliberation, condemned to die. But the greateſt difficul-
was, to know what to do with *Numitorius*. On one hand, he had been more guilty
an thoſe who had been puniſhed with Death; and on the other, he had ſerved the
epublick by his Informations, and compleated the Reduction of *Fregellæ*, by betraying *Cic. de Invent. L. 2. de Finib. L. 2. in Piſon; & Ad Heren. L. 4. Val. Max. L. 2. c. 8.*
s Relations, Friends, and Fellow-Citizens. His Fate therefore hung long in ſuſpence;
d the Orators made Speeches for and againſt him, that were thought Maſter-pieces of
loquence. But at length, the Judges, tho' they deteſted his Treachery, pronounced
ntence in his Favour, and acquitted him. As for *Opimius*, he demanded a *Triumph*,
ut it was refuſed him. The Senate made a great difference between recovering a City
om rebellious Subjects, and making new Conqueſts upon an Enemy. However, the
emplary Puniſhment of *Fregellæ*, checked the Boldneſs of the Malecontents, and the
re of Sedition continued for ſome time hid under its Aſhes. But we ſhall ſoon ſee it
eak out; and ſhall find, That the reſettling all *Italy* in Peace, will coſt *Rome* almoſt as
uch Trouble, as the firſt Conqueſt of it had done.

And if we were as ſuperſtitious as the People were at *Rome*, we ſhould affirm, that *Jul. Obſeq. c.* 90.
e Misfortunes which followed were foretold to the Republick by Prodigies. At *Veij*
, ſays one Writer, in the *Conſulſhip* of *Plautius* and *Fulvius*, it rained Milk and Oil,
d Ears of Corn grew upon Trees; and a Hail fell for three Days together round *Ar-*
inum [79], which was as hard as Stones. Theſe Trifles are indeed below the Dignity of Hiſto-
; but the Affair of the Graſhoppers deſerve a Place here. So great a Quantity of theſe little
nimals, was brought in a tempeſtuous Cloud to *Africa*, that they covered the whole Coaſt.
hey devoured all the Corn to the very Roots, and ſpared not the hardeſt Bark of the largeſt
rees. An Eaſt-Wind had brought them, and a South-Wind, carried them away, and
rowned them in the Sea. But they did more Miſchief after they were dead, than they
ad done when they were alive. The Waves brought them in Heaps to the Shore, and
he whole Country was infected by them, from *Cyrenaica* to beyond *Utica*. The Air
as ſo corrupted, that the Plague raged far inwards upon the Continent. It is ſaid, that
the Kingdom of *Numidia* only, it carried off above 800000 Men; and above 200000
erſons on the Sea-ſhore. Above 30000 *Roman* Soldiers died of it, in the *Prætorian* Army
hat guarded *Africa*. A terrible Scourge on the moſt fruitful Country in the World! *Rome*
ould not hear without Terrour, what mighty Miſchiefs theſe little Animals had done;
nd as ſhe turned whatever happened throughout all her Dominions into Preſages, ſhe
oreboded the Evil that was to follow [80].

§. XXIX.

77 The City of *Fregellæ* ſtood in *Terra di Lavoro*, which belongs to the Kingdom of *Naples*. See Vol. . p. 189. Note 19.

78 *Veii* was one of the ancient Cities, and of the welve *Lucumonies*, in the Country of the *Hetrurians*. It is thought to have ſtood in that Part of *The Patrimony of St. Peter*, where *Scrofano* now ſtands.

79 *Arpinum* ſtill in ſome meaſure preſerves its old Name in that of *Arpino*. It ſtood in a Canton of the *Volſci* which now makes a part of the *Terra di Lavoro*. See Vol. 2. p. 298. Note 19.

80 In the 60th Book of *The Epitomy of Livy*, expreſs mention

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C. Cassius Longinus, & C. Sextius Calvinus, Consuls.

§. XXIX. In the mean time, when *C. Cassius Longinus* [81], and *Sextius* [82] *Calvinus* were chosen *Consuls*, Peace reigned among all Orders of Men in the Republick. *Transalpine Gaul*, and the Defence of *Marseilles*, kept the furious *Fulvius* employ'd in a foreign Country. *C. Gracchus* was still discharging the Office of *Pro-Quæstor* in *Sardinia*, tho' much against his Inclinations. The Severity executed on *Fregellæ*, kept the *Allies* in *Italy* in order; and there was only one of the three Incendiaries left at *Rome*, which was *Papirius Carbo*. He was indeed very violent; but having no Second, he only endeavoured to carry on the settled Scheme for the Distribution of the Lands, by gentle and quiet Methods. Indeed, it had fallen to *Sextius*'s Lot, to succeed *Fulvius* in *Transalpine Gaul*; but the Senate, out of Policy, delayed the new *Consul*'s Departure, that *Fulvius* might continue the longer from the Capital. But these Precautions were only palliating Remedies, which could not cure the Distemper. There was a settled Corruption in the Heart of the Republick, which must necessarily soon break out. As for *Gracchus*, he was already tired with the long stay he had been obliged to make, in an Island where his natural Activity was under a violent Restraint; and he seemed to envy the Publick the Calm she enjoyed. But what could he do? If he left *Sardinia* before his General, and returned to *Rome* without the express Leave of the Senate, this was a manifest Infraction of the Laws. If he continued in his Post as long as the *Conscript Fathers* should think fit, he should languish in Inaction, and give the Affections of the People time to cool, in so long an Absence. The Spirit of Faction is always restless and rash; and the *Pro-Quæstor* resolved to run all the Hazards of a very bold Step. He embarked, unknown to the *Pro-Consul*, left *Sardinia*, and when he was least expected, arrived at *Rome*.

Plut. in Gracc.

The Time he chose to shew himself in the Capital, was not long before the Day fixed for the Election of new *Tribunes*. His sudden Appearance exasperated not the Senate only, but the People themselves, who were angry at so open a Violation of the Laws and Customs of the State; and his Enemies exclaimed loudly against him, and accused him before the *Censors*. These were probably, *Cn. Servilius*, and *L. Cassius*, whose Severity was well known; and who had lately branded an *Augur*, named *Æmilius Lepidus*, with Infamy, for having paid 6000 *Sesterces*, for the Rent of a Palace in the City. Nevertheless, even the Rigour of these Magistrates could not withstand the Eloquence of *Gracchus*. He appeared before his Judges, and pleaded his Cause so artfully, that he imposed upon them. We have some fine Strokes of his Speech yet remaining; which are sufficient to enable us to form a Judgment both of his Character and his Genius. *I have continued*, said he, *at least two Years in the Office of Quæstor, which fell to me by Lot;*

Velleius L. 2. 7. 3. d. 48 8 9 *Sterl. Arbuth.*

Aull. Gell. L. 15. c. 12. Charisius L. 1.

mention is made of a *Census* of the People, and of a *Lustrum*, which was celebrated about the end of the Year 628, or the beginning of 629. The Number of those who were able to bear Arms, appeared to be 390636. *Frontinus*, in his Book *Of Aqueducts*, has preserved the Names of the *Censors* who presided at this Ceremony. The first was that *Lucius Cassius Longinus*, whom the Republick promoted to the *Consulship* in the Year 626. The second was *Cneius Servilius Cæpio*; probably the same who had been *Consul* in the Year 612. *Frontinus* observes, that these two Magistrates brought to *Rome* along by the *Latin Way*, for near 11000 Paces, that is about 4 Leagues, a new Aqueduct called *Aqua Tepula*. Perhaps, it was so called from the Spring-Head. It rose in a Field of *Lucullus*, which that Author thinks was near *Tusculum*, and not far from *Frascati*, or *Grotta Ferrata*. This Aqueduct supplied the Parts about the *Capitol*, and the Hills *Cælius* and *Aventinus*, with Water. Afterwards *Agrippa* joined it with the *Aqua Julia*; and they were from that Time considered as only one Water.

Cicero tells us, in his *Third Oration against Verres*, That the *Censors* corrected several Abuses, and added new Laws to the *Censorial Code*. We may judge of their Zeal and Steddiness, by a Fact recorded by *Velleius Paterculus* in the second Book of his History. These two Magistrates, says he, whose Office obliged them to preserve Order, and promote a Reformation of Manners, cited *Æmilius Lepidus* to appear at their Tribunal; a Man as distinguished by his Birth, as by the Dignity of *Augur* with which he was invested. They reprimanded him for having taken for his Lodging too stately a House, which he rented at 6000 *Sesterces*, that is 750 *Livres* a Year. This was thought an exorbitant Price; and *Cassius* and *Cæpio* made it criminal in him, as being an open Violation of the old Laws. Not that Luxury had not already made a swift Progress in *Rome*, since the Conquest of *Asia*. Very little Footsteps were now left of that ancient austere Virtue, which was the Characteristick of the *Curii*, the *Fabricii*, and the *Scipio's*. But the *Censors* thought that an Act of Severity towards a Man considerable for his Rank, would stop the Progress of the Evil. And if the publick Reproof which *Cassius* and *Cæpio* gave *Æmilius* had not all the Success which might have been expected from it, yet at least, this Example of Justice, shewed, That there were yet some Magistrates in *Rome*, who were zealous for the Observation of the Laws, and watchful to punish the Disobedient. *Valerius* remarks on this Occasion, That in his Time, that is, in the Empire of *Tiberius*, an House of 6000 *Sesterces* a Year, was not thought fit for a Senator to live in. Affluence had then got the better of the Wisdom of the Law-givers, and the Severity of the ancient Customs.

81 This *Cassius Longinus* was probably the Son of another *Caius Cassius*, who was *Consul* in the Year 583, and *Censor* in 599.

82 It is uncertain whether the *Consul Sextius* was the same whom *Cicero* commends in his *Brutus*; and of whom he says, That his Sentiments were fine, and his Stile elegant. But the Gout, with which he was often afflicted, would not suffer him to exercise the Talents Nature had given him for speaking in Publick.

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nd I will venture to affirm, That I have done the Republick more Service than ſhe had a Right to demand of me. It is ſufficient for a Man in my Situation, to have ſpent two Lu- *ra in the* Roman *Armies; whereas I have already ſerved twelve Years. Indeed, according o the military Law, a* Quæſtor *ought not to return without his General; but then the Law ſuppoſes, That a* Conſul *is not to make War longer than the Year of his* Conſulſhip *n the ſame Place. You have nevertheleſs thought fit to keep* M. Aurelius Oreſtes *three ears in* Sardinia. *But am I therefore obliged to obey Orders which were not made for me? e has been very agreeable to the* Pro-Conſul, *to be continued a great while, in an almoſt bſolute Authority over a very obedient Army. But painful muſt it have been to his* Quæ- *tor, to have ſpent all that Time there in Idleneſs, which might have been better employed n another Place! I devote my ſelf entirely to the Service of the many unhappy Men, who ng for their Shares of the Lands, of which I am appointed a Diſtributor. As for the In- entions of thoſe who have kept me, but too long already at a diſtance from the Capital, I retend not to penetrate into them. It is your Province, Ye People of* Rome, *It is the Province of all the Indigent in* Italy, *to dive into theſe Intentions, ſearch them to the Bot- om, and complain of them. At leaſt, my Judges, The* Cenſors *of* Rome, *cannot, I preſume, ut applaud my Conduct, in an Iſland where Luxury and Avarice have corrupted the Hearts, ot of the Officers only, but of all the new-raiſed Men. Did I make my Tent a Scene of De- auchery; a Place where the young* Romans *might proſtitute themſelves, and run into all anner of Glutton and Exceſs? I gave ſome Entertainments there indeed; but all Licen- ouſneſs was baniſhed thence; and great Decency and Modeſty, both in Words and Actions, ere ever remarkably preſerved. I have likewiſe ſufficiently ſhewn my Diſintereſtedneſs in y Office; by not having received to the Value of one* Obolus, *in any Preſent! Have I xacted Fees from the Subalterns under me; or have I even inſiſted on the Services due rom them? The difference between your Officers which I left in* Sardinia *and my ſelf, this. I carried from hence a full Purſe, and have brought back an empty one: They arried thither Barrels full of Wine, and will bring them back full of Gold and Silver.*

Thus ſpake *Gracchus*: And his Speech, which was applauded by the Multitude, made ſuch an Impreſſion on his Judges, that he was acquitted. The Frugality, Continence, and Diſintereſtedneſs, of this virtuous Son of *Cornelia*, this Grandſon of *The Firſt Scipio*, were very well known; and it was this, in ſome meaſure, that made him ſo formidable to the Senate. However, his Enemies attempted to faſten ſome Suſpicions on him, with reſpect to the Troubles at *Fregellæ*; and pretended that he was privately the chief Agent in them. But this ſecond Accuſation came to nothing, as well as the firſt; and only gave more Luſtre to the Accuſed. This Succeſs raiſed him as high as ever in the Eſteem of the People; and he thought this the lucky Minute for him to take Advantage of the Favour of an inconſtant Multitude, and ſo far to fix their Levity, as to get himſelf pro- moted to the *Tribuneſhip*. He flattered himſelf, that if he could once get Poſſeſſion of this important Office, he ſhould eaſily find Means to maintain himſelf in it, and to ex- ecute all his Schemes of Revenge at his Leiſure. He therefore put himſelf among the Candidates for the next Election, which was very near, and made his Intereſt with all poſſible Induſtry. His Diſcourſe both in publick and private, continually turned upon the Laws he intended to draw up, for the Benefit of the People and to humble the Nobility. He was ever dwelling on the Murder of his Brother *Tiberius*, the Satisfaction he ſhould have in revenging his Death, and the Hardſhip the poor *Citizens* ſuffered from the rich. He likewiſe extended his Compaſſion to the *Italian Allies*, and exaggerated their Miſery with more Force than his Brother had done. And by thus frankly declaring his Senti- ments without Diſguiſe, he gained the Affections of the Commons, and paved the Way for being advanced to the *Tribuneſhip*. *Plut. in Grace.*

§. XXX. It may therefore well be imagined, That theſe publick Declarations alarm- ed the Senate; and That the *Patricians* and rich Men united their Endeavours to prevent his deſired Advancement. To this End, they did all they could both by their Friends and Clients to oppoſe his Election. But the ſtrongeſt Oppoſition to his Promo- tion came from *Cornelia* his Mother. Immediately after the melancholy Death of her eldeſt Son, this illuſtrious Lady had retired to one of her Eſtates in *Campania*, near *The Cape of*[83] *Miſeno*; and there ſpent the Remains of her mournful Widowhood, in the Ex- ercife of the Virtues proper for her Sex. Her uſual Amuſement was reading learned *Cic. in Brut.*

83 *Cape Miſenum* is called to this Day *Capo Miſe-no*. It is not above a League diſtant from *Puteoli* and *Cumæ*. At the Foot of the Promontory there was a City and Port which had borne the ſame Name.

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Books; for no Lady ever took more care to cultivate her Underſtanding. She ſpoke her own Language with that Elegance and Purity, which the greateſt of Orators often admired, when he read her Works. And as ſoon as ſhe was informed, That her only ſurviving Son was going to engage in the hurry of publick Affairs, ſhe wrote him many Letters to divert him from it. Two of theſe Time has yet ſpared; and they ſufficiently ſhew us the Spirit and the Sentiments of this great Woman, in whoſe Praiſes the Ancients often expatiate. The Reader may judge by them, whether ſhe was capable of having any Hand in the Aſſaſſination of *The Second Scipio*, which ſome Writers have laid to her Charge. She expreſſes her ſelf thus.

Ex fragmentis Cornelii Nepotis ab Andrea Scotto collectis.

Son, You have now no Partner in the Affection of your Mother. Tiberius *is no more. All my Joys, and all my Fears, now center wholly in you. The Violence of his Reſentments was the Death of your elder Brother; and will you ſuffer yourſelf to be hurried on to your Deſtruction by the Impetuoſity of the ſame Paſſion? Avert, ye Gods, ſo fatal a Preſage! It will be a Satisfaction, you will ſay, to revenge his Murder. I allow it, Dear Child, your Heart is in that Inſtance formed on the ſame Plan as mine. I have as ſtrong a Senſe as you have of the Pleaſure of Revenge. But, I can, by force of Reaſon ſuppreſs the firſt Sallies, which Paſſion raiſes in my Breaſt. And at preſent, my Concern for the Welfare of the Publick has a greater Influence upon me, than my Grief at the Loſs of my Son. Ah,* Gracchus, *remember, That with the ſame Blow that you wound your Country, you will ſtrike deep into your Mother's Breaſt. But what am I ſaying! You will your ſelf ſink under the Weight of this raſh Attempt. I ſhall loſe you; but your Enemies will remain. Unfortunate Mother! Unfortunate* Cornelia! *Let what will happen, the ill Effects of the civil Broils in which you are preparing to engage, will fall upon me; and will be more than I ſhall be able to bear.*

Gracchus paid no Regard to the Repreſentations of his Mother. He ſuffered his Fury and his Ambition to have the Maſtery over him; and his Rage againſt the Senate, and his Impatience to ſee them humbled, got the better of *Cornelia*'s Advice. He wrote her an Anſwer; doubtleſs with great Civility: but he gave her to underſtand, that he was determined not to obey her Commands; and this drew from her a ſecond Letter, in theſe Words.

Idem Corn. Nepos. Ibid.

Ungrateful Creature! Next to the Murderers of Tiberius, *I have not a more cruel Enemy in the World, than thy ſelf. Have I had any Reaſon to expect, that my only ſurviving Son ſhould bring me nothing but Bitterneſs in my old Age? To what can I impute this Diſobedience, but to my continual Indulgence and too great Compliances with your Inclinations? And is it too much, to deſire an equal Return of Deference and Reſpect? Impious Wretch! Will you never be at reſt, till you have deſtroyed the Republick? Shall I have the Mortification before I die, to ſee that you have overturned it? Do not,* Gracchus, *Do not act over again, the tragical Scenes of my unfortunate Family! Wait at leaſt till my Eyes are cloſed, before you ſtand for the* Tribuneſhip: *And then my Aſhes will not feel the Misfortunes, which you will bring upon your ſelf. In the midſt of your Diſtreſs, you will perhaps invoke the* Manes *of your Father and Mother: but will they then be affected with your Tears? The Time to believe and obey them, is while they live. O Great* Jupiter! *Suffer not my Son to perſiſt in a Deſign, which muſt be the Deſtruction of himſelf, his Country, and his Mother! Ah, Child, you are running a great hazard, of becoming inſupportable even to your ſelf, for all the reſt of your Days!* By theſe little Remains, we may judge of the Mind and Heart of the excellent *Cornelia*. What Greatneſs of Mind is here! What Penetration into Futurity! What Love for her Country! What Tenderneſs for her Children! What Strength of Sentiments! And what Force of Eloquence! Surely this incomparable Woman had deſerved to be a more happy Mother. And therefore, the Senate, notwithſtanding their Reſentment againſt her two Sons, gave the People leave to erect a Statue in Honour to her, as an Heroine. On the Baſe was written this Inſcription, *To* Cornelia, *the Mother of the* Gracchi. Which was ſaying a great deal in a few Words, and implying more than was expreſſed.

§. XXXI. However the Exhortations and Reproofs of *Cornelia* did not prevail on *Gracchus* to alter his Meaſures, though they grieved him. He had declared himſelf a Candidate, continued to ſollicite the *Tribuneſhip*, and took extraordinary Steps to obtain it. And then all the *Patrician* Faction were in motion to divert the Blow that threatened them. A ſecond *Gracchus* at the Head of the popular Party, ſeemed to forebode nothing leſs to the Nobility, than utter Ruin. What then was to be done? The Candidate viſibly got Ground. The *Legionaries* he had fed and cloathed in *Sardinia* declared for him, and brought

Plut. in Gracc.

brought their Relations and Friends into his Intereſt. At length the Day of Election came; the Senate, to their Surprize, ſaw a vaſt Crowd of Countrymen from the neighbouring *Country-Tribes* flock into *Rome*, on purpoſe to vote for *Gracchus*; and then deſpaired of ſucceeding in their Oppoſition. *Rome* was ſo very full of theſe *Citizens*, which were for the moſt part unknown, that room could not be found to lodge them. All that remained therefore was, to hinder this Enemy of the *Patricians* from being firſt named, and conſequently being made the Head of the College: and they got him nominated the fourth. But this was a poor guard againſt a Man who was ſuperiour both in Birth and Merit to all his Collegues. *Gracchus* ſoon got the Aſcendant, became the main Spring of all publick Buſineſs, and was the Mouth of the College to the People. And there was this Circumſtance peculiar to his Election; That for want of Room in the *Campus Martius*, a great Number of the new-comers got on the Roofs of the Houſes round it, and from thence voted for *Gracchus* by Shouts and Acclamations.

Year of *ROME* DCXXIX.
C. Cassius Longinus, & C. Sextius Calvinus, Conſuls.

It muſt be owned, that never had a more compleat Orator been ſeen in the *Roſtra*. His graceful Perſon, noble Air, fine Features, and modeſt Deportment, prepoſſeſſed every Spectator in his Favour before he ſpoke; and when he did, their Ears were no leſs charmed. His Voice, which was both ſtrong and melodious, reached and affected the Auditors in the furtheſt Ranks. In his Speeches was interwoven the whole Art of Oratory; but with ſo much Judgment, as not to be too apparent. The only Fault imputed to him was a little too much Vehemence, when he ſuffered Paſſion to tranſport him. And the Orator, who knew his Defect, choſe out among his Slaves, an excellent Muſician, whom he kept ſtanding behind him when he was ſpeaking; and whenever, in a Fit of Paſſion his Maſter exalted his Voice too much, the Slave, with a ſort of Flagellet, brought him back to his proper Key. So much Care did the *Romans* take, when they ſpoke in Publick, to give their Speeches all poſſible Graces. But *Gracchus* never appeared more Eloquent, than when he lamented the tragical End of his Brother. As he was affected with it himſelf, his Deſcriptions were ſo ſtrong and lively, that they drew Tears from every Eye. So great were the Qualifications of the new *Tribune*, for raiſing great Commotions among the People. He ſcarce began to exerciſe his Office till the next Year; that in which he was choſen was near expiring; and we can hitherto conſider him no otherwiſe than as *Tribune* Elect.

Cic. L. 3. de Orat.

Idem Cicero Ibid.

He wanted the Aſſiſtance of *Fulvius Flaccus*, his fellow *Triumvir*, who was now abſent from *Rome*, making War with the *Marſeilleſe*. *Flaccus* was a furious *Plebeian*, the declared Enemy of the Senate and the Rich; and no Man was more proper to ſecond *Gracchus* in his extravagant Enterprizes. If then it had been in the Power of the Senate, they would doubtleſs have continued him in his Poſt, where he acquired ſome Reputation. But as deſirous as they were to ſee him long abſent from *Rome*, *C. Sextius Calvinus* overturned theſe politick Schemes. This *Conſul* had obtained of the Senate, *Tranſalpine Gaul* for his Province; and might have gone thither, almoſt immediately after his Election. But in pure Civility to the Senate, he poſtponed his Departure, and continued in the City the greateſt Part of his Year. Nevertheleſs, at laſt, the love of Glory got the better of his Complaiſance. He embarked for *Marſeilles*, there to ſucceed *Fulvius*, and put himſelf at the Head of well-diſciplined *Legions*, who were now accuſtomed to ſuſtain the Impetuoſity of the *Gauls*. So that *Fulvius* returned to *Rome*, to encreaſe the Tumults there by his Preſence. The Courage of *Gracchus* encreaſed, upon the Return of a Friend, whoſe new Intereſt would enable him to attempt what he pleaſed; and he aſſiſted *Fulvius* in getting him a *Triumph*, which was granted him for an Expedition of but little Importance. The addition of *a Conſular Man*, and a triumphant Victor to his Party, would bring great Honour and Strength to it.

§. XXXII. Thus all Things tended towards a Sedition in *Rome*, when ſhe choſe *Q. Cæcilius* [84] *Metellus*, and *T. Quinctius* [85] *Flamininus*, for her new *Conſuls*. The former of theſe was employed in the *Baleares* Iſlands, whilſt the latter continued at *Rome*, and the *Pro-Conſul Sextius* carried on the War in *Tranſalpine Gaul*, with Succeſs. But we muſt not loſe ſight of the Diſſentions which *Gracchus* raiſed in the Capital. They better deſerve the Notice of an Hiſtorian, than the Victories of the two Generals in foreign Countries.

Year of *ROME* DCXXX.
Q. Cæcilius Metellus, & T. Quinctius Flamininus, Conſuls.

84 *Cicero* highly commends *Metellus*, in ſeveral Parts of his Works, particularly his *Oration Pro Domo ſua*. He was the Son of *Metellus Macedonicus*.

85 It is conjectured, that *Quinctius* was the Son of him, who was *Conſul*, in the Year 602. *Cicero* who had ſeen him, ſays, he ſpoke the *Latin* Tongue in Purity. But he allows him no Merit as an Orator.

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tries. His firſt Eſſay in his *Tribuneſhip*, was the paſſing two Laws, in which the Publick indeed was little concerned, but they tended to gratify his perſonal Reſentments. The firſt was, *That no Magiſtrate which was once deprived of his Office by the Decree of the People, ſhould ever be admitted into the Magiſtracy again.* The ſecond, *That every Judge who ſhould have pronounced Sentence of Death on any* Citizen, *and cauſed it to be executed, without having it firſt confirmed by the* Comitia, *ſhould himſelf be proſecuted, and tried for his Life, at the Tribunal of the People.* The firſt of theſe Laws affected *Octavius*, that zealous *Tribune* for the *Patrician* Intereſt, whom *Tiberius Gracchus* had publickly got depoſed from the *Tribunate*, by the Suffrages of the Commons, for having oppoſed his Attempts. *Caius* deſired that this young *Roman*, a Man of ſingular Merit, ſhould be excluded from the ſuperior Dignities. But this Law did not take effect; *Gracchus* himſelf repealed it, at the deſire of *Cornelia*. The ſecond Law was levelled at *Popilius Lænas*, the *Conſul* in the Year of *Rome* 621, immediately after the Death of *Tiberius Gracchus*, who, to purge *Rome* of the Remains of the Sedition, had baniſhed ſome of the Accomplices of the factious *Tribune*. *Caius* therefore intended, by means of this Law, to get him condemned by the People. But *Popilius* foreſaw the Blow, and preferred a voluntary Exile to a ſhameful Condemnation.

However, theſe firſt Attempts of *C. Gracchus* did not cauſe any great Diſturbances. They injured only particular Perſons, whilſt the Publick was but little affected by them. The *Tribune* therefore invented new Schemes, for depreſſing the Senate, and exalting the People. He began with getting a Confirmation of the Law his Brother had revived, for the Diviſion of the Lands of *Italy*, between the *Citizens* of *Rome*, and the indigent *Allies*. This Diſtribution had met with ſo vigorous an Oppoſition from the old Poſſeſſors, that it was not yet far advanced. *Gracchus* therefore, for the more ſpeedy Execution of it, cauſed himſelf to be again nominated one of the Commiſſioners for the Diſtribution, in conjunction with the triumphant Victor *Fulvius Flaccus*, and *Licinius Craſſus*, who ſeems to have been the Brother of *Licinia*, the Wife of young *Gracchus*. And now, aſſiſted by theſe good Supporters, the *Tribune* undertook ſeveral Works in favour of the Commons. For the Convenience of Trade, he repaired the great Roads, built Bridges over the Places which had been made bad by Falls of Water, erected Pillars [86] at the end of every Mile, and placed Stones at proper diſtances, for the Eaſe of Travellers in mounting their Horſes. And if he had ſtopped here, the Publick would have been well pleaſed, and the Senate have had no Cauſe of Complaint. But he was not content with ſuch Innovations as theſe. He drew up a Law conſiſting of two Clauſes, 1. *That publick Granaries ſhould be built at* Rome, *and filled with Corn at the publick Expence.* 2. *That, every Month, a Diſtribution ſhould be made to every* Citizen *of as much of this Corn as he wanted for his Subſiſtence, at the Price of half an* As, *per Head.* A Regulation indeed very favourable to the People, but very offenſive to the Senate. Many Inconveniencies were foreſeen in it; as 1*ſt*, That it would ruin the Publick Funds; and 2*dly*, That the common People, when ſure of having Corn at ſo very low a Price, would neglect their Work, and live in Idleneſs; which would make them ſtill more ungovernable. But as reaſonable as the Oppoſition of *The Conſcript Fathers* was, the Law paſſed; and the People thought themſelves indebted to the Care of *Caius Gracchus* for the Eaſe they enjoyed.

App. L. 1. De Bell. Civ. Plut. Vell. L. 2.

§. XXXIII. In order to enable the Republick to make theſe profuſe Bounties, the *Tribune* ordered Duties to be laid on all the Goods imported into *Aſia*, eſpecially at the Ports deviſed to the *Romans* by King *Attalus*. Commiſſioners and Receivers were appointed there; and the Sums raiſed by theſe Taxes in ſo many great trading Cities, were not returned into the publick Treaſury, but all laid out in Corn, for filling *Sempronius's*

Cic. in Verr. 5. Florus L. 3.

[86] The Uſe of *Milliary Columns* was known in *India*, as well as in *Italy*, as *Strabo* obſerves, *B.* 15. The *Indian* Magiſtrates who had the Inſpection of the publick Roads, placed one of theſe Pillars every ten *Stadia*. Thoſe the *Romans* erected after the Example of *Caius Gracchus*, in all the Roads of the Empire, were placed eight *Stadia*, or a Mile's diſtance from each other. They were all placed on Pedeſtals, on which were engraven the Diſtances from one City to another for the Convenience of Travellers. The greateſt Part of theſe Pillars were of a very hard Stone, which could reſiſt the Severity of the Cold; and ſome, as thoſe in *The Latin Way*, were of Marble. Hence the manner of Speaking ſo well known in the ancient *Itineraries* and Hiſtorians, *ad quintum & ſextum lapidem*, that is, *at the fifth or ſixth Stone*, and *ad octavum marmor*, that is, *at the eighth Marble*; to ſignify the diſtance of five, ſix, or eight Miles. Their Figure was round or ſquare, at the Pleaſure of the Undertaker. Some Remains of theſe ancient Monuments are ſtill found in ſeveral Places; and ſome are yet preſerved entire.

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Granaries. This was the Name given to thoſe ſtately Magazines which *Gracchus* had built. By theſe ſo conſiderable Bounties, the People were ſo captivated, that the *Tribune* had more Authority over theſe *Romans*, who were jealous of their Liberties, than the moſt abſolute Monarchs have over their Subjects. They were enſlaved without perceiving it, and their Slavery was not the leſs real, for being voluntary. The Authority of *Gracchus* was likewiſe ſtill increaſed, by other Laws which he paſſed to the Satisfaction of the People. He forbad the enrolling any *Roman Citizen* before the Age of Seventeen compleat [87]; and ordered, That the Republick ſhould be at the Expence of Cloathing [88] the Soldiers before they took the Field; which was a freſh burden on the publick Treaſury. The *Roman* Soldiers had hitherto found their own Cloaths: Only ſome Generals had required of the Cities which ſurrendered by Capitulation, That they ſhould cloath the Troops. But the *Tribune* changed theſe old Cuſtoms, and made his Court to the Commons at the Expence of the Republick. Nor was this all. In order to attach the meaneſt of the *Citizens* to him, *Gracchus* altered the Method ſettled by *Servius Tullius*, in giving Votes in the *Great Comitia*. The firſt Claſs, which conſiſted of the richeſt *Citizens*, had hitherto almoſt ſolely determined all Affairs, becauſe it had the greateſt Number of *Centuries*. But the *Tribune* changed this wiſe [89] Regulation, and by a new Law, equalled the Suffrages in the laſt Claſſes to thoſe of the firſt.

Plut. in Gracc.

Ex fragmentis operum Saluſtii.

All theſe Laws he drew up, moved, defended, and got paſſed; which was enough to have exhauſted the Strength of the moſt robuſt Man. He muſt have made ſet Speeches for all the Laws he propoſed; and muſt have anſwered the Objections of all thoſe that oppoſed them, in others. When he ſpoke theſe Speeches, he walked very faſt from one end of the *Roſtra* to the other. The Fire darted from his Eyes; and his Geſtures were animated by the Paſſions he felt, and endeavoured to raiſe in his Auditors. Nevertheleſs, as ſoon as he left the Aſſemblies, he immediately applied himſelf, without appearing at all fatigued, to the Care of the publick Works, and other Buſineſs. Sometimes he was ſurrounded by Undertakers and Maſons, to whom he gave Orders concerning the Roads, and the publick Edifices, he would have built. Sometimes he was applied to by Ambaſſadors from all Nations in the World, and immediately anſwered all their Queſtions, with that Judgment which others could not have done without great Conſideration. Sometimes, he was attended by Men of Letters, with whom he diſcourſed as he walked, on ſeveral Points of Learning, tho' continually interrupted by the Applications of Workmen and Artificers; and he gave them all very ſhort and ſatisfactory Anſwers, with as little Perplexity, as if he had had but one Affair upon his Hands: And amidſt this multiplicity of Buſineſs, a perpetual Serenity appeared in his Countenance, which was never ſeen to be overcaſt with a Cloud.

Plut. in Gracc. Cic. de Orat.

So great a Court and ſo much Merit, could not therefore but raiſe the Jealouſies of the Senate againſt him. No Buſineſs of any kind, whether at Home or Abroad, was brought to any Tribunal but that of *Gracchus*. This Head of the Populace, whoſe Power he had increaſed, was in a manner become the Maſter of the World. It muſt then be expected, that as ſoon as his Office ſhould expire, the Nobility would fall upon him with all their weight, and cruſh him; and the Year of his *Tribuneſhip* was now near to an end. Hence the Fears of his Friends, and eſpecially of *Fulvius Flaccus*, formerly *Conſul*, who was very cloſely united to him, both by an uniformity of Sentiments and by Intereſt. This faithful Friend therefore preſſed him to get himſelf continued in the *Tribuneſhip*, at leaſt for one Year longer. Indeed, his Brother *Tiberius* had ſunk under the like Attempt; but the Times were altered. The People were then only getting ground gradually, but were now arrived at the higheſt Degree of Power. Beſides, there was an ancient Law ſtill in Force, which empowered the People to chuſe whomſoever they pleaſed for a *Tribune*, when the Suffrages were not all unanimous in the Election of all

87 Hence there is Reaſon to conclude, That on great Exigencies, the Republick made the *Romani* ſerve before the Age of 17, which was the Age the Law fixed for military Service. *Lucilius* made his firſt Campaigns thus early, under *Scipio Æmilianus*, as we have obſerved above, agreeably to *The Chronicon of Euſebius*.

88 If the *Roman* Soldiers had not Money enough to buy themſelves Cloaths, the *Quæſtors* ſupplied them, and deducted the Price out of the Pay allowed for their Subſiſtence.

89 In order to underſtand the Meaning of the Law *Caius Gracchus* drew up, we muſt remember what has been ſaid in the preceding Volumes, of the Inſtitution and Form of *The Comitia by Centuries*. The Scheme the new *Tribune* propoſed, was, That the Right of Precedency in giving their Suffrages, ſhould be determined by Lot, without any Regard to the Order of the Claſſes, and *Centuries*. By this Means the *Citizens* were all put upon a Level, and the Faction of the Great, no longer had the Pre-eminence, as before, in the Aſſemblies of the People. See Vol. I. p. 306, 307.

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the Ten. So that nothing was now more eaſy than for *C. Gracchus* to obtain by way of Favour, what his Brother could not compaſs by Sedition; and accordingly ſuch effectual Meaſures were taken in order to it, that in ſpight of all the Oppoſition of the Senate, He got himſelf nominated *Tribune* for the ſecond Year. Soon after his Election followed that of the *Conſuls.* But we muſt not anticipate theſe Promotions; and whilſt we are giving an account of the Commotions at *Rome*, forget her Victories abroad.

§. XXXIV. Whilſt *Gracchus* was thus humbling the Senate, the *Conſul Cæcilius Metellus* was ſubduing ſome Barbarians in the Iſlands, and the *Pro-Conſul Sextius Calvinus*, was enlarging the Borders of the Republick in *Tranſalpine Gaul. Metellus*, as much to get out of the way of the Storms at home, as to merit a *Triumph*, took hold of the Report ſpread at *Rome*, That the Inhabitants of the *Baleares* committed Hoſtilities on the Seas, and on the Coaſt. Some *Tyrians* [99] had peopled two Iſlands, near *Tarragonian Spain*, the greateſt of which was pretty near the Continent, and computed to be about 120 Miles in Circumference; and the leſſer, which was farther out at Sea, only 50 at moſt. Theſe Iſlanders, who were leſs civilized than the *Spaniards* their Neighbours, lived in a manner without Laws, and without any Care, except that of cultivating their Lands, and keeping all foreign Ships at a diſtance from their Iſlands. Nature had ſufficiently guarded their Ports, by great Rocks, which ſo ſhut up the entrance of them, as to make them inacceſſible to great Ships; and the People being accuſtomed rather to keep their Enemies off, than cloſely attack them, fought at a diſtance, and almoſt *naked*, which made the *Greeks* call their Iſlands *Gymnaſiai.* Their more common Name of *Baleares*, alluded [91] to their Experience and great Dexterity in *throwing* Stones more exactly than any People in the World; and therefore they ſcarce had any other Arms but Slings. They made them of a ſort of Bulruſh which was very pliant; and every Man generally carried three with him to battle. One he bound round his Head, which ſerved for a kind of covering or Fillet for it, another round his Waiſt, and a third he carried in his Hand for his Defence. It is ſaid, that the Mothers gave their Children no Food but what they ſtruck down from the Places on which it was put, with Stones. So that being accuſtomed to the Sling from their Infancy, they were always very ſure of hitting their Mark. They wanted no Neceſſaries of Life in their Iſland except Oyl and Wine; for, Gold and Silver they deſpiſed, and would never keep any in their Houſes; without doubt, for fear theſe precious Metals ſhould be a temptation to the neighbouring Nations to trouble their Repoſe.

But theſe Barbarians, who had no Commerce with any other People, loved Wine; and neither having any in their own Country, nor Money to buy it, they ſupplied themſelves by Piracy. They attacked the foreign Ships that came in their way, and plundered them; and ſometimes they made Inroads upon the Continent, and ſtole the Barrels and Skins out of the Cellars of the Country-People. But theſe piratical Expeditions were never made by any publick Authority; private Perſons aſſembled together at Pleaſure, built themſelves Barks, and put out to Sea. And this was the Cauſe of the Complaints, which the Inhabitants of the Coaſt of *Spain*, and of *Liguria*, had brought to *Rome.* An Affair of too little Importance to require the fitting out a Fleet, and the Preſence of a *Conſul* at the Head of it. A *Legionary Tribune*, with a Squadron of Ships, might have chaſed and reduced an handful of Pirates. But his earneſtneſs to leave *Rome* in ſtormy Times, and a deſire to fight ſome Enemies abroad, induced the *Conſul* to undertake the Expedition himſelf. Beſides, the People of *Rome* knew little of theſe *Baleares.* They formed their Judgment of them by the Succours they formerly lent the *Carthaginians*, who were *Tyrians* as well as themſelves, and by the Reports of ſome maritime Cities; and thought them a formidable Nation. The *Conſul* therefore ſet Sail, in queſt of theſe famous Pirates, who had ſtruck ſuch Terrour into the Inhabitants of the extream Parts of *Spain* and *Italy.*

The Iſlanders, as we are aſſured by grave Hiſtorians, took the *Conſular* Fleet at a diſtance, moſt probably becauſe they ſaw only the end of it, for one of theſe Ships

99 *Tzetzes* pretends, That the People of the *Baleares* Iſlands, now *Majorca* and *Minorca*, were originally a Colony of *Boetians*, who were thrown by a Storm on the neighbouring Shores. According to him, they ſeparated, and made themſelves new Settlements in theſe two Iſlands. *Strabo* ſays, That the *Rhodians* inhabited the *Baleares* at their return from the *Trojan War.* Nevertheleſs theſe Iſlanders had nothing of the Politeneſs of the *Greeks.* Afterwards, the *Phœnicians* landed here, and taught the Natives the Uſe of the Sling.

91 *Florus* derives the Name of *Baleares*, from a fabulous Hero named *Balus*, who, he ſays, was the Son of *Hercules.*

which

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which coming accidentally in their way were ſometimes a Prey to them. And therefore they immediately haſtened to attack it with their uſual greedineſs. When they were near enough to make uſe of their Slings, they threw a ſhower of Stones on the *Roman* Ships. And if the *Conſul* had not had the Precaution to cover his Decks with Ox-hides, his Crews would have ſuffered very much by it. When the Ardour of the *Baleares* was abated, that of the *Romans* began. They made all the Sail, and rowed as faſt as they could, in purſuit of the Enemy's Barks, which gained the Coaſts of the Iſlands; and the Iſlanders landed in haſte, and ſought Refuge in the Holes of Rocks, and in ſteep Places, having no Cities to ſhelter them. It was neceſſary therefore that the *Conſul* ſhould order a Deſcent; and as the Enemy never appeared again, like the Body of an Army, it was neceſſary to ſeek them in their Rocks, and fight them, if I may ſo ſpeak, one by one. Which was done with ſo little Mercy, that of the 30000 poor Wretches that peopled theſe two Iſlands, there were ſcarce 1000 left alive. After this bloody and eaſy Victory, the *Conſul* thought proper to build two Cities in the larger Iſland, one to the Eaſt, and the other to the Weſt. The firſt was called *Palma* [92], the ſecond *Pollentia* [93]; and to ſupply the want of old Inhabitants of the Country to people them, *Metellus* brought 3000 *Romans* from the *Colonies* on the Continent of *Spain*. After this, it is certain that *Metellus* enjoyed the Honours of *a Triumph*, and took the Surname of *Balearicus*, as his Father had done that of *Macedonicus*. But I cannot agree with ſome Moderns, that his *Triumph* was deferred till two Years after his Victory.

§. XXXV. In the mean time, the *Pro-Conſul Sextius* was carrying on a more rough and difficult War in *Tranſalpine Gaul*. *Fulvius* had only broke into the Province of the *Salyes*, and gained ſome ſlight Advantages. So that his Succeſſor *Sextius* found the War there very little advanced. But he diſtinguiſhed himſelf, and ſhewed himſelf to be a very different General from his Predeceſſor. He marched boldly through a Country full of Foreſts and Rocks, againſt theſe *Gauls*, whoſe Looks and Air ſtruck Terror. By their large ſtature, threatening Looks, Intrepidity, Arms, and Union, the *Romans* judged them to be more formidable Enemies than any they had found in the Eaſt. Nevertheleſs the *Legions* advanced into that Diſtrict of *Gaul* which was next to *Marſeilles*; and in a very agreeable Country watered with variety of hot and cold Springs of Water, they found Bodies of Enemies drawn up in Battalia. At this ſight, *Sextius* immediately ordered the Charge to be given; and by one ſingle Victory over the *Salyes* in their own Country, and under the Command of their own King *Teutomalus*, he made the Way eaſy for the Conqueſt of the whole Nation. The *Roman* Army marched to the Capital, beſieged it, took it notwithſtanding it was defended by Multitudes, and reduced the Inhabitants to Slavery. The King alone eſcaped, and fled for Refuge to the *Allobroges* [94]. And as it was uſual for the *Roman* Generals, when they deſired to ſubdue a People, and ſettle them in a peaceable Subjection to *Rome*, to ſignalize their firſt Expeditions by ſome ſignal Acts of Clemency, which might ſoften the Hearts of the conquered; *Sextius* had a fair Opportunity for this, in the City he had juſt taken. A *Gaul*, named *Crato*, had, in an Enemy's Country, always ſhewed an Inclination to the *Romans*; and by his Freedom in declaring his Sentiments, had often drawn on himſelf Ill-treatment from his Fellow-Ci-

Amm. Marcell. L. 15.

Vell. Paterc. L. 1. c. 15.

Diod. Sic. apud Valeſ.

92 The ancient City of *Palma* now bears the Name of *Majorca*, as well as the Iſland of which it is the Capital.

Pollentia is now no longer in Being. Scarce any Footſteps remain of it. *Pliny B.* 3, ſpeaks of ſome other Cities built by the *Romans*, in the Iſland of *Majorca*; and particularly, of *Cinium*, and *Cunici*, and *Boccharum*. The two firſt, that is, *Palma* and *Pollentia* enjoyed the Right of *Roman Citizenſhip*; the two next, had only the Right of *Latinity*. The fifth was ranked among the Cities in Alliance with the Republick. Of the three latter, one is now called *Cala Longa*, the ſecond *Cala Figuer*, and the third, *Suggiri*. In the Iſland of *Minorca*, were the Citadel of *Jamno*, and that of *Mago* or *Port Mahon*, which ſome ſay, had been built by *Mago* the Son of *Aſdrubal*.

94 *Ptolomy* the Geographer places the Country of the *Allobroges* near Mount *Jura*, and the Lake *Lemanus*. It formerly contained the *Viennois*, the Dutchy of *Savoy*, the *Greſivaudan*, the Country of *Chablais* and *Foſſigni*, and in a Word, all the Country which lays between the *Rhone* and the *Iſern*, from *Valence* in *Dauphiné* to *The Lake of Geneva*. So that this Nation formerly poſſeſſed what makes at preſent the Dioceſes of *Vienne*, *Grenoble*, *Geneva*, and *St. John of Morienne*. They were a part of *Gallia Narbonenſis*, and according to *Stephen of Byzantium*, were thought the moſt powerful and moſt formidable People among the *Gauls*. The *Greeks* gave them the Name of *Allobriges*, or as others, *Ariobriges*, thereby to point out their martial Spirit. In order to ſtrike the more Terror into their Enemies, they were naked to the Waſte, when they went to Battle. Their only Arms were a ſort of Dart, of a Cubit's length, which the Ancients termed *Geſſa*; and from thence *Polybius* and *Plutarch* give them the Surname of *Geſſatæ*. They were governed by Kings, whoſe Crown was Hereditary; but their Authority reached no farther than to the Command of Armies, and the Choice of Subalterns. The Government in all civil and political Matters belonged to the Senate, which conſiſted of the Chief of the Nobility.

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tizens. This *Sextius* knew, and when the conquered came to be ſold, he not only gave *Crato* his Liberty and Effects, but ſuffered him to chooſe out 900 among theſe Slaves, who ſhould all be ſet at Liberty at his Requeſt. And the Friendſhip with which the *Pro-Conſul* honoured *Crato* ever after, was no ſmall Inducement to draw the Affections of the *Salyes* towards ſuch grateful Conquerors.

Strabo, L. 4. *Vell. Paterc.* L. 1. *Florus* L. 3. c. 2. *Epit. Livian*

The *Roman* Dominion thus ſettled in *Tranſalpine Liguria*, the next Application of the General was to find Means to maintain it; and to this he thought nothing would more contribute, than the founding a *Roman* Colony, in the Place where he had gained his Victory. For this Purpoſe, he choſe that piece of Ground which abounded with both hot and cold Springs of Water, ſet his *Legionaries* at work in building Houſes, Ramparts and Towers, and called his new City from his own Name *Aquæ Sextiæ*. It is ſtill in Being, under the Name of *Aix* in *Provence*. And the better to perfect his Deſign, *Sextius* obtained Leave of the Republick, to tranſplant on this ſide the *Alpes*, the *Colony Rome* had formerly planted at *Fabrateria* [95] in the Country of the *Volſci* in *Italy*. So that the City of *Aix* was the firſt *Roman Colony* the Conquerors of the World planted in *France*. And now, *Sextius* having nothing more to do in his Province, returned to *Rome*, and *triumphed* upon better Grounds than his Predeceſſor had done.

§. XXXVI. At his Return, he found the Republick in Diſorder, on account of the Innovations made by the new Maſter the popular Faction had given themſelves, in the Perſon of *C. Gracchus*. This Subverter of ancient Cuſtoms, was now in the ſecond Year of his *Tribunate*, and had nothing more at Heart, than to diminiſh the Authority of the Senate, and increaſe that of the People. He ſaw with Concern, that the *Roman Knights*, a kind of middle Order between the *Commons* and *Patricians*, inclined more to the Side of the Nobility, than to his. This illuſtrious Order was filled with only the richeſt of the *Citizens*, when upon the *Cenſus* taken of the Riches of each Family, they were authentically proved to be worth the Sum required. So that the *Tribune* had only an indigent Populace with him. Which was indeed always too much; as the common People in great Cities are always moſt numerous, and they of *Rome* had the ſame Right of Suffrage as the moſt wealthy *Citizens*. Nevertheleſs *Gracchus* was very deſirous of drawing off the *Knights* from the Senate, and bringing them into his Meaſures. He piqued himſelf upon doing his Party that Honour. Not that the *Knights* were not reckoned a Part of the *Plebeian* Body; but as they were the richeſt of that Order, they affected to draw as near to the *Patricians* as poſſible, made Alliances with them, and upon a Diviſion, generally ſided with the Senators. The *Tribune* therefore invented a ſure Means to bring them into his Intereſt.

Plut. in Gracc. Cic. Verr. 3. *App.* L. 1. *de Bell. Civ.*

Among the Laws he drew up, one of the moſt important was, That 600 *Knights* ſhould be admitted into the Senate, and have Votes there; and conſequently ſhould have double the Weight there as the Senators who had never been more than 300. The Attack was a very bold one, and as ſoon as it was read to the People, it raiſed the Clamours of all the Friends of the *Patricians*. This the *Tribune* expected, and had propoſed this very ſevere Law, only to pave the Way for paſſing another; which was in Appearance more moderate, but in reality amounted to nothing leſs than the Degradation of the Senate. This was, to take from the Senators the Cognizance of all private Cauſes, Civil and Criminal, as Aſſeſſors to the *Prætors*, which they only had been, till the Time of *Tiberius Gracchus* (*Vid.* p. 109. Note 78); and to ſubject even *The Conſcript Fathers* themſelves to the Judgment of the *Knights*. In Affairs of State the Senate acted only as a Body; and he did not now attempt to rob them of their Juriſdiction over the *Conſular Provinces*, or concerning any foreign Negotiations. His Scheme was to extend the Juriſdiction of the Tribunal of the People by degrees, and to make himſelf at laſt abſolute Maſter of it. And in order to ſucceed in the preſent Attempt, he had recourſe to the moſt odious Invectives. He recalled to mind the unjuſt Judgments which ſome Senators who had been Aſſeſſors to the *Prætors* had given in favour of their Brethren; and ſaid, *Have not we ſeen in our own Days, an* Aurelius Cotta, *a* Salinator, *and a* M. Aquilius, *all abſolved by Judges choſen out of the Senate, tho' notoriouſly known to be Oppreſſors?* Reproaches, which if ever ſo juſtly founded, in particular Caſes, ought not to have been thrown on the whole Senate.

App. L. 1. *de Bell. Civ.*

95 *Fabrateria* was a City of *Italy* ſituated on the Confines of *The Campagna di Roma*. It is now called *Falva Terra*. See Vol. 2.

For is any Body of Men responsible for the Faults of the particular Members of which it consists? Nevertheless the People greedily caught hold of the Accusation; a *Plebiscitum* was passed, *That the Judgment of all private Causes should belong to the* Knights, *exclusive of the* Senators: And the *Tribune*'s Heart was so elated with this last Success, that he cried out in a Transport of Joy, *I have at last demolished the Senate.* And indeed, he had reduced them, from being the superior Order, to a State of Inferiority.

Year of *ROME* DCXXX. Q. Cæcilius Metellus, & T. Quinctius Flamininus, Consuls.

§. XXXVII. This enormous Power which the College of *Tribunes* usurped, gave all concerned great Apprehensions of the Attempts of the Head of it, who was otherwise so formidable. He had now Power to compass whatever he pleased; and he shewed his vast Interest in a remarkable manner, in the next Election of *Consuls*. Among the Candidates, there were two appeared for the second Place; it being foreseen, that the first would infallibly be given to *Cneius Domitius Ahenobarbus*. One of these was that *L. Opimius* who had razed *Fregellæ* in his *Prætorship*, and had caused *Gracchus* to be suspected of having raised that Rebellion there which had been the Ruin of that City. The other was one *C. Fannius Strabo* an artful complaisant Man, who had managed the *Tribune* with great Dexterity. He was upon a foot of Friendship with him; whereas *Opimius* was his declared Enemy: And tho' no *Tribune of the People* had ever yet intermeddled in the great Elections, *Gracchus* was above all Rules. His Interest and Passions were the only Laws he regarded; and he resolved to disappoint *Opimius*, and advance *Fannius*. And the Method he took in order to succeed in this Attempt, gave the Senate fresh Alarms. As he was haranguing the People a few Days before the general Assembly for disposing of the great Offices, he kept his Auditors in great suspence, and struck great Terror into the opposite Faction. *The Time of the great* Comitia, said he to the People, *now draws nigh, when you are by your Suffrages to dispose of the* Consular Fasces, *and set two such Men over us as you like. Remember then*, Romans, *in this critical Minute, the* Tribune, *who has spared no Pains to draw you out of Slavery! If my Services have deserved your Gratitude, the Time is now come for you to shew it. Let not the Name of* Gracchus *slip out of your Minds, when you enter the Inclosure, to make two Men happy.* These Words, which were the Conclusion of a long Speech, every one carried home with him, and the Confusion they caused in *Rome* is not to be described. All took it for granted, That the Ambition of *Gracchus* went so far, as to make him desirous of enjoying the Honour of the *Consulate* in conjunction with the *Tribuneship:* And to unite these two Offices in one Man, would be to destroy the Republick at once, and set up an absolute Monarchy. Nor were these Fears without Foundation. If *Gracchus* was disposed to make such an use of his Power, the People were disposed to do any thing he should desire; and he maliciously enjoyed the Pleasure of the Consternation into which he had thrown the Senate, without undeceiving them till the very Day of the Assembly. Then he entered the *Campus Martius*, leading *Fannius* by the Hand, and with a very engaging Air, which he knew how to assume when he pleased, recommended him to the Favour of the People. *If*, said he, *you confer the* Consulship *on my Friend, it is the same thing as if you conferred it on me:* And from that Time, no more mention was made of *Opimius*. His Competitor *C. Fannius* [96] succeeded by a Plurality of [97] Suffrages and

Plut. in Gracc.

96 *Caius Fannius* was the Son of another *Caius*, who was *Consul* with *Valerius Messala*, in the Year 592. He acquired some Reputation by his Eloquence. Nevertheless *Cicero* ranks him only among the indifferent Orators. But *Velleius Paterculus* speaks of him in a different manner, when he praises the Harangue he made against *Caius Gracchus*. This Harangue was thought so good, that some ascribed it to *Caius Persius*, one of the most learned Men then in *Rome*, whose Criticisms the Poet *Lucilius* dreaded. Others suspected that it had been retouched by different Persons. Nevertheless *Cicero* confesses, in his 2d Book *De Oratore*, That no Credit could justly be given to the common Rumours on this Head. *1st*, Because the Uniformity of the Style was a strong Proof, that several Persons had not been concerned in the Composition. *2dly*, Because the Silence of *Gracchus* was a decisive Proof in favour of *Fannius*. This *Tribune* would not have failed to have recriminated, if he could, by reproaching his Adversary, that he was only the Mouth of *Persius*, and assumed the Honour of an Harangue, the Credit of which belonged to another. And lastly, *Cicero* himself acknowleges, That the Talents which he had always been allowed to have for speaking in Publick, were equal to the Ability and Taste that appeared in the Composition.

We must take care not to confound the *Consul* of this Year 631, with another *Caius Fannius* the Son of *Marcus*. The latter had borne Arms in *Africa*, under *Scipio Æmilianus*, and in *Spain* under *Fabius Servilianus*; as we learn from *Plutarch* and *Appian*. *Cicero* makes honourable mention of the Annals he wrote; and *Brutus* so highly esteemed them, that he abridged them. *Conturbat me Epitome Bruti Fanniana. L. 12. ad Attic. Ep. 5. Corradus* misunderstood this Passage, when he said, That *Brutus*'s Work was nothing but a short History of the *Fannian* Family. It is certain, that his Annals contained a Series of History digested according to the Order of the Years of *Rome*. *Sallust.* mentions them, and says, That the Sincerity of the Author

Year of ROME DCXXXI. Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, &C. Fannius Strabo, Conſuls.

and was proclaimed *Conſul* with *Cn. Domitius* [97] *Ahenobarbus*. It fell to the Lot of the latter to carry on the War beyond the *Alpes*, and to the former to continue in *Italy*. *Domitius* made great Preparations for his Departure; but nevertheleſs ſpent the whole Year of his *Conſulſhip* in only ſettling the Country of the *Salyes*. However, we ſhall ſee him extend the *Roman* Dominions far into *Gaul* the next Year, and ſubdue almoſt all the eaſtern Part of it.

In the mean time the *Tribune Gracchus* had raiſed himſelf to ſo high a pitch of Grandeur, that he ſeemed to want little elſe but the Title of King. The People were abſolutely devoted to him. The *Knights*, whom he had in ſome meaſure raiſed above the Senate, increaſed his Court. And the *Conſul Fannius*, who owed his Promotion to him, ſeemed to reſolve to be wholly under his Guidance. So that it is not eaſy to ſay, either to how low a State the Dignity of the Senate was ſunk, or to what degree of Confidence *Gracchus* was raiſed. In order to demonſtrate viſibly to all the World the great Contempt he had for the Senate, he made uſe of an Expedient which was very injurious to this firſt Order of Men in the Republick. It had almoſt always been the Cuſtom hitherto, for the *Tribunes* when they harangued the People, to turn their Faces towards the *Comitium*, where the People were placed, in ſuch a manner, that the Speakers at the ſame time fronted the Senators, as they ſate in their Hall. By this means, they in effect addreſſed themſelves to the Senate as well as the People, which was indeed acknowledging their Authority. But *Gracchus* who deſpiſed them, changed the old Cuſtom. He removed the Seats, on which the *Plebeians* ſate to hear the Orators, to the other ſide of the *Forum*; and whenever he made any Speeches for the future, he turned his Back on the Senators, and addreſſed himſelf only to the Commons, whoſe Situation he had changed. This was a notorious Proof, that he no longer acknowledged any ariſtocratical Power in the Republick, but thought all the Power of the Government devolved ſolely on the People: And this publick Outrage at length opened the Eyes of the Senators.

Plut. in Gracc.

§. XXXVIII. They now began to be ſurprized, That 300 of the wiſeſt Men in the Republick, Men ſo able in Politicks as to give Law to the eaſtern and weſtern Parts of the World, ſhould ſo long have ſuffered the two *Gracchi* to lord it over them. When the younger Brother of the two had reduced them to almoſt the loweſt State of Contempt, they began to awake out of their Stupefaction. They now conſidered, That the *Conſul Fannius*, on whom the *Tribune* had Reaſon to depend, was at bottom a moſt ſteady Republican, and not to be corrupted. He loved his Country, and would not ſacrifice the Intereſt of the Publick to his perſonal Gratitude. If he had paid court to *Gracchus*, in order to get the *Conſulſhip*, he had now gained his Point, and had Probity enough, to return to the honeſt Party. Upon theſe Preſumptions, the *Conſcript Fathers* did their utmoſt to gain him over; and found him to have the Sentiments of a true *Roman*. The *Conſul* declared he did not want Courage enough to oppoſe the raſh Enterprizes of the *Tribune*; the Senate depended on his Promiſes; and he kept his Word.

Cic. pro Rabirio.

As almoſt the only Method *Gracchus* had taken to raiſe himſelf to a kind of Sovereignty, and to ſink the Authority of the Senate almoſt to nothing, had been to multiply Laws in favour of the People; ſo he ſtill went on in the ſame way, and endeavoured to preſerve, or increaſe his Credit with the Commons, by new Edicts. He revived the old Prohibition already given to the Judges, *Not to execute any capital Sentence on a* Roman Citizen, *without the Conſent and Order of the People*; and as this was a juſt Law, it met with no Oppoſition. But that was not the Caſe of the following Law which he drew up, with a View to multiply his Party: Namely, *That the Allies ſhould be upon an equal Foot with the true* Citizens *of* Rome, *with reſpect to a Right of Suffrage, even in the Acceptance or Refuſal of Edicts.* This the Senate thought a monſtrous Innovation, and *Fannius* took occaſion from thence to declare himſelf againſt his Benefactor. He, with-

Plut. in Gracc. App. L. 1. de Bell. Civ.

thor was very apparent in his Memoirs. This is the ſame *Caius Fannius* who married the youngeſt Daughter of *the Wiſe Lælius*, and was united in Friendſhip and Sentiments with *Panætius*. But tho', a profeſſed *Stoick*, he warmly reſented the Preference his Father-in-Law gave to *Quintus Mucius Scævola*, who had married his eldeſt Daughter, in relation to the *Augural* Office. *Fannius* expected this Office in preference to his Competitor, on account of his greater Age; and *Lælius* excuſed himſelf by ſaying, That *Scævola* ought to be choſen before him, becauſe he had married his eldeſt Daughter. But *Cicero*, who gives us this Account in his *Brutus*, ſeems to contradict himſelf in his Treatiſe *Of Friendſhip*. He there repreſents *Fannius*, as a Man upon very good Terms with *Lælius*, and his Collegue in the *Augurate*.

97 *Vellcius Paterculus* obſerves, That before *Domitius* the Father of the Emperor *Nero*, there had been in the *Domitian* Family, four *Domitii*, who were only Sons, and had regularly ſucceeded their Fathers in the *Conſulſhip* and the Prieſthood.

Year of ROME. DCXXXI.

CN. DOMITIUS AHENOBARBUS, &C. FANNIUS STRABO, Consuls. *Vell. Pat. L. 2. c. 6.*

out Ceremony, opposed the new Law *Gracchus* would have introduced; mounted the *Rostra*; harangued the People with Zeal against the intolerable Attempt of the *Tribune*; and appeared an open Adversary to him, whose Cause he was thought to espouse and defend. By this Means the Republick was divided between her two Chiefs; and therefore some Writers represent her, as a Monster with two Heads.

The contest daily grew warmer and warmer between *Gracchus* and *Fannius*. One was supported by the Senate and the soundest Part of the *Citizens* of *Rome*, the other, by the Multitude; and both carried Matters to great Extremities. *Gracchus* was for giving the Right of *Citizenship* and Suffrage to all the *Allies* of *Rome*, from the most eastern Parts of *Italy* to the Foot of the *Alpes*; and these People ran in Crowds to the Capital from all the Corners of *Italy*, so that the City swarmed with them. This prodigious Concourse seemed evidently designed to carry any Thing the *Tribune* thought fit to bring before the People by a great Number of Voices; and the Senate was alarmed at it. They engaged the *Consul Fannius* to forbid all those who had not yet a Right of Suffrage in the Assemblies, either to continue in the City, or within five Miles of it. This Order was no sooner published, but there arose a Dispute between the *Consul* and *Tribune*, in point of Jurisdiction; and both piqued themselves on succeeding in the Contest. The *Consul* had with him the most considerable *Citizens* of *Rome*, who saw their Right of *Citizenship* and Suffrage debased and prostituted. The *Tribune* had only the Multitude; who, content with having Bread at a cheap rate, were little concerned that others should be permitted to enjoy with them the rest of their Privileges. *Fannius* insisted, That these new-comers should leave the Capital. *Gracchus* encouraged them not to stir. On one side were published *Consular Edicts*; and on the other, Ordinances of the *Tribune*'s, directly contrary to them. But at length, the boldest Man succeeded. *Fannius*, who was more of a Soldier than an Orator, thought it necessary to make use of Force to compel Obedience to his Injunctions; and he sent his *Lictors* to take two or three of these Pretenders to *Roman Citizenship*, and Men of Weight in their own Countries, from the side of the *Tribune*. *Gracchus*, either out of Cowardice, or, as he said himself, for fear of giving rise to a civil War, suffered his Friends to be dragged through the Streets of *Rome*, and driven out of the City, without Opposition: And this too great Tameness for a seditious Man, was the first Stroke that diminished the Credit of the *Tribune*, and made his Partizans a little diffident.

Plut. in Grac.

§. XXXIX. But it was not enough for the Senate to have stirred up the *Consul Fannius* against the exorbitant Power which the *Tribune* had assumed; it was necessary that they should wound him deeper, before they could compass his Destruction. Now, in order to this, the gaining one of the *Tribunes* to oppose his Attempts, was an old Stratagem which had been formerly tried against *Tiberius Gracchus*. *Octavius*, a young *Roman*, of a good Understanding, and great Merit, had undertaken, as we have shewn, to oppose *Tiberius*; but he had sunk under the Attempt. The Senate therefore thought it necessary to go more artfully and secretly to work, in their Endeavours to undermine the great Interest of *Caius Gracchus*; and they found a Person among the present *Tribunes*, whom they judged fit for their Purpose. He was in the Flower of his Age, of an illustrious Family, tho' *Plebeian*, in point of Manners blameless, skilful in Business, a good Orator, and susceptible of a laudable Emulation. His Office put him almost on a level with the Sovereign *Tribune*; and if he was well supported, he might soon be in a Condition to equal him. This Rival the Senate chose, to be put in competition with *C. Gracchus*; but directed him to pursue very different Measures from those taken by *Octavius* against *Tiberius*. The Senate were of Opinion, That if they engaged *Livius* to protest openly against the Laws which the chief *Tribune* should endeavour to multiply in favour of the People, it would only end in the Protester's Ruin: And they therefore taught him a Conduct, so refined, and so well judged, that the Historians commend it as a Master-piece of Policy. The *Patricians* desired the *Tribune* their Friend, to attempt to surpass *Gracchus* himself, in Popularity. Indeed, the Bounties they suffered *Livius* to give among the Populace, must necessarily do some Prejudice to the Interests of the Senate. But they overlooked all lesser Injuries, provided they could demolish the Idol which the People had set up for themselves; and this would in a very great measure be compassed, if they could bring *Livius* into esteem among the People, by the same Artifices *Gracchus* had used, for above these two Years. A Scheme finely laid, and executed with still more Address!

Diod. Sic. apud Vales.

Plut. in Grac.

Year of *ROME* DCXXXI. Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, &c. Fannius Strabo, Conſuls.

There were now two *Tribunes* in the College, who earneſtly contended with one another, which ſhould paſs the moſt popular Laws, and ſuch as tended moſt to the aggrandizing of the People, and the Diminution of the Senate; and the Game was ſo played, as to be unſuſpected. *Gracchus*, for inſtance, ordered, That ſome particular Perſons might go and take Poſſeſſion of ſome Lands which he had aſſigned them, on Condition that they annually paid a Quit-Rent to the publick Treaſury. *Livius*, on the other hand, aſſigned ſome others Lands, but free from any Charges whatſoever. The former ſent two *Colonies* of the poor Inhabitants of *Rome* to Places where they were furniſhed with all the Conveniences of Life; by which the People acknowledged themſelves to be obliged. *Livius* on the other hand, propoſed to repeople no leſs than twelve Cities with indigent *Citizens*, and to ſend 3000 Perſons to each; which was received with greater Applauſes. *Gracchus* had deſired to grant the Right of Suffrage in the *Roman Comitia* to all the *Allies* of *Italy*, but he had met with ſuch Oppoſition, that the Deſign proved abortive. *Livius* deſired, That the Soldiers in the Troops of the *Allies*, ſhould for the future be freed from the infamous Diſtinction of being whipped with Rods when they were in fault; and the Law paſſing without oppoſition, he thereby gained the Affections of the People in all the *Italian* Provinces. Novelty always pleaſes; and the Appearance of a ſecond *Tribune* as beneficent as the firſt, began to make *Gracchus* forgotten.

§. XL. There were likewiſe ſome remarkable Differences in the Proceedings of the two Collegues. *Gracchus* was vehement, ſatyrical, and full of Rage and Invectives. *Livius*'s Eloquence was ſweet and inſtructing; ſo that he made himſelf no Enemies, either in the Senate who ſet him at work, or among the People whoſe Intereſts he ſupported. The Ambition of the *Patricians*, the Oppreſſions of the Rich, and the Iniquities of the Senate, were ever in the Mouth of *Gracchus*. *Livius* never harangued the People, without artfully drawing in ſome Encomium on the *Conſcript Fathers*; and aſſuring them, That *it was with their Conſent, and at their Motion, that he improved on the Services his Collegue did them.* *Gracchus* took upon him the Care of all the Works he ordered, raiſed the neceſſary Sums to pay the Undertakers and Workmen, and tho' there was no juſt Reaſon for Suſpicion, did not eſcape the Tongues of thoſe gloomy People, who always ſuſpect the Perſons who have the Care of the publick Money. *Livius* never undertook to execute any Work himſelf; but whether it were to plant *Colonies*, or repair Roads, or erect publick Edifices, he appointed other Commiſſioners to take Care of the Execution. In ſhort, the former ſuffered himſelf to be too much hurried away with his natural Impetuoſity, and laid too much ſtreſs on his former Credit. The latter ſubmitted himſelf to the Guidance of wiſe Conductors; and the ableſt Men in the Senate regulated his Motions. By this Means *Livius* gained two Points, from almoſt the beginning of his Magiſtracy. The firſt was, That the Senate became much leſs odious to the People; and the ſecond, That the *Roſtra* being no longer engroſſed by one Orator, the Fire of the People was much abated, by the Moderation which appeared in the Speeches that were made to them.

However, *Gracchus* was not long inſenſible, That the Good-will of the People was at leaſt divided between him and *Livius*, and That the ſecret Wounds he received proceeded from the Senate; and he took ſome Steps to recover himſelf. Hitherto he had endeavoured to transfer all the Authority of the firſt Order of Men in the Republick on the People. The Judges in private Cauſes, were no longer choſen out of the Senate; they had no Juriſdiction left but over the *Conſular Provinces*; and they had Reaſon to fear, that this laſt Prerogative likewiſe would be taken from them. But now the proud *Tribune* began to ſoften. He drew up a Law to this Effect, *That for the future, the Senate, before the* Comitia *for the Election of* Conſuls *and* Prætors, *ſhould ſettle their Provinces in general; That each Man's particular Province ſhould be aſſigned him by Lot; and That there ſhould lie no Appeal to the People, from the Deciſions of the Senate on this Head.* The Senators at the ſame time very civilly accepted the little *Gracchus* did for them, and were in appearance upon very good Terms with him. Whenever he appeared in the Senate-Houſe, they received him with Reſpect; and were ſo complaiſant, as to refer the following doubtful Affair to his Determination. *Q. Fabius, Pro-Prætor* in *Spain*, had ſent to *Rome* a great Quantity of Corn, raiſed at the Expence of the Province, with intent, no doubt, to fill the new Granaries *Gracchus* had built with it. But the *Tribune* judged that the Preſent ought not to be accepted, becauſe it muſt have been a Burden to the

Florus, L. 4. c. 13.

Cic. contra Rull. pro Cluent. & alibi.

the *Spaniards:* And he ordered the Corn to be ſold, and the Money to be returned to the *Spaniſh* Cities which had raiſed it.

Year of *ROME* DCXXXI.

CN. DOMITIUS AHENOBARBUS, &C. FANNIUS STRABO, Conſuls.

Annal. Pighii in veteri fragmento ad annum 631. *App. L.* 1. *De Bell. Civ. Plut. in Grace. Oroſius.*

§. XLI. Nevertheleſs, this ſeeming Reconciliation between the Senate and *Gracchus* was not ſincere. The Senators made it their Buſineſs to ſubvert underhand the mighty Power and Authority which the *Tribune* had acquired; and *Livius* gave it a mighty Shock; if it be true, that he was the Author of a very artful Law, which appointed ten Men to take care of the Diſtribution of the Lands, inſtead of *Gracchus* and his two Aſſociates. But the fatal Blow which entirely ſunk the Credit of *Gracchus*, came not from the Hand of *Livius*, tho' the Senators were the Authors of the Plot. They put a third *Tribune* of the preſent Year, upon getting a Law paſſed for raiſing 6000 *Romans*, to rebuild *Carthage*, and cultivate the Plains which were formerly ſo famous for their Fruitfulneſs. *Rubrius*, under pretence of doing Honour to *Gracchus* the Head of his College, nominated him firſt to be the Leader of the Colony. After him *Fulvius*, *Gracchus*'s ſeditious Friend, was nominated in the ſecond Place; and *Rubrius* himſelf, the Author of the Law, in the third. A Snare well laid, and *Gracchus* fell into it. He conſented to leave the City, and croſs the Sea, with ſome of the Inhabitants of *Rome*, who were to re-people the Territory of *Carthage*, which *Scipio* had loaded with Curſes, in the moſt ſolemn and formal manner that the Religion of thoſe Times directed.

Notwithſtanding the Impreeations of *The Second Africanus*, *Gracchus* undertook to build a new City on the Ruins of *Carthage*; and called it *Junonia*, from the Name of the Goddeſs, who had always been the Protectreſs of the old City. He and his Collegues were above two Months in marking out the Plan of this City; which the Senate ſuſpected, he intended to have filled with only thoſe of his own Party. They declared, That his Deſign was to provide himſelf a ſecure and ſafe Retreat, in caſe of Diſgrace; and they reſolved to make him leave the Work unfiniſhed. Upon the Reports then current, that ſeveral Prodigies had happened there, whilſt they were marking out the Ground for building *Junonia*, the *Conſcript Fathers* conſulted the *Augurs*, and made them declare their Opinions. It was ſaid, That as the *Romans* were planting Stakes to mark out the Circumference of the new City, and offering Sacrifices to render Heaven propitious, a violent Storm aroſe which broke the Staff of the firſt *Colours*, and ſcattered about the Entrails of the Victim which were already placed upon the Altar; and That ſome Wolves had entered within the Incloſure, and broke down the Palliſades. And theſe Reports, whether true or falſe, gave occaſion [98] to the Senate, to recall the Leaders of the *Colony* from *Africa*. *Gracchus* returned to *Rome*; but found a very cold Reception there, even from the moſt zealous of his Party.

XLII. *Livius* had got the Aſcendant, during the Abſence of his Rival. The Services of *Gracchus* were almoſt forgotten by an unſteady Populace. Their Diſcourſes now turned altogether on the new *Tribune*, whoſe Conduct was more mild, and more effectually worked on their Affections. They no longer thought the Senate a Monſter with 300 Heads, which was continually watching to devour the People. *Livius* had taken off theſe ill Impreſſions. *Gracchus* was ſoon ſenſible, that he had been very imprudent in leaving the Field of Battle to his Rival; and that this was not the worſt Evil that threatened him. There ſeemed to be a great Diſpoſition in the People, to elect for *Conſul* the next Year, that *L. Opimius*, his perſonal Enemy, whom he had diſappointed at the laſt Election; and upon this he was ſeized with a kind of Lethargy, or Stupefaction. He ſaw he was fallen from the higheſt degree of Credit; and all his Friends could do was little enough, to keep up his dejected Spirits. *Will you then*, ſaid *Fulvius* to him, *leave your Work unfiniſhed? You have already brought the Senate to the edge of the Precipice, and by gradually ſetting Bounds to their Authority, have, in a manner, reduced it to nothing. You have drawn the* Roman *People out of the Slavery to which they had been reduced by their domeſtick Tyrants; And all that remains is only Matter of Diverſion. Take Courage therefore*, Gracchus, *ſhew your ſelf in the* Comitium, *mount the* Roſtra; *and by that irreſiſtible Eloquence which is your peculiar Happineſs, you will triumph over your Rivals!*

[98] *Plutarch* affirms, in *The Life of Gracchus*, that this *Tribune of the People* had no regard to the Vanity of Preſages, but ordered the Works to be continued and the Incloſure of the new City finiſhed; after which he returned to *Rome* where his Preſence was neceſſary, at the end of ſixty Days. And *Plutarch* here ſuppoſes, that *Fulvius* was not one of the three Commiſſioners appointed to conduct the new *Colony*. Nay, he expreſly ſays, That this Man, who was ſo devoted to the Party of *Gracchus*, continued at *Rome*; where his Enterprizes had been rendered unſucceſsful by the wiſe Conduct of *Livius*.

And

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Plut. in Gracc.

And indeed, *Gracchus* took ſome Steps in order to get himſelf continued in the *Tribuneſhip*, at leaſt another Year; and to this end, affected a moſt extravagant Fondneſs for the Populace. His Father and himſelf had always hitherto lived on the Hill *Palatinus*, in the fineſt Part of *Rome*. But he now came down the Hill, and lodged in the furtheſt Part of the *Forum*, in a Quarter which was inhabited only by the meaneſt of the People. There he lorded it over a Crowd of the moſt indigent *Citizens*; thought himſelf ſafe under their Protection, from the Attacks of thoſe that envied him; and flattered himſelf, that he ſhould have a majority of Suffrages for continuing him a third Year in his Office. This was certainly the only Game he had now to play. After the Wounds he had given to the whole Senatorial Order, he could expect nothing leſs than Ignominy and Contempt, if reduced to the Condition of a private Perſon. He therefore drew up ſtill more Laws in favour of the People, and gave the Multitude Hopes, that he would get them paſſed, as ſoon as he ſhould be choſen a third Time. But in the mean time, his Collegue did not agree with him. There were others of them, beſides *Livius*, who were grown jealous of him; and tho' the Time for the Election drew nigh, he treated them with Contempt, and did not pay ſo much Court to them, as he ought to have done. Though he was well ſkilled in carrying on State-Intrigues, he took ſome very falſe Steps, and his Conduct was not always ſo uniform, as it ought to have been.

A few Days before the new Election of *Tribunes*, one of the *Ædiles* reſolved to entertain the People with a Show of *Gladiators* [99] in the *Forum*. The Place where theſe Shows,

[99] The cruel Cuſtom of the Combats of *Gladiators* paſſed from *Greece*, or as others, from the *Aſiatic* Provinces to *Hetruria*, and from thence to *Rome*. At firſt this Barbarity prevailed only in funeral Ceremonies. People involved in the Darkneſs of Idolatry, made it matter of Religion, to ſacrifice Captives before the funeral Piles, or near the Tombs, of their Anceſtors. This horrible Cuſtom owed its Birth to a monſtrous piece of Superſtition. The Pagans perſuaded themſelves, That the Souls, or *Manes*, of the deceaſed were greedy of human Blood. And at laſt, the ſtrong Deluſion got ground even among the more civilized Nations. Indeed ſuch Sacrifices were preſcribed, as were ſhocking to Humanity, and yet Idolatry loſt no ground by it. So deplorable was the Blindneſs, that Men perſiſted in believing, That the effuſion of human Blood was a neceſſary Tribute which the Dead required of the Living. And upon theſe ſtrange Principles, the old Cuſtom was aboliſhed to make way for another, which without the appearance of an Immolation, retained all the Cruelty of it.

To ſupply the Place of human Victims, the Combats of *Gladiators* were invented. This Appellation was given to certain Men, who were deſtined by the State to cut one another's Throats. To the *Roman* People, who were brought up in the Tumults of Battles, and the Horrors of War, it was matter of Diverſion, to ſee theſe unfortunate Creatures reduced to a neceſſity of conquering, or periſhing by the Swords of their Antagoniſts; and it is not to be expreſſed, how fond they were of theſe Shows. In their riſe, they were confined to funeral Pomps: But in a little time they became common at the Funerals of private Perſons. The rich, deſirous of making a Figure after their Death, never failed to allot in their *Wills*, a certain Sum of Money, for the Expence of a Combat of *Gladiators*. It was a ſure way of drawing a great Concourſe of People together, and having their Obſequies performed with the greater Solemnity.

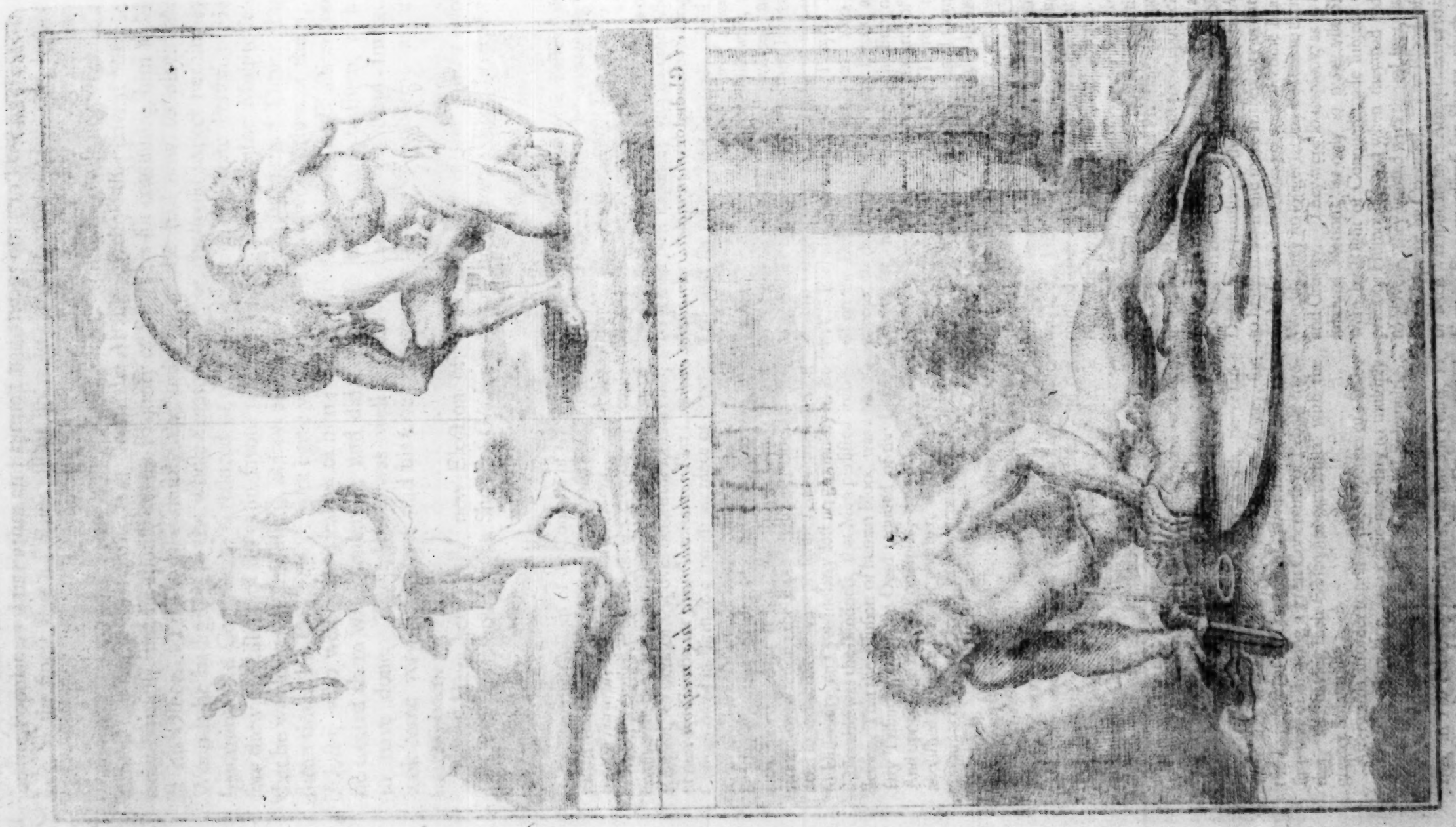
Afterwards, in order to gratify the Appetites of a fierce and bloody Populace, it became neceſſary to multiply theſe tragical Scenes, not only at Funeral Solemnities, but likewiſe in the publick Places, in the Amphitheatres, in *The Games of the Circus*, at ſolemn Feaſts, in the *Portico's*, and in the Baths. The Days appointed for the Maſſacre of ſo many wretched Men, became Days of Joy and Feſtivity among the *Citizens* of *Rome*. The Magiſtrates, who knew the Taſte of the People made their Court to them, by entertaining them frequently with theſe Fights. The *Ædiles*, *Prætors*, *Conſuls*, and other great Men in *Rome*, and all the Candidates for Offices, bought Companies of *Gladiators* at their own Expence; with no other View, but to pleaſe the Multitude, and gain the Suffrages of the *Tribes*, at the approaching Elections. And according to *Julius Capitolinus*, in his *Lives of Maximus and Balbinus*, the Generals of Armies likewiſe, when they were ready to ſet out for their Provinces, never failed to give the People of *Rome* one of theſe Entertainments. As this Uſage had its Riſe, ſo it owed its Continuance to the Prejudices of a ſuperſtitious People. They looked on the Deſtruction of theſe Men, who were thus expoſed to the Dangers of a violent Death, as a kind of *devotement*, neceſſary to appeaſe the Fury of the miſchievous Divinities. Amidſt the Hazards of War, the infernal Powers were Objects of Terrour to the *Romans*, who thought themſelves obliged to guard againſt their Reſentments. And they imagined, that the Rage of theſe Gods could be appeaſed by nothing but Murders. So that the ſhedding the Blood of a Company of vile Men, was looked on as nothing in it ſelf. Only it was ſaid, That the Vengeance of thoſe Furies, which thirſted after human Blood was ſatiated by it; and That the Generals thought to purchaſe themſelves Victory, and the Safety of their *Legions* by this Inhumanity. Tho' after all, it may be affirmed, That there was as much Policy in this cruel Practice, as Superſtition. A deteſtable Policy indeed! but the Republick found her Account in it. The *Roman* Youth being accuſtomed to look on Blood and Slaughter as matter of Diverſion, Death grew familiar to them, and they thereby learned to brave it with the more Intrepidity in Battle.

And when the *Romans* were become Maſters of the World, they no longer ſet any Bounds to their Fierceneſs and Cruelty. They were ſo impious, as to look on the ſubdued Nations, as only ſo many vile Slaves, who were by Right of Conqueſt made ſubject to their capricious Humours; and when they had reduced them to Slavery, they ſported with their Lives, as their abſolute Property by Conqueſt. The Blood of Thouſands of Men was ſpilt in their Amphitheatres to indulge their Fury. This greedineſs for Shows which were ſhocking to Nature as well as Reaſon, induced the Magiſtrates in a manner to people *Rome* with *Gladiators*; who

A Gladiator shewing his conquered enemy.

Another shewing his weapon.

Another mortally wounded.



Shows were preſented belonged to the *Plebeian* Magiſtrates, it being the ſame where they held their Aſſemblies; and every *Tribune* built his own Scaffold, either for the Uſe of his Friends, or to ſell Seats. But *Gracchus* did not approve of the Liberty taken by all the reſt of his Collegues. He pretended, that the Place was crowded with this Heap of Scaffolds,

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who were choſen out of the Slaves ſent thither from the conquered Countries. The Number of them was ſo great, that they were forced to be divided into different Claſſes, which were a ſort of Academies, under different Maſters, who taught them how to murder one another methodically.

After they had been bought by the beſt Bidder, they were beat with Rods, and whipped with Strops, into the fatal Art of killing each other; and he that had the Government of them was particularly concerned to provide them with all the Neceſſaries of Life. So that being fed with the moſt ſucculent Meats, they acquired Strength and healthy Looks, and this Vigour was the chief Merit of a *Gladiator*. When they were thus in good plight, the Maſter of them hired them out for a conſiderable Sum, to him who was at the Expence of the Show, and led them armed to the Amphitheatre, like ſo many fatted Cattle prepared for Slaughter. Before the Battle, he engaged them by the moſt horrible Oaths, never to give ground, but to fight to the laſt Extremity; and this, under the Penalty of ſuffering the moſt ſevere Tortures, that Scourges, Fire, or Sword could give, and of dying by the Hands of the publick Executioner. The Form of this Oath is preſerved in the Fragments of *Petronius*.

When brought to the Place ſet apart for theſe bloody Scenes, they were ranged into Claſſes, and divided into Couples, ſo that each had his Adverſary. In this Order, they prepared themſelves for fighting with Fury, till the Trumpet gave the Signal for the Battle. Then they began with throwing blunted Darts, or with playing with Foils, as it were to try their Strength and Skill. *Illo ipſo*, ſays *Cicero*, *De Oratore L.* 1. *Gladiatorio vitæ certamine, quo ferro decernitur, tamen ante congreſſionem multa fiunt, quæ non ad vulnus, ſed ad ſpeciem valere videantur.* After this, they fought in Earneſt, and purſued one another without Mercy, in the Preſence of their Maſters of Defence, who ſpared neither Threatnings nor Blows to ſtir up the cowardly. If either of the two Combatants, either worn out with Fatigue and loſs of Blood, or ſtruck with Horrour at the Approach of Death, begged Quarter; he held up his Finger, and laid down his Arms, to ſhew that he had recourſe to the Mercy of the People aſſembled, from whom he expected the Deciſion of his Fate. And it often happened, that the Spectators took a cruel Pleaſure in giving up the Suppliant to the Fury of his Adverſary. And then RECIPE FERRUM, *Stab him, ſtab him*, was the Cry from all the Parts of the Amphitheatre: Or elſe, the Multitude declared their Pleaſure, by holding up their Thumbs, which was the fatal Signal of Condemnation. Nevertheleſs, it ſometimes happened, that the condemned drew new Courage from Deſpair, and by a ſudden Turn deſtroyed his Adverſary. Sometimes both Combatants died on the Spot. And at all Adventures, the cowardly had no Favour to expect from the People. They were inſenſible to their Cries and Prayers, and always determined in favour of thoſe, who ſhewed a generous Contempt of Death. This *Cicero* ſufficiently teſtifies in his *Oration for Milo*. *Etenim ſi in gladiatoriis pugnis timidos & ſupplices, & ut vivere liceat obſecrantes, etiam odiſſe ſolemus; fortes & animoſos, & ſe acriter morti offerentes, ſervari cupimus.*

As ſoon as the mournful Sound of the Trumpets proclaimed the Death of one of the *Gladiators*, his Body covered with Wounds and Blood, was ignominiouſly dragged with a Crook, through one of the Gates of the Amphitheatre, to a Place adjoining; and there, if he ſtill breathed, he was inhumanly diſpatched. This Place was called *Spoliarium*, becauſe the Conquerors there ſtripped the dead of their Cloaths and Arms. The Gate which led to theſe dead Carcaſes, was therefore called *Libitina*, or *The Funerary Gate*. To which we muſt add a Cuſtom, mentioned by *Pliny*, *B.* 28, which carries the Barbarity to a ſtill greater heighth. After this terrible Butchery, ſays he, many *Romans* crowded round the dying, and without Horrour, clapped their Mouths to the yet trembling Limbs, and drank their warm Blood, as it ſtreamed from their Wounds. This was ſaid to be a ſovereign Cure for the Falling-Sickneſs.

If the People inclined to favour the vanquiſhed, the Maſter who had bought them, ſtill retained his Right to them, and kept them for other Battles. The Reward of the Conqueror was only a Crown of *Maſtick-Branches* adorned with Strings, and a *Palm-Branch*, which he received from the Hands of the Magiſtrates; and ſometimes, tho' very rarely, a ſmall Sum of Money was added. Which was ſetting a very low Price on the ſhedding of ſo much human Blood.

The greateſt of all the Advantages the *Gladiators* ever gained by their Victories, and Years of Services, was, no doubt, that of recovering their Liberty. In this caſe, the *Prætor* declared them for ever free from their hard State of Subjection to an avaritious and mercileſs Maſter. As a Pledge of their Enfranchiſement, a kind of *Foyl* which the *Latin* Authors call *Rudis*, was put into their Hands, and on their Heads a ſort of Bonnet called *Pileus*, which was given to all thoſe who from Slaves became Free: And when they were thus ſet at Liberty, they conſecrated their Arms to *Hercules*, the tutelary God of the *Gymnaſia*, or military Academies.

Nevertheleſs, thus much may be ſaid in defence of the Republick, That the People who were forced to engage in this infamous way of Fighting, were for the moſt part, ſuch a Sett of Villains, as ought to be exterminated from off the Earth. It was thus the *Athenians*, according to *Philoſtratus*, uſed to put a Company of Pick-Pockets, Robbers, and Adulterers together, and make them fight with one another. So that they might at worſt, ſell their Lives dear, or perhaps ſave them at the Expence of thoſe of their Fellows. And this was too much; to give theſe infamous Wretches, who otherwiſe would not have eſcaped the Severity of the Laws, the Pleaſure of hoping, that either the Fate of Arms, or the good Will of the People, might turn in their Favour.

But this was not the Caſe under the Empire of the *Cæſars*. Then we ſee a *Caligula*, and a *Nero*, reducing Men of the higheſt rank, Senators, and *Roman Knights*, to the cruel alternative, of either dying in Torments, or fighting in the *Arena*. Others, out of a ſervile Compliance to theſe ſanguinary Maſters, voluntarily offered to act this infamous Part. Nay, there were even ſome Women of Condition who were forced to take their Parts with the Men in this horrible Exerciſe. Some young Perſons of high Birth, after they had ſpent their Patrimony in Debauchery, were not aſhamed to ſupply their Neceſſities by hiring themſelves out to be *Gladiators* for Money. Others, who were over-run with Debt, were not afraid to brave Death, and hazard their Lives in the Amphitheatre, for the Profit of their Creditors. Such was the young Man mentioned by *Quintilian*; having been obliged to borrow Money, to pay for his Father's Funeral, he ſurrendered himſelf up to the Perſon who had lent him the Money, and paid it by his Services as a *Gladiator*.

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Scaffolds, only in order to exclude the common People from a publick Diverſion, they not being able to pay a dear Price for their Places. The Diſpute was carried to a great heighth; and the nine *Tribunes* pretended, that they ought to prevail againſt one only, who wanted to lord it over all the reſt. In ſhort, the Scaffolds ſtood to the end of the laſt Day; but in the Night before the Show, *Gracchus* himſelf put in execution the Orders he had before given, to pull them down. He came with a Company of Carpenters whom he had always ready at hand, made them demoliſh theſe Barricades, and clear the Place, and leave room for the pooreſt as well as the richeſt, to ſee the Shows. By this bold Action, he increaſed his Intereſt among the Mob; but his Collegues reſented it, and waited for an Opportunity to be revenged; which offered it ſelf in a few Days, when the Time came for proceeding to the Election of new *Tribunes of the People*.

Each Company of theſe Men who were obliged to fight ſingle Combats in the Amphitheatre, had different Appellations, taken either from their different Ways of fighting, or their Arms. Some were called *Secutores*, becauſe their Way was not to ſtand ſtill and engage their Adverſary, but to run after him, and tire him by *following* him with a drawn Sword at his Back. Their only defenſive Weapons were the Helmet and Buckler. A ſecond ſort called *Retiarii*, were armed with a Trident, and made uſe of *Nets* to entangle their Adverſaries. A third ſort wore a *Scymeter*, or Hanger, after the manner of the *Thracians*, (who, according to *Herodotus*, *B.* 5, uſed to determine their Quarrels by ſingle Combat) and were therefore called *Thraces*. A fourth ſort were the *Myrmillones*, ſo called from a ſort of *Gallic* Buckler, which was peculiar to them. The Creſt on their Helmets was generally a Fiſh. The *Retiarius* uſually engaged with the *Myrmillo*. The Buſineſs of the former was to catch the Head of his Adverſary in his Net, as being very ſure of Victory if he could thus ſurprize him; and in the ſeveral Motions he made, he often inſolently repeated the following Words, which are recorded by *Feſtus*. NON TE PETO, PISCEM PETO. QUID ME FUGIS, GALLE? *Why do you avoid me, Gaul? I don't ſeek you, but your Fiſh.* Thereby implying, that he would anſwer for the Event, if he could but catch the Head of the *Myrmillo*. A fifth Claſs were the *Samnites*, who were ſo called, becauſe they fought after the *Samnite* manner. We have ſpoken of them, Vol. 2. A ſixth Sort were the *Eſſedarii*, who were mounted on a ſort of Carts or Chariots called *Eſſedæ*. A ſeventh, the *Andabatæ*, who fought on Horſeback in Helmets, which had no *Sights*, ſo that they ſtruck at a venture. An eighth, the *Dimachæri*, ſo called becauſe they fought with *two Swords*. And laſtly, a ninth Claſs were the *Meridiani*, who after they had eſcaped the Fury of wild Beaſts, were forced to fight, *pele-mele* with one another, at *Noon*.

All theſe *Gladiators* were dreſſed only in a *Tunic*, except the *Roman Citizens*, who voluntarily engaged in theſe Combats. The latter appeared in the *Toga*, or *Virile Robe*, according to *Tertullian* and *Suetonius*, to diſtinguiſh themſelves from the Slaves, who were deſtined by Law, to bear a Part in the murderous Sports of the *Arena*. Each of the Combatants carried a Spunge with him, by way of Precaution, to be made uſe of, to dry up the Blood of his Wounds. *Quintilian* obſerves, in his *Ninth Declamation*, that in the Place appointed for the Show, the *Gladiators* had ſet before them the mournful Sight of Biers, or ſuch Carriages, as were uſed for carrying the Bodies of the meaneſt People after their Death; which was to give the poor Wretches to underſtand, that they had nothing to do but to conquer, or die. *Sonabant clangore feralis tubæ, illatiſque Libitinæ thoris, ducebatur funus ante mortem.*

Our Authorities for this *detail* of the Combats of the *Gladiators*, are *Cicero*, *Horace*, *Juvenal*, *Petronius*, *Seneca*, *Suetonius*, *Tacitus*, *Quintilian*, *Athenæus*, *Servius*, *Julius Capitolinus*, *Feſtus*, *Lactantius*, *Tertullian*, and *St. Auſtin*.

THE

A Thracian *and* Myrmillo *engaged.*

A Retiarius *and* Secutor.

Dimachæri.

Andabates.

A Gladiator *holding a Palm-Branch in his hand in token of Victory.*

Meridiani.

THE

Roman Hiſtory.

BOOK LII.

§. I. *GRACCHUS* was now more ſanguine than ever of gaining the *Tribunate* by the Suffrages of the Multitude. The Pleaſure he had ſo lately given the common People, procured him ſuch an extraordinary degree of Favour with them, as he thought nothing could diminiſh. But it is ſaid, that his Collegues artfully prevented his reaping the Effects of the Good-will the People had for him. It was the Buſineſs of thoſe who went out of Office to collect the Votes at the new Election; and tho' probably the greateſt Number of Suffrages was for *Gracchus*, his Collegues ſo counted them, as to fruſtrate his Expectations. By this Means he was diſappointed of the Employment which he ſought with ſo much earneſtneſs; and by being reduced to the Condition of a private Man, was expoſed to the Perſecutions of the great Number [1] of Enemies which he had created to himſelf. And to compleat his Misfortune, it was now out of his Power, to oppoſe the Intereſt the Senate were making, to promote *Opimius* to the *Conſulate*. He had nothing to fear more, than to ſee a Man at the Head of the Republick, who was prepoſſeſſed, nay enraged againſt him, and did not want Courage. More happy *Gracchus*, if he had followed the Advice of his Mother *Cornelia*!

Plut. in Grace.

L. Opimius [2] was nominated *Conſul*, and with him [3] *Q. Fabius Maximus Æmilianus*, the Son of *Fabius*, and Nephew to *Scipio*, *The Second Africanus*. They both diſtinguiſhed themſelves in their reſpective Provinces. *Fabius* particularly went to make War in *Gaul*, where *Domitius Ahenobarbus*, who had continued there with the Character of *Pro-Conſul*, had gained great Advantages; and their Expeditions are of too much Importance to want a Place in this Hiſtory. But the civil Broils between *Gracchus* and *Opimius* firſt call for our Attention.

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§. II. *Rome* did not immediately recover her Tranquillity upon the Diſappointment of *Graechus*. *Opimius* thought his preſent Situation put it in his Power, to humble in his Turn, that great Adverſary of the Senate, the Scourge of the Nobility and of the Rich, and his own perſonal Enemy: And in ſhort, the *Conſul*, the *Tribunes of the People*, the Senators, and all the Magiſtrates, united together, to avenge the Cauſe of the Republick. Among the Multitudes of Friends *Gracchus* had had in his Proſperity, there were not above five to be found, who continued faithful to him in his Diſtreſs. *Fulvius Flaccus*, and his two Sons, never deſerted him to the laſt. *Licinius Craſſus* his Brother-in-Law, and a *Roman Knight* named *Pomponius*, ſignally ſhewed their Attachment to him. And one *Septimuleius* adhered to him, till his Caſe became deſperate; but then he forſook him in the heighth of his Misfortunes. So that his only reſource was in the Popu-

1 According to *Plutarch*, *Gracchus* could not diſſemble his Uneaſineſs at his Diſappointment. His Enemies triumphed at his Diſgrace, looked at him with an inſulting Sneer; and he was ſo incenſed at theſe Inſults, that he was no longer Maſter of himſelf. You laugh now, ſaid he, but the Time will come when you will feel the ſmart of what I have done.

2 *Pliny*, *Petronius*, and *Velleius Paterculus* obſerve, That there was a great Vintage of excellent Wines, in the Year of the *Conſulſhip* of *Lucius Opimius*. Hence the Expreſſion of *Vinum Opimianum*, to ſignify good Wine of any ſort, wherever it grew.

3 *Cicero* ſays of this *Fabius*, the Grandſon of *Paulus Æmilius*, that he cultivated his Mind with the Study of the *Greek* and *Roman* Literature: And *Valerius Maximus* adds, that after he had diſhonoured himſelf in his Youth, by the moſt ſcandalous Exceſſes, he became a Pattern of Virtue and Wiſdom in a more advanced Age.

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Author. de Vir. Illuſtr. Plut. in Gracc. App. de Bell. Civili. L. 1.

lace of that Quarter of the City in which he lived, and in the *Allies* of the *Provinces.*

Tho' deprived of the Magiſtracy, he continued to exerciſe two Offices which he held by Commiſſion. He was ſtill one of the *Decemviri*, who had been ſubſtituted in the Room of the *Triumviri* for the Diſtribution of Lands; and a Leader of the *Colony*, which by a late Law of the *Roman* People was ordered to be planted on the Ruins of *Carthage*. He therefore went from *Rome* in ſearch for Men who would voluntarily go with him and ſettle there; and in this Work he was ſupported by *Fulvius*, his inſeparable Friend, who determined to ſhare his bad, as he had done his good Fortune, with him. They had together raiſed a Body of 6000 Men for that purpoſe; when they were informed, That great Endeavours were uſed at *Rome* to deſtroy their Project, and That the Law for rebuilding *Carthage* would be repealed. They would probably have taken great Pleaſure in raiſing this ancient Rival of *Rome*, out of its Aſhes; and might perhaps deſign to ſettle there themſelves, and make it the Bulwark of their Party. But however that be, they haſtened to *Rome* to ſupport their Undertaking, and did it with ſuch ardour, as greatly confirmed the Suſpicions ſome had entertained of them. At their arrival, they found that *Marcus Minucius, a Tribune of the People*, had been inſtructed by the Senate, to repreſent to the Commons the Inconveniencies of the Law they had made for rebuilding of *Carthage*; and *Minucius* inſiſted chiefly on the Prodigies which were ſaid to have happened, as the Workmen were marking out the Circumference of the new City. He gave ſuch an account, of that ſudden Storm which had interrupted the Sacrifice and ſcattered abroad the Entrails of the Victim, and of the Wolves which had beat down the Stakes ſet up to mark the Boundaries, as made very ſtrong Impreſſions on the Multitude. All the Eloquence of *Gracchus*, and all the Boldneſs of *Fulvius*, were little enough, to enable them to divert the Blow that threatened them. They firſt laboured earneſtly to perſuade the People, That all theſe pretended Preſages were mere Fictions, invented by the rich, who had poſſeſſed themſelves of the fine Lands in the Territory of *Carthage*; and then, to ſtrengthen their Faction, they brought all the Friends they could from the *Provinces* to *Rome*. Nay, *Cornelia* herſelf is ſaid to have ſent *Gracchus* from *Campania* where ſhe reſided, a Reinforcement of ſtout Fellows dreſſed like Reapers. But as this Suſpicion is founded only on ſome equivocal Expreſſions in one of her Letters, we cannot eaſily believe, that that Heroine could act ſo very inconſiſtently with her ſelf, as to favour a Revolt.

After theſe Preparations, the firſt Step *Gracchus* took, was to appear once more in the *Roſtra*, and harangue the People, tho' no longer a Magiſtrate. Cuſtom made it lawful for any *Citizen*, when the paſſing or repealing a Law was in queſtion, publickly to declare his Reaſons, for or againſt it. But in this his laſt Diſcourſe, he ſpoke and acted like a Madman. He, without regard to the Aſſembly, and with an Inſolence not natural to him, ſaid, *That if the Senate reported that Heaven obſtructed the rebuilding of* Carthage *by Prodigies, the Senate lied.* An Outrage which could neither be repaired nor defended, but by Violence: And we cannot believe that *Gracchus*, who was of a mild Diſpoſition, would have carried Things to this Extremity, if he had not been led to it by the Advice of his Friend *Fulvius*. The latter, tho' advanced in Years, ſtill retained all the fire of Youth. He was accuſtomed to Arms; and after he had broke into *Tranſalpine Gaul* in his *Conſulate*, and *triumphed* on that account, he breathed nothing but Blood. Had the Madman been leſs ſeditiouſly diſpoſed, he might have ſpent the Remainder of his Life in Glory and Tranquillity; but a factious Spirit is generally an incurable Diſtemper.

Plut. in Gracc.

The Day that *Opimius* was to repeal the Law about rebuilding *Carthage*, *Fulvius*, early in the Morning, put ſome of his Faction in poſſeſſion of the Area of the *Capitol*, where the Aſſembly was to meet. The *Tribune Minutius* harangued the People, and proved at large, That it was dangerous to rebuild a City on ground, which *Scipio* had loaded with Curſes and devoted to the infernal Gods by ſolemn Acts of Religion; and which Heaven condemned by Prodigies, to be never more inhabited. Whilſt the *Tribune* was ſpeaking, *Gracchus* arrived with a more numerous Guard than that of *Fulvius*; but his Friends kept him back, and would not ſuffer him to mix in the Croud. *The Place where you are going*, ſaid they, *yet reeks with your Brother's Blood. Fly then ſo inauſpicious a Situation.* *Gracchus* took their Advice, and retired to one of the Porches of the Temple, there to wait the Reſult of the *Comitia*; and with an Intention, not to refrain from Violence, if things turned to his Diſadvantage.

In the mean time, *Opimius* entered into the Temple, and there offered a Sacrifice to *Jupiter*, to obtain Succeſs to his Deſign; which was to purge the Republick of all the ſeditious that diſturbed her Peace. The Victim had been ſlain, and its Entrails preſented on the Altar. One of the *Conſul*'s *Lictors*, named *Antillius*, was ordered to carry them out of the Temple; and when he ſaw himſelf ſhut into the Portico by *Gracchus*'s Party, he cried out, *Take care Rioters: Make way for the faithful Servant of the Republick.* To which ſome add, that by way of Inſult on *Gracchus* for the Modeſty he profeſſed, he made an obſcene Motion with his Hand, which gave great Offence. Upon this, one of *Gracchus*'s Domeſticks drew his Dagger, and laid *Antillius* dead on the Place. This unexpected Act of Violence gave *Gracchus* more Uneaſineſs, than it did the oppoſite Party. He knew they waited only for an Opportunity to put him in a Paſſion, in order to take Advantage of any raſh Action for which they would make him reſponſible. This Misfortune was now come; a civil War was in a manner begun, by the Blood which was juſt ſpilt; and the Court of the Temple had like to have become a Field of Battle. And as the Author of the Murder was unknown, the greater Part imputed it to *Gracchus* himſelf; and the *Capitol* was deſerted, as a Place prophaned by the Blood of a publick Officer. Beſides, a Storm aroſe and diſperſed the Croud. It was therefore in vain for him to go down into the *Forum* to juſtify himſelf there: All the Aſſembly was diſperſed.

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App. L. 1. De Bell. Civ. Plut. in Gracc.

Opimius, on the other hand, thought this too fine an Opportunity to be let ſlip. He prepared for repaying his old Enemy, the next Day, all the Evils which the Republick and himſelf had ſuffered from him. *Gracchus* and *Fulvius* retired to their Houſes, each attended with his Guard; and each very differently affected with this Adventure. *Gracchus* foreſaw the Conſequences of it, and reprimanded his People, either for having committed the Murder, or having ſuffered it to be committed. He was grieved at a Blow which might coſt him dear; and walked with an Air of Melancholy through the Streets. In the *Forum*, he ſtopped near the Statue there erected in honour to his Father, looked tenderly at it, ſighed, and Tears flowed from his Eyes when he left it. He doubtleſs envied him the military Honours he had preferred to domeſtick Troubles, and the glorious Tranquillity he had enjoyed to his Death. When arrived at his Houſe, he ſpent the Night in Diſquietude; and the Company that guarded him, in a mournful Silence.

But *Fulvius* behaved himſelf in a very different manner. This determined Incendiary gave himſelf up to Joy, drank Wine plentifully, diſtributed it freely to thoſe about him, and did not retire till late. His Drunkenneſs threw him into a deep ſleep, which continued, till the Outcries of his Guard, and the Noiſes heard in all the Streets of *Rome*, awaked him. *Opimius* had taken Poſſeſſion of the *Capitol* with his *Conſular* Troops, before Day; and thereby made himſelf Maſter of a Poſt, which commanded the City. Then, he had ſummoned the Senators, at break of Day, to aſſemble in haſte in the Temple of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*; and had given Orders that the Body of *Antillius* ſhould be privately carried, and laid at the Gate of the Place where the Senate was to aſſemble. The People crowded round the dead Body in great Numbers. The *Conſul* pretended Ignorance of the Cauſe of the Clamours raiſed by the Sight of a dead Body on a Bier, and joined in Exclamations with the Multitude. All the Senate ran thither at the Noiſe, called out for Vengeance on the Murderers, and demanded that they ſhould immediately be puniſhed. Nevertheleſs, in the midſt of all theſe Lamentations, the moſt ſenſible of the People plainly diſcovered, that there was more of Paſſion, than of a true Love of Juſtice in this Deportment of the Senators. *When* Tiberius Gracchus, ſaid they, *was murdered on the* Capitol, *did the Senators then intereſt themſelves in revenging his Death, as they now zealouſly labour to do that of* Antillius? *And yet what Compariſon is there between a contemptible* Lictor, *and an illuſtrious* Tribune *whoſe Perſon was ſacred? There is more of Partiality than true Zeal for Juſtice in this Demeanour.* Theſe Reflections cooled the wiſeſt of the *Citizens*; and without engaging on either Side, they aſſembled in the *Forum*, to be Spectators of what ſhould happen.

§. IV. As ſoon as the Senators were aſſembled, *Opimius* made a Report of the Situation in which he found *Rome*. He declared, That the revolted Populace carried Things to ſuch Exceſs, as could no longer be left unpuniſhed; and exaggerated the Crimes of *Gracchus*, whom he repreſented as guilty of the Death of a publick Officer, of the Prophanation of the Temple, and of the Inſult offered to the Gods in the Perſon of a Miniſter aſſiſting at a Sacrifice. *Marcus Æmilius Scaurus* firſt gave his Opinion, for

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leaving the whole Care of this important Affair to the *Conſul*, and for inveſting him with an abſolute Authority to do whatever he ſhould judge proper for the publick Good. This was in effect creating him *Dictator*; and a Decree was made accordingly. Upon this Determination, *Opimius* ordered the *Roman Knights* to aſſiſt the Senate, take up Arms, and every one bring with him two armed Domeſticks. This Militia came according to Order; and as theſe Preparations could not long be unknown either to *Gracchus*, or *Fulvius*; each received the News, in a way ſuitable to his Character: *Fulvius* like a Madman; *Gracchus* like a Man of more Temper, but ſtung with Horrour at the Thoughts of the Crime he was going to commit. The former was hurried away by the Fury of his Paſſions; the latter was, in the Language of that Time, neceſſarily driven on by his Fate, or rather, by his Complaiſance for an unreaſonable Friend. *Fulvius* ſeeing the *Capitol* ſeized by the *Conſular* Party, thought it neceſſary to poſſeſs himſelf of Mount *Aventinus*; and thither he flew with two of his Sons, and the moſt mutinous Part of the Mob. So that the two Extremities of *Rome* to the Eaſt and Weſt, were like two Camps, from whence two Armies of Enemies were ready to march out and give each other Battle. Nor is it at all ſurprizing that the two Parties ſhould be able ſo readily to aſſemble, in the ſame City, Soldiers enough to make two Armies. All the *Citizens* were Soldiers, accuſtomed to the Uſe of Arms, from their earlieſt Youth.

In the mean time, *Gracchus* was very dilatory in following *Fulvius* to Mount *Aventinus*. His Remorſe doubtleſs cauſed him to retard an Enterprize which would cauſe the ſpilling of a great deal of *Roman* Blood. At length, when reſolved, he left his Houſe; but rather like a Magiſtrate who was going to put an end to a civil Conteſt, than a Warriour who was marching to a Battle. He neither changed the Habit he uſually wore in the City, nor took any other Arms than one Dagger under his Robe. When he was on the Threſhold of the Door, his Wife met him to ſtop him. This virtuous Lady loved both her Huſband, and her Country. Seizing her Huſband by his Robe, and holding in her Arms his Son, the only Pledge of their mutual Affections; ſhe ſaid to him, *Where are you running? It is not to mount the* Roſtra, *as uſual, or to make War with foreign Enemies, that you now abandon me. Raſh Man! You are going to expoſe your ſelf to the Murderers of your Brother. But what Arms do you carry for your Defence? Yes, you are going to ſeek your own Death, not conſidering that that will cauſe mine. Muſt I go to redeem your dead Body of your Enemies, or to get it fiſhed up out of the* Tiber? *If you have any Affection either for me, or for your dear Child, take care of a Life which is to us ſo dear.* She was going on; but *Gracchus*, looking very tenderly on her, advanced forwards, and ſhe followed him a great while, ſtill holding him by the Robe; till at length, borne down with the Weight of her Grief, ſhe fainted, and fell. She was carried half dead to the Houſe of *Licinius Craſſus* her Brother, who had likewiſe devoted himſelf to the Service of *Gracchus*.

App. L. 1. de Bell. Civ. Vell. Paterc. L. 2.

§. V. When the Head of the Revolt was arrived on Mount *Aventinus*, he held a Council. There three Things were determined on. 1*ſt*, That it was neceſſary to fortify the Temple of *Diana* in all haſte, to ſerve for a Citadel, from whence they might repel the Efforts of the *Conſular* Forces. 2*dly*, That it would be proper to invite the Slaves to join the popular Party, with a Promiſe of granting them their Liberty. And 3*dly*, That to avoid all juſt blame, it was neceſſary to offer at a Treaty, before they came to Blows. *Gracchus* prevailed on *Fulvius*, to ſend to the *Conſul* his youngeſt Son, a Child, ſcarce twelve Years old, but of uncommon Beauty, and of an Underſtanding above his Age.

Plut. in Grace.

As ſoon as little *Fulvius* appeared before *Opimius* with a *Caduceus* in his Hand, and his Arms bound with Fillets, he was received with great Ceremony, in deriſion to the Embaſſy. *Return Child, Return to* Mount Aventinus, ſaid the *Conſul* to him: *Inform thoſe that ſent you, That if they would obtain Peace, they muſt come themſelves, and ſubmit to the Judgment of the Senate; and Take care you don't appear here a ſecond time. Their ſending an Ambaſſador of your Age could only be done to inſult us.* The Child withdrew, and made his Report. Then *Gracchus* himſelf is ſaid to have offered to come down from the Hill in Perſon, to hear the Propoſals of the Senate; but the Cries of the Multitude diverted him from it. As for *Fulvius*, who was more fiery, and leſs cautious, than *Gracchus*, he had the Imprudence to ſend his Son again, notwithſtanding the Prohibition. The young *Roman* preſented himſelf before the *Conſul*, with a great Air of Shame and Modeſty; and *Opimius* cried out in a Rage; *It is too much to inſult us in this manner. Let young* Fulvius *be carried to Priſon; not ſo much to puniſh the Son, as*

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to chaſtiſe the Inſolence of the Father. The Order was immediately put in execution; nothing more was ſaid of Treaties, or Accommodations; and nothing remained, but to force the Rebels from their Poſt.

Opimius commanded the Attack with the Prudence of an experienced Officer; and he had to do with *Fulvius*, whoſe Bravery had been honoured with *a Triumph*. And now, *Romans* engaged with *Romans*, and *Conſuls* with *Conſuls*, for the firſt time; and all equally armed. *Opimius* ordered a Body of Archers, armed with Bows and Arrows, after the *Cretan* manner, to march up the Hill and give the Onſet, under the Command of *Decimus Brutus*; and they diſcharged a terrible Shower of Arrows on the Rebels. On the other hand, *Fulvius* came down the Hill like a Torrent, and fought like a Madman. In this firſt Attack, *Lentulus*, then *Prince of the Senate*, was grievouſly wounded The Engagement was more like a Fray than a Battle; common Soldiers were confounded with Senators, and the People with their Magiſtrates; and after 250 of the Rebels had been killed in this Engagement, the *Conſul* proclaimed an Amneſty for all ſuch as would lay down their Arms. He likewiſe, at the ſame time, ſet a Price on the Heads of *Gracchus* and *Fulvius*; and promiſed to give the Weight of their Heads in Gold, to any one that would bring them to him. Then the Populace on the *Aventinus* inſtantly deſerted their Leaders, came down from the Mount, and returned home. *Fulvius* ſeeing a great void about him, and ſcarce any body by him but his eldeſt Son, fled for Refuge to the Houſe of an Acquaintance, and hid himſelf in an old Bathing-room, which was very private and no longer in uſe. In the mean time, his Enemies ſought him with all the Ardour the Reward ſet upon him could inſpire; and not finding him, and at the ſame time knowing that he was not far off, they threatened to burn down the whole Neighbourhood. This terrified the Owner of the Houſe to which *Fulvius* and his Son were retired; and though he would not betray his Friend himſelf, he directed a third Perſon to ſhew where he was. Armed Men entered the Houſe, broke down all Barricades, came to an old Stove where the two *Fulvius's* were hid, and killing both Father and Son, cut off their Heads, and kept them to be preſented to the *Conſul* when the Action was over.

Plutarch. *Appian.* *Pædian.* *Velleius.* *Florus.* *Oroſius.* *Auth. de Vir. Illuſtr.* *Val. Max.* *Cicero.* *Salluſt.*

In the mean time, *Gracchus*, who would not engage in the Battle, for fear of dipping his Hands in *Roman* Blood, fled for Refuge to the Temple of *Diana*. *Licinius* his Brother-in-Law, and *Pomponius*, ſtill accompanied him; but they did not think the Hill *Aventinus* a ſafe *Aſylum*, for a Man perſonally hated by the *Conſul*. They adviſed him to make his eſcape out of *Rome*, through the Gate *Trigemina* [4], and over the wooden [5] Bridge, called *Sublicius*. At theſe Words, *Gracchus* ſeized his Ponyard, and would have ſtabbed himſelf; but his Friends held his Arm. However, before he left the Temple, he fell proſtrate at the Feet of the Goddeſs, and implored her; *That this ungrateful People, who had abandoned him, might be for ever enſlaved, under the Tyranny of the Senate.* Then he ſallied out, guarded only by his two Friends; but gave himſelf a painful Wound in the Heel, by leaping down the Steps of the Temple. Nevertheleſs, the Danger made him quicken his Pace, and when he came into the Center of the City he deſired an Horſe. But theſe very People, who ſo lately adored him, refuſed him one, for fear of appearing to contribute towards his eſcape. However, he got to the Bridge *Sublicius*, though his Enemies purſued him. They would doubtleſs readily have overtaken him; but his two Friends, as *Horatius Cocles* had formerly done in the ſame Place, oppoſed the Fury of the Purſuers. By this means *Gracchus* got before, ſupported by one of his Slaves, who continued faithful to him even to Death. But notwithſtanding all that *Licinius* and *Pomponius* could do, to give their Friend time to eſcape, they were overpowered by Numbers, and after receiving many Wounds, expired on the Bridge. In the mean while, *Gracchus* fled, as to his laſt Retreat, to a Wood dedicated to the *Furies*, or according to others, to the Goddeſs [6] *Furina*. But his view was not to ſave his Life,

Plut. in Gracc.

4 The Gate *Trigemina* led to the *Tyber*, and to the Road from *Rome* to *Oſtia*. For this Reaſon, it was call'd *The Naval Gate*, and *The Oſtian Gate*. It is now *St. Paul's Gate*. See Vol. 2. p. 272. Note 69.

5 See what we have ſaid of the Bridge *Sublicius*, Vol. 1. p. 102. *Ancus Marcius* built it to join the *Janiculus* to the City. This Bridge was near the preſent Cuſtom-Houſe. There are ſtill ſome Footſteps of it remaining at the Foot of Mount *Aventinus*. The Beggars uſed to aſſemble there to beg, according to *Seneca*.

6 We don't well know what Goddeſs it was that the *Romans* worſhipped under the Name of *Furina*. *Cicero* himſelf, *De Nat. Deor. L.* 3, ſeems to have known nothing of her. At leaſt, he is very doubtful about her Attributes. But, tho' dubious, he is inclined to believe, That ſhe held the ſame Rank among the *Romans*, as the three *Furies* did among the *Athenians*. The Poets gave

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Life, by the Reſpect due to a ſacred Place. As ſoon as he was in the Wood, he ordered the generous Slave who had attended him, to kill him. *Euphorus*, or as others call him *Philoſtratus*, reſolved not to ſurvive [7] his Maſter; and accordingly ſtabbed himſelf with the ſame Dagger, which he had plunged into the Breaſt of *Gracchus*, and breathed his laſt with him. A tragical End indeed! but if rightly conſidered, more for the Honour of *Euphorus*, than of *Gracchus*. The former died a faithful Servant to his Maſter; the latter, a Rebel to his Country.

§. VI. As ſoon as *Gracchus* was dead, the Company who fought him appeared in the Wood; and found him bathed both in his own Blood and in that of *Euphorus*, who covered him with his Body. One of the common People, immediately cut off the Head of the illuſtrious *Roman*; and as he was carrying it off met *Lucius Septimuleius*, one of the moſt zealous of *Gracchus*'s Party, who ſnatched the Head of his Friend out of the Fellow's Hand. But his Deſign was to get as much Gold for it as it would weigh; and not content with being unfaithful to his Friend, he put a Cheat upon the *Conſul*. He poured melted Lead into the Scull; and *Opimius* was ſo delighted with the Preſent, that he payed 17 Pounds and 8 Ounces of Gold for it, without diſcovering the Cheat. An Action ſo very baſe, that it made the faithleſs Wretch execrable in the Sight of all Mankind! As for the Body of *Gracchus*, it was firſt thrown into the *Tyber*, and then carried to his Mother *Cornelia*, who payed it all funeral Honours. This illuſtrious Lady ſpent the remainder of her Days in a Solitude, not otherwiſe interrupted, than by the Viſits ſhe received from all the Kings and Republicks in the World. The Daughter of *The Firſt Scipio*, kept up to the laſt the Correſpondencies her Father had held with foreign Courts; and ſhe received the Deputies from *Aſia*, *Africa*, and *European Greece*, with a Dignity not to be deſcribed. She charmed all that heard her, with her Relations of the Exploits of her Father; and to ſome ſhe appeared learned, to others eaſy and gentile. But the moſt ſurprizing Circumſtance was, That ſhe never ſpoke of her two Sons, but with [8] Indifference. People of narrow Views thought this the Effect of old Age, which had made her inſenſible to their Misfortunes. But Men of Underſtanding diſcovered in this Conduct a Greatneſs of Mind above her Sex. She was a *Roman*; and even the Tenderneſs of the Mother was a leſs powerful Paſſion in her Breaſt than the Love of her Country.

And indeed, it cannot be denied, that *Tiberius* and *Caius Gracchus* were the Cauſes of thoſe terrible Civil Wars which ſoon broke out, and which their Examples produced. *Tiberius*, who was born leſs eloquent than *Caius*, was likewiſe leſs audacious, and leſs furious; neither indeed had he the Death of a Brother to revenge. But *Caius*, whatever Sweetneſs of Diſpoſition he might contract by his Education, carried his Reſentments to the greateſt Exceſs. I grant, it is not agreed, whether he went on a bad Principle, in cauſing ſo many Laws to be paſſed to the Diſadvantage of the Senate, or not. It is pretended, That his View was only to eſtabliſh an *Æquilibrium* in the Republick; and deliver the common People from the Oppreſſions of the rich and noble. But thus much, at leaſt, muſt be allowed, That the Methods he took were ſeditious; and his Ambition got the better of the Uprightneſs of his Intentions. His Motions were convulſive; and Eloquence in his Hands was a miſchievous Inſtrument, of which he made a very bad Uſe. In a Word, he exceeded the Bounds of Juſtice, and went farther than his Office allowed. So far was he from eſtabliſhing an Equality, that he would have taken all Power from the Senate, and have made *Rome* a mere popular State. An Innovation juſtly blameable; and the Senate for want of Authority enough to ſuppreſs it, puniſhed it by Violence. The People, inſtead of ſupporting their Protectors, deſerted them in their greateſt Danger; and were not ſufficiently ſenſible of their own Loſs, till it

gave Birth to theſe three Goddeſſes, whom they repreſented as the Miniſters of the Vengeance of the Gods. Or rather, in the Language of *Cicero*, There are no *Furies* in Hell; they dwell in the Hearts of the Wicked. *Megæra*, *Alecto*, and *Tyſiphone*, are Terms borrowed to expreſs the Anxieties and Remorſe, which follow the Commiſſion of Crimes. According to *Varro*, *Rome*, in Honour to the Goddeſs *Furina*, annually celebrated a Feſtival called *Furinalia*, which the ancient *Calendar* has fixed to the 25th Day of *July*. He alſo mentions an High-Prieſt dedicated to the Worſhip of this Goddeſs.

7 According to *Plutarch*, others affirmed, That *Caius Gracchus* and his Slave, both fell alive into the Hands of their Enemies; and he adds, That the faithful Servant covered his Maſter's Body, which he cloſely embraced, with his own. Till at length, continues the *Greek* Hiſtorian, after receiving many Wounds he ſighed his laſt over *Gracchus*, who expired ſoon after him.

8 *Cornelia*, according to *Plutarch*, one Day heard it ſaid, That her two Children had ended their Days in Places conſecrated by Religion; to which ſhe made no other Reply, than that they deſerved ſuch a Tomb.

was too late to recover it. But afterwards, the Commons erected Statues to the *Gracchi*, worshipped them as Gods, offered Sacrifices to them, and instituted Festivals to their Honour.

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On the other hand, the *Consul Opimius* was very intemperate in the Use of the Advantage he had gained over *Caius Gracchus*; he imprisoned and condemned to die, a great Number of his Party; and was much blamed for the extreme Severity he used towards the young Son of *Fulvius*. The Child had been obliged by his Father's Orders, to carry a disagreeable Message to the *Consul*, who had cast him into Prison; and this, tho' a severe Treatment, was supportable. But, *Opimius* sent a *Lictor* to the young *Roman* in Prison, to offer him the Liberty of choosing any Death which he thought the easiest. The Boy hesitated, and burst out into Tears. An *Hetrurian* therefore, an *Aruspex* by Profession, who was shut up in the same Prison, encouraged him. *Why all this bustle*, said he, *about quitting Life?* At which Words, he took a leap, and dashed his Head with such Violence against one of the Lintels of the Door, that he died upon the spot. This generous Example drew the Child; and little *Fulvius*, by the like Death, delivered *Opimius* from an Avenger whom he feared. To which we must add another piece of Rigour which compleated the Odium of the *Consul* among the common People. The Bodies of those who had been slain on the *Aventinus*, to the Number of 3000, were deprived of Burial, and thrown into the *Tyber*. Their Wives were forbidden to put on Mourning for them; *Licinia* her self not excepted. So far from it, that she was even deprived of her Dowry. In short, the *Consul* ended his Victory with building a Temple, which he dedicated to *Concord*. The People were shocked with the Inscription, and in the Night, affixed up a satyrical Line on the Temple Gate to this effect; *That for the future, Discord would be worshipped at* Rome, *under the Name of Concord.*

App. L. 1. de Bell. Civ. Vell. Paterc. L. 2. c. 7.

Plut. in Gracc.

As for the Senate, they had Time to breathe, as soon as *Gracchus* [9] was dead; and their chief Application was to weaken the Laws, the two Brothers had made. The most troublesome of these to the Senate and Rich, were those that related to the equal division of Lands between the common People and the Nobles; and they found out an Expedient to make the Commons easy. Leave was given to the Poor to sell their Shares of the Lands; the Rich soon recovered all that the *Gracchian* Laws had taken from them, with little Expence: And in time, a stop was put to all future Enquiries about the Possession of Lands. At first, it was thought sufficient for the ancient Possessors who had recovered them, to pay the People an annual Tribute; and afterwards, this very Quit-Rent was taken from them, and they were again reduced to their former Wants, and subjected to the Authority of the Senate, and the Oppressions of the Rich. So that they were very justly punished for their Inconstancy, and their Ingratitude to their Benefactors. They had deserted them; and suffered more than their Deliverers had done, from the Hands that murdered them [10].

App. L. 1. de Bell. Civ.

§. VII. Thus was *Rome* troubled with Seditions at home, whilst victorious abroad. Whilst one of the present *Consuls* was thus making *Caius Gracchus* feel the Weight of his Authority; his Collegue was making the *Gauls* beyond the *Alpes* feel the Force of the *Roman* Arms. *Sextius* having conquered the *Salyes*, a People next to the *Marseillese*, and settled them in Peace; his Successor *Domitius*, carried his Arms further. But the *Roman* was soon made sensible that he had to do with very different Enemies, from those of the eastern Countries. In *Asia*, one Battle was sufficient for the Conquest of whole Kingdoms. In *Gaul*, each District must be subdued by it self. Every People disputed their Country with the *Roman* Forces; and with a Valour, which might surprize the *Republican* Generals. Nevertheless, *Domitius* in the Year of his *Consulship*, gained a considerable Advantage over the People next the *Salyes*, that is, the *Allobroges*. This Name was then common to all the Clans that lived from the *Isere* [11] to *The Lake Lemanus* [12] be-

Strabo L. 4.

9 The Death of *Caius Gracchus* had delivered *Publius Popilius* from his most cruel Enemy. We have seen this Man, who was so considerable for the Dignities he enjoyed, go voluntarily into Exile, to avoid the fury of the seditious *Tribune*. *Lucius Calpurnius Bestia*, took Advantage of the Tranquillity which *Opimius* had restored to the Republick, and joined with the Children of *Popilius*, in soliciting Leave for the Return of their Father. The People were prevailed on to favour *Popilius*, tho' the sworn Enemy to the *Gracchi*; and they gave him Liberty to return to *Rome*.

10 Whilst *Rome* was a Prey to the Fury of the Seditious, the Torrents of Fire that Mount *Ætna* vomited out, laid *Sicily* waste. A Part of the City of *Catanea* was already reduced to Ashes. The neighbouring Fields had been ruined, and most of the Islanders had suffered considerable Losses by these Deluges of Flame. Insomuch, says *Orosius*, That the *Roman* Republick from a Sense of their Calamities, exempted the Inhabitants from all sorts of Taxes, for the Space of ten Years.

11 The *Isere* rises in the *Alpes* near *Moustier* in *Taransaise*

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[12], between the *Rhone* and the *Alpes*. After the entire Reduction of the *Salyes*, *Domitius* perceived that the *Allobroges* were uneaſy at the Settlement of the *Romans* in their Neighbourhood, and were inclined to riſe. Their Pretence for it, was the Protection they thought themſelves obliged to give to *Teutomalus*, King of the *Salyes*, who had fled into their Dominions for Refuge.

Upon this, *Domitius*, (who was now only *Pro-Conſul*, *Fabius* having ſucceeded him in the *Conſulſhip*) reſolved to begin a new War with theſe *Allobroges*; and took proper Meaſures to prevent his being over-powered by too great a Number of confederated Nations. He knew the King of the *Arverni* [13] was one of the moſt conſiderable, and moſt powerful Princes in *Gaul*. He poſſeſſed almoſt all the Weſtern ſide of the *Rhone*, and his Dominions reached from the *Elaver* [14] to the *Provincia Narbonnenſis*. Leſt therefore his People ſhould join with the *Allobroges*, whom *Domitius* deſired to attack alone, the *Roman* raiſed up Enemies againſt the former in their own Neighbourhood, by entering into an Alliance with the *Ædui* [15], (who lay between the *Saone* and the *Loire*, and bordered upon the *Arverni* to the North) who from that Time adhered to the *Romans*, with a Fidelity which they ſcarce ever broke. So that, whatever ſome Hiſtorians, who confound different Events together may affirm, *Domitius* had ſcarce any People to engage but the *Allobroges*. And this was a great deal; for they were a flouriſhing and a numerous People. It is poſſible indeed, that the *Arverni* might underhand aſſiſt the *Allobroges* before, and now; being exaſperated at the Steps the *Ædui* had taken, in going over to the Intereſt of *Rome*, they entered into their Territories, and committed Hoſtilities there. The *Ædui* complained of this to *Domitius*, and he took occaſion from thence, immediately to force himſelf a Paſſage into the Country of the *Arverni*, in ſpight of the *Allobroges*. The King of the *Arverni*, named *Bituitus*, or according to the *Celtic* Orthography, *Bitultick*, endeavoured to avert the Blow which threatened all *Gaul*; and in the Pride of Heart which his Riches and large Dominions inſpired, he ſent an Embaſſy to the *Roman* Camp, not only to divert the *Pro-Conſul* from attacking the *Allobroges*, but to order him, abſolutely to quit all *Gaul*, and reinſtate the King of the *Salyes* in the Poſſeſſion of his Dominions.

Epit. Liv.

App. apud Fulv.

This Deputation from *Bitultick* was quite a new Scene to the *Romans*. The Ambaſſador came to an Audience of the *Pro-Conſul* very richly dreſſed, and followed by a great Number of Attendants; but his chief Guard conſiſted of great Dogs, which followed him in good Order, like regular Troops. By his ſide, walked *a* [16] *Bard*, that is, one of the Prieſts of the *Gauls*, who being a ſkilful Verſifier in his Country-Language, ſung

Taraſaiſe. This River which waters a Part of *Savoy* and *Dauphiné*, falls into the *Rhone* near *Valence*, after having been enlarged by the Waters of the *Arcq*, and the *Drac*, and ſeveral other little Rivers.

12 The Lake *Lemanus* is now known by the Name of *The Lake of Geneva*, and *The Lake of Lauſanne*, becauſe theſe two Cities ſtand on the Banks of it. Its greateſt length from Eaſt to Weſt is about 18 Leagues; but its greateſt breadth is ſaid not to be more than 5 Leagues. This Lake abounds with Trouts of an enormous ſize. There have been ſeen ſome, which have weighed 100 Pound apiece.

13 According to *Julius Cæſar*, the *Cevennees* bounded the Country of the ancient *Arverni*, now the *Auvergne*. *Strabo* comprehends *Velay* and *Vivarets* in *Auvergne*; and *Cæſar* gives them likewiſe *Quercy*, and *Gevaudan*. *Ptolomy* ſays that this Nation extended their Conqueſts to *Narbonne* on one ſide, and to *Marſeilles* on the other; and according to *Strabo*, their Boundaries were the Ocean, the *Pyrenees*, and the *Rhone*. *Bourbonnois* was a Part of this Country, which *Stephen of Byzantium* includes in *Celtic Gaul*. But *Ptolomy*, *Pliny*, and *Strabo*, place it with more Reaſon, in *Aquitanic Gaul*. *Lucan* tells us, That the *Arverni* gloried in deriving their Origin from a Colony of *Trojans*, who ſettled among the *Gauls*, under the Conduct of *Antenor*. *Sidonius*, to do honour to his Nation, paſſes off this Fable for a certain Truth. We infer from the Accounts of moſt of thoſe Authors who have written of *Auvergne*, That there were ſometimes more, ſometimes fewer, Provinces ſubject to it.

14 The *Elaver*, vulgarly called the *Allier*, riſes in *Gevaudan*, at the Foot of Mount *Loſere*, near the Village of *Condres*. After riſing between this Diſtrict and *Velay*, it waters the Countries which reach from *Clermont* to *Nivernois*; and being afterwards enlarged by the Waters of the *Dore* and the *Sioule*, it diſcharges it ſelf into the *Loire*, a League above *Nevers*. The Place where the two Rivers join is now called *The Bank of the Allier*.

15 The Biſhopricks of *Autun*, *Chalons*, *Nevers*, and Part of that *Macon*, are all in the Country which formerly belonged to the *Ædui*. *Strabo* extends it from the *Doux* to the *Saone*. But to ſpeak more accurately, the Limits of their Country were the *Seine*, the *Loire*, and the *Saone*. *Julius Cæſar* ſpeaks of the *Ædui*, as of one of the moſt conſiderable Nations in *Tranſalpine Gaul*. Their Attachment to the Intereſts of *Rome* was ſuch, that they merited the Title of *the Brethren* of the *Roman* People; as *Cicero* affirms, *B.* 1. *To Atticus*, *Ep.* 17; and *Tacitus B.* 11. *Autun* was the Capital of all the Country.

16 By *A Bard*, the ancient *Celtæ* meant according to *Feſtus*, a Man who was a Singer by Profeſſion. *Bardus, Gallis, Cantor appellatur.* This Teſtimony agrees with that of *Diodorus Siculus*, *Strabo*, *Lucan*, and *Ammianus Marcellinus*. Theſe Authors agree, That the Office of the *Bardi* was to ſing military Exploits to Inſtruments of Muſick. The Nation committed to them the Care of writing in Verſe the Actions of their Heroes, and tranſmitting them to Poſterity. The *Gauls* carried their Reſpect for this ſort of Prieſts

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ſung the Praiſes of his King, his People, and the Ambaſſador. But the Rhodomontades of the *Gauls* did not terrify *Domitius*. He was impatient to relieve his faithful *Ædui*, from the Oppreſſion they ſuffered by the Incurſions of the *Arverni*; and he deſcended into the fine Plains of the Country of the *Cavari* [17], and encamped near a Village called *Vindalia* [18], not far from the Place where the *Sulga* [19] falls into the *Rhone*. But from whence, one of the ancient Hiſtorians brings thoſe Elephants into *Domitius*'s Camp, to which, being unknown to the *Gauls*, he aſcribes his Victories; I know not. Whether he will have them to have climbed the *Alpes*, or to have been brought by Sea to *Marſeilles*; it is certain, the Valour and Diſcipline of the *Romans* were ſufficient to have routed the innumerable Multitude of *Allobroges* which appeared at *Vindalia*, without them. In the Battle fought there, it is ſaid, That 20000 *Gauls* were killed on the Spot, and 3000 made Priſoners of War; which was ſo compleat a Victory, as might have diſcouraged any Nation except the *Gauls*. But the Action of *Vindalia* was only the prelude of a Campaign, which the *Conſul Fabius*, newly arrived from *Rome*, was come to finiſh.

Strabo, L. 4. Oroſ. L. 5. c. 13. Vell. Pater. Epit. Livian. Florus 3. 2.

§. VIII. This Defeat of the *Allobroges*, and the Progreſs of the Conquerors, put the powerful Nation of the *Arverni* in motion. *Bitultick* their King, underſtood his true Intereſt, and ſaw the Danger with which his whole Country was threatened. He was proud, and had great Dominions, and immenſe Riches. *Gaul* then produced Gold: Upon digging a very little way into the Ground, on this ſide the *Pyrenees* near the Mouth of the *Aturus* [20], there were found Plates of this precious Metal, of the bigneſs of a Man's Head, and ſo pure, as to need no Refining; and hence the Delight the *Gauls* took in Gold Necklaces. As for *Bitultick* in particular, he had inherited the Treaſures of his Father *Luerius*, the late King, who had been both Rich and Liberal. He had often rode through his Territories in a magnificent Chariot, and as he paſſed, thrown Gold and Silver Coin among his People. Sometimes, he likewiſe encloſed a Piece of

Strabo Ibid.

Prieſts almoſt to adoration. If they appeared the moment two Armies were ready to engage, their Songs like a kind of Charm, inſtantly calmed the Fury of the Soldiers, according to *Diodorus Siculus*. Their Authority was ſo great, that they had a Right to reprove thoſe who had tranſgreſſed, in Publick, without any Ceremony. Nevertheleſs, if we may believe *Athenæus*, they were not without their Faults. They not only profeſſed Poetry, but had all the Impudence of *Paraſites*; as they are called, by *Poſſidonius of Apamea*. And *Appian*, in his *Celtiks*, relates a Story, which confirms the Account of that ancient Author, as quoted by *Athenæus*. *Luernius* one of the richeſt Lords of his Nation, had fixed a Day for making a magnificent Feaſt, and intended to do the Honours of it himſelf. A *Bard*, who loved good Cheer, propoſed to have his Share of it; but he came too late; and his Anger upon that occaſion is not to be deſcribed. At firſt, he diſſembled his Uneaſineſs; and ſung ſome Verſes in praiſe of *Luernius*. But he could not act this forced Part long. His Concern broke out in Sighs and Lamentations; and nothing could conſole him, upon the Misfortune of having miſſed the Feaſt, but the Hopes of making himſelf amends upon another like Occaſion.

17 *Strabo* places the Country of the *Cavari*, between the *Durance*, and the Place where the *Iſere* falls into the *Rhone*. Nevertheleſs it is certain, that the Dutchy of *Valentinois*, and the Biſhopriek of *St. Paul Trois Chateaux*, are within that compaſs; but neither of them belonged to the *Cavari*. The former was inhabited by the People called *Segalauni*, or *Segovellanni*; the latter by the *Tricaſtini*. *Ptolomy* ſeems to be more exact in his Account of this Country. The Bounds he ſets to it, did not reach beyond the Country of *Avignon*, the Principality of *Orange*, and the Dioceſes of *Apt* and *Cavaillon*. Nevertheleſs it muſt be owned, That *Pliny* aſcribes to the *Cavari*, the City of *Valence* in *Dauphine*. But ſtill, the Difficulty is, how to reconcile him with himſelf, when he ſpeaks of the *Cavari*, as a People different from the *Segovellanni*, whoſe Capital was *Valence*. *Peutinger* in his Table, makes the *Rhone* the Boundary of the *Cavari* on one Side, and the *Durance* on the other; and at this rate, *Carpentras* muſt have belonged to them.

Dalecamp, of his own Authority, and without regard to the moſt famous Geographers, *Greek* or *Latin*, confines theſe People to a Village now called *Le Gavot* and ſituated on the Banks of *The Lake of Geneva*. All his Proof is an Etymology as falſe as it is ridiculous. He fancies he finds ſome reſemblance between the Words *Gavot* and *Cavari*; and upon this ſlight Foundation he aſſumes a Right of diſplacing this Nation, and confining it to a little Tract of Land, which never belonged to it.

18 *Vindalia* was an ancient City, belonging to the *Cavari*, between *Avignon* and *Orange*. It ſtood on the conflux of the *Sulga* and the *Rhone*. The Place where it ſtood is now called, *The Bridge of Sorgue*.

19 The River *Sulga*, now known by the Name of the *Sorgue*, derives its Waters partly at leaſt, from the Fountain of *Vaucluſe*, which is ſo famous for the Verſes of the celebrated *Petrarch*. At a little diſtance from it, there are ſtill to be ſeen the Ruins of an Old Caſtle where this Poet lived. This River, after it has watered a Part of the *Comtat*, falls into the *Rhone*, near the Place where old *Vindalia* ſtood.

20 The *Aturus*, or the *Adour* as it is now called, is one of the Rivers that waters *Gaſcogne*. There is another River of the ſame Name, which, after it has run through a Part of this Province, falls into *The Great Adour*. This River riſes in the Mountains of *Bigorre*; from thence it runs to *Bagnieres*, *Tarbes*, and *The Generality of Montauban*; and through a Part of *Armagnac*, to *Grenada* in *Marſan*, about two Leagues above *St. Sever*; and from thence begins to be navigable to the Sea, into which it diſcharges it ſelf near *Bayonne*. Its Mouth is now called *New Boucault*, to diſtinguiſh it from *Old Boucault*, where it formerly fell into the Ocean. One of the two Rivers that falls into the *Great Adour*, is called the *Adour*, and the other the *Seube*, which riſes in the Valley of *Campan*, and runs about twelve Leagues beyond it. The other riſes in the Valley of *Baudean*, and is therefore called the *Adour of Baudean*.

Ground

Ground of 1500 Foot ſquare, with Stakes; ordered Tables to be there ſet up, and plentifully covered; and there entertained all his Subjects that would come, for ſeveral Days. In the middle of the Incloſure a Baſon was dug, and filled with a delicious Liquor, of which every one drunk as he pleaſed.

Poſſidonius.

The Son had increaſed his Father's Wealth, and had not degenerated from him in point of Liberality: And therefore it is not ſurprizing that he ſhould be able to aſſemble an Army of 200000 Men. His Subjects loved him, and readily obeyed his Summons. This numerous Body marched to the Defence of the *Allobroges*, and ſought for the *Roman* Army, which they found encamped in the Country of the *Cavari*, on the Banks of the *Iſere*. *Domitius* had ſurrendered the Command to the *Conſul Fabius*, who came from *Rome* during the Troubles raiſed by *Gracchus*. The *Roman* Army did not exceed 30000; but it was a victorious one, and *Domitius* ſtill continued in the Camp, to aſſiſt the General with his Advice and Service. *Fabius* himſelf was likewiſe become only *Pro-Conſul*, ſince the new Election of *P. Manilius*, and *C. Papirius*[21] *Carbo* to the *Conſulſhip*. He was not affrighted at the Appearance of this terrible Multitude of *Gauls*, *Allobroges*, *Arverni*, and *Rutheni*[22]. He had more Reaſon to depend on his diſciplined *Legionaries*, than *Bitultick* had to place any Confidence in this Aſſembly of *Gauls*, who were in a manner utterly undiſciplined, and without Experience.

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As ſoon as the King of the *Arverni* ſaw the *Roman* Camp, he deſpiſed ſuch weak Enemies; and ſaid to thoſe about him, *This little handful of Men is ſcarce ſufficient to feed the Dogs that follow me.* In his March, he had kept on the weſtern Banks of the *Rhone*; and therefore found it neceſſary to build one Bridge on Piles, and another of Boats faſtened together with Chains and Cables, for the better paſſing the River. Whether the Art of Encamping was then in uſe among the *Gauls*, I know not; but, be that as it will, this immenſe Multitude deſcended into the ſandy Plains which are at the Mouth of the *Iſere*; and *Bitultick*, impatient to give battle, for fear this little Body of *Romans*, whom he thought taken as in a Net, ſhould eſcape him, advanced to begin the Attack, before all his People had paſſed *The Rhone*. The Time he choſe, was a very fortunate one, in this Inſtance, that the *Roman Pro-Conſul* who had a quartan[23] Ague, was then in the heighth of one of his Fits. But the Ground was not fit for drawing up ſo very large an Army as he commanded. It was broken by Ditches, and embaraſſed with Rocks and Coppices: So that the *Gauls* could not fight in ſo cloſe Order as they ought to have done. Beſides, they found the Heat of the Climate, which was very different from their own, very troubleſome; for the Battle was fought on *The ſixth of the Ides of Auguſt.*

Plin. L. 7.

On the other hand, though *Fabius* was confined to his Bed, he immediately ordered his Troops to engage, and even prevented the *Gauls*. Sometimes he rode in a Chariot, and drew up his *Legions* himſelf; and ſometimes he was held up by the Arms, and carried through the Files, giving Orders, and exhorting his Soldiers to behave themſelves well. And before all the Army of the *Gauls* was arrived at their Bridges, the *Legionaries* began the Attack, with an Ardour and Impetuoſity that ſurprized their Enemies. However, the *Gauls* ſuſtained their Efforts for ſome Time, tho' more by Numbers than Conſtancy; but at length the Slaughter became very great, and the Rout general. The vanquiſhed *Gauls*, as their only Refuge, tried to repaſs the River, and gain the oppoſite Banks. But the Bridge of Boats, being overloaded, ſunk to the bottom, and ſeveral Thouſands of Men were drowned. And then *Domitius*, who was unwilling to be behind *Fabius* in the Glory of the Victory, took this Method to compleat it. The King of the *Arverni* had not yet left the Field of Battle; and *Domitius* preſſed him to an Interview, and invited him to his Tent to treat with him in an amicable manner. *Bitultick*, full of that honeſt Frankneſs which was always the Character of the *Gauls*, gave way to the Perſuaſion of the *Roman*, and ſuffered himſelf to be brought diſarmed, and without any Attendants, into the Preſence of the old *Pro-Conſul*. As ſoon as *Domitius* had him in his Power, he ſaid to him, *It is neceſſary for you to go to* Rome. *There you may give an*

App. in Celticis.

Vell. Pat. L. 9. c. 6.

21 This *Caius Papirius Carbo* is the ſame, who got the Law paſſed about voting by *Tablets*, when he was *Tribune of the People*, in the Year 622; and who treated *Scipio Æmilianus* ſo unworthily. *Cicero* ranks him among the famous Orators of his Age, and commends his Orations which were then in every Body's Hands.

22 The *Rutheni*, or *Ruthani*, as *Ptolomy* calls them, inhabited that Part of *Aquitanic Gaul*, which is now the Province of *Roüergue*, of which *Rhodes* is the Capital.

23 According to other Authors, the *Pro-Conſul Fabius* was not quite cured of a Wound he had received in a Rencounter.

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account of your Conduct to the Senate; who perhaps will judge you worthy of their Favour. *Bitultick* oppoſed his being tranſported thither as much as he could, called for Vengeance from the Gods, Protectors of Faith, but in vain. He was conducted to *Marſeilles*, and there was put on board a Ship, which carried him into *Italy*.

§. IX. In the mean time, *Fabius* reaped Advantages of different kinds, from his Victory. Beſides that it was compleat, the *Gauls* having loſt 120000 Men, either killed or drowned; the *Pro-Conſul* was entirely cured of his Fever. Either the Joy of having been victorious, or his Motion during the Action, cauſed ſuch a ſudden Change in him, that he had no Return of his Diſtemper. And now, he applied himſelf wholly to ſettling the Affairs of the Country he had juſt conquered. The *Allobroges* ſubmitted to the Dominion of the *Romans*; but were not reduced to the State of a *Province*. *Rome* neither demanded any Tribute of them, nor ſent a *Prætor* to govern them. The Fidelity of the *Gauls* was ſufficient to ſecure their Obedience. The *Arverni* being ſufficiently chaſtiſed, no further Puniſhment was inflicted on them. *Fabius* only made them promiſe to continue at home in Peace, and they kept their Words. They afterwards became as well affected to the *Romans*, as almoſt any other Nation; and the *Ædui* ſcarce ever forgot their Alliance with *Rome*. Inſomuch, that the Senate affected to give them the Appellation of *Brethren*; protected them on all occaſions; and the *Æduan* Name was as much revered in *Gaul*, as it was dear to the ſovereign Republick. *Jul. Cæſ. Comment. L. 1.*

However, *Domitius* was reſolved to leave ſome Monuments of his Victory in the Country where he had gained it; and he ordered a great Road to be made, which was afterwards called *The Domitian Way*. On this Road he built Towers, and on them [24] erected *Trophies*, to put the *Allobroges* in mind of his having ſubdued them. A ſort of Buildings not hitherto uſed by the *Roman* Generals; who had not accuſtomed themſelves to inſult the Nations they had conquered, after their Defeat. And though there was leſs to be objected to the two Temples *Fabius* built in *Gaul*, (one to *Hercules*, as the tutelar God of the Country, and the other to *Mars*, as the tutelar God of the *Romans*) yet was not he free from the Reproach of having been drawn, by the Example of *Domitius*, to erect ſome *Trophies* of Stone in the conquered Country [25]. *Florus, L. 3. c. 2.* *Quæſt. Rom.*

After the Affairs of the eaſtern Part of *Gaul* were thus ſettled, *Domitius* and *Fabius* embarked at the Port of *Marſeilles*, and returned to *Rome* to *triumph* there. Whether *Bitultick* went before them, or with them, is not known, but this at leaſt is certain, That he complained bitterly of the Proceedings of *Domitius*. *What new Law of Nations*, ſaid he to the Senate, *is this that you introduce into* Gaul? *Have you conquered a ſincere and credulous People, only to give us Proofs of your Falſhood? An Interview was propoſed and Conference offered; I accepted it, and was loaded with Chains, like a Captive taken in War. Are theſe Cheats practiſed by the Republick which is ſo much extolled for its Equity?* The *Conſcript Fathers* took the Complaints of the King, and the Conduct of *Domitius*, into their Conſideration; but *Rome* was degenerated from its ancient Probity; and the publick Intereſt prevailed over Truth and Juſtice. They were afraid, leſt *Bitultick* ſhould renew the War, after his return Home; and this Fear produced a ſecond Act of Injuſtice. The Senate ordered the *Conſul*, *P. Manilius*, who was then ſetting out for *Gaul*, to ſend *Congeniatus*, a young Prince of the *Arverni*, and the Son of *Bitultick*, to *Rome*. In the mean time, Preparations were made for the *Triumphs* of *Domitius* and *Fabius*; and the former, appeared in his triumphal *Char*, graced his Proceſſion with *Bitultick* and the richeſt Spoils of the *Arverni*, and aſſumed, by way of Diſtinction, the Surname of *Allobrogicus* which he ever after bore. The latter alſo received the ſame Honours in the Capital; and the King of the *Arverni* marched alſo before him, tho' not on Foot as an ordinary Captive, but mounted on a Chariot adorned with Silver, after the *Gallic* manner, in which he uſed to fight. Afterwards this unfortunate Prince was baniſhed to *Alba*, where he ſpent the reſt of his Days in an honeſt Liberty. His Son *Congeniatus* was ſent to *Rome*; there educated in the Manners and Politeneſs of the *Romans*; and when returned to his Dominions, he ever after honoured and cultivated the Friendſhip of the Republick, where he had received his Education. Such were the firſt Artifices *Rome* made uſe of, in order to ſubdue by inſenſible degrees, one of the fineſt and largeſt Countries in *Europe*. The Accounts tranſmitted to us of this *Vell. Paterc. L. 9. c. 6.* *Plin. L. 33.* *Tab. Triumph.* *Eutrop.* *Val. Max.* *Epit. Liv.* *Eutropius.* *Diod. Sic. apud Valeſ.*

24 See Vol. 1. p. 123. Note 34. concerning the Uſe of *Trophies* among the *Romans*.

25 *Suetonius* adds in his *Life of Nero*, That *Domitius*, to inſult the Vanquiſhed, paſſed through *Auvergne*, mounted on an Elephant, and attended by his Troops, with all the Pomp of the triumphant Victors at *Rome*.

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War are very confuſed and different; but we have endeavoured to diſtinguiſh the true from the falſe, and to repreſent it at leaſt in a probable Light.

§. X. Thus *Gaul* had been the Seat of War, whilſt *Rome* was employed in terminating the Diſputes which the Faction of the *Gracchi* produced after their Deceaſe. One of the moſt conſiderable, was the Attempt made by a *Tribune of the People* named *Publius Decius* [26] *Mus*, againſt *L. Opimius*. This *Conſul* for the preceding Year had greatly debaſed the *Tribunate*. The Authority of the College was conſiderably reduced ſince the Death of *C. Gracchus*, and it ſeemed difficult to recover it. Nevertheleſs, *Decius Mus* undertook to revive the Credit of the *Tribunes*, by a bold Attack. He accuſed *Opimius*, and cited him to appear before the Aſſembly of the People. The Crimes laid to his Charge were, his having been the Author of the Death of a great Number of *Citizens* in the Battle of the *Aventinus*, and his having afterwards ſentenced others to die before the People had condemned them. A Cauſe of the utmoſt Importance to both Parties; and debated with all the Warmth of the old Reſentments. On one hand, it would now be determined, Whether it were ever lawful for a *Conſul*, empowered by the Senate, to rid the Republick of a bad *Citizen* without the Conſent of the People? On the other, it affected a plain Right which the People had acquired by the Law which enacted, *That no Citizen ſhould be put to death, but by the Decree of the* Comitia. The *Tribune Decius*, no bad Orator, maintained the Cauſe of the People, before the People themſelves; and pretended, that if they gave up their Rights in this Inſtance, the Affair would ſoon end in Tyranny, on the Part of the Senate. *Then*, ſaid he, *your Defenders will undergo the Fate of the* Gracchi, *whenever the* Conſcript Fathers *ſhall think fit. They will metamorphoſe them into dangerous* Citizens *at pleaſure; and without waiting for your Orders, Death will be the Reward of their Zeal for your Intereſt.*

Velleius L. 15. Cic. de Orat. L. 2. in Partition. Orator. Liv. Epit.

Papirius Carbo was now *Conſul*, and he undertook the Defence of *Opimius*, which could not be in better Hands. He had formerly been zealous for the People and the *Gracchi*, even to Madneſs; and had been ſuſpected of having aſſaſſinated *The Second Africanus*. But he had ſince changed his Party, and with it his Sentiments. He was returned from that falſe Purſuit, had paid court to the Senate, and was now, ſince the Death of *Gracchus*, promoted to the *Conſulate*: And beſides the Weight his Office gave him, he was a Man of Eloquence enough to make lively Impreſſions on the Commons. *I was formerly of Opinion*, ſaid he, *that all the Authority in the Republick ought to be lodged with the People. But my Reflections on the Troubles the* Gracchi *raiſed, opened my Eyes. Shall a Company of Mutineers be at Liberty to attempt any thing they pleaſe; and be encouraged to tread the Laws under foot, and to deſtroy a flouriſhing State, by Impunity? Shall State Rebels have no other Judges or Avengers, but themſelves? Shall the Senate ſit ſtill, and ſee Companies of factious Men aſſemble together, take up Arms, and make the City a Field of Battle, without endeavouring to prevent it? Shall Murderers and Aſſaſſines be ſuffered to go on, without check, or controul? I readily allow, that in Times of Tranquillity,* Rome *cannot too often refer the Condemnation of her* Citizens *to the People. The Loſs of a* Citizen *is a Prejudice to the whole Republick. But ſhall the Veſſel therefore be loſt in tempeſtuous Times, when the People themſelves raiſe the Storm, for want of a wiſe Pilot to ſteer her prudently? In theſe Caſes, the Law is contrary to Reaſon; and upon ſuch Occaſions, the Senate are the Interpreters of it. If they had not ordered the* Conſul *to prevent the Attempts of the Populace by Force, what would have become of* Rome? *What a Slaughter would a turbulent Faction have made, if it had not been prevented by letting out a little of their Blood? What Numbers of People would thoſe Madmen have cut off, when grown giddy and drunk with Victory? It is to you,* Opimius, *that the* Roman *People are indebted for the Security they enjoy. It was your Wiſdom and Courage that allayed the Storm. Go then,* Romans, *into the Incloſure, and vote as you pleaſe, for or againſt* Opimius. *But remember, that if you declare againſt him, you will in him condemn the whole Senate; and if you acquit him, you will only do Juſtice to the Author of the publick Tranquillity.*

Cic. poſt reditum ad Quir. Pro Sextio; De Orat. L. 2. & alibi.

Then the *Tribes* entered the Encloſure, and without regard to their own Intereſt, or the Remonſtrances of their *Tribune*, determined in Favour of *Opimius*. They doubtleſs knew, that *Decius* had been hired to accuſe *Opimius*, by the Friends of the *Gracchi*; and his Acquittal reſtored a perfect, tho' not a laſting quiet to the Senate. They reco-

Cic. de Orat. L. 2.

[26] *Cicero* ſpeaks of this *Publius Decius*, in his *Brutus*, as of a Man who made no other Uſe of his Eloquence than to diſturb the Peace of the Republick.

vered their ancient aſcendant over the People, and the latter bore their mild Government with patience. *L. Calpurnius* [27] *Piſo*, and *Q. Cæcilius Metellus*, the *Cenſors*, diſcharged their Offices without any diſturbance; and agreed to put the venerable *Q. Metellus*, the *Cenſor*'s Father, who had long borne the Surname of *Macedonicus*, at the Head of the Senate. So that, now there was no more War in *Tranſalpine Gaul*, no more Seditions in the City. The great Elections were made in *The Field of Mars* without canvaſſing or Oppoſition, and the *Conſular Faſces* were given to *L. Cæcilius Metellus* [28], and *L. Aurelius Cotta*.

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L. Cæcilius Metellus, & L. Aurelius Cotta, Conſuls.

§. XI. But neither of the two *Conſuls* continued in *Italy*. *Aurelius Cotta* was appointed to govern *Gaul*. Indeed the *Gauls* appeared to be very peaceably diſpoſed; but the known Levity of thoſe People, made the *Romans* apprehenſive of new Inſurrections. They thought the Preſence of a *Conſul* neceſſary to keep them in awe; and *Cotta* ſpent his *Conſulſhip* among the *Salyes*, where his *Conſular* Army ſtruck ſuch Terrour, as prevented any Commotions among the *Allobroges* and *Arverni*. As for *Metellus*, he had a more glorious Appointment. In the inner Part of *Illyricum*, on the Banks of the *Save* [29], ſtood a City called [30] *Segeſta*, which the *Romans* pretended to be ſubject to their Dominion, ſince the entire Conqueſt they had made of all *Illyricum*. But, for Reaſons not mentioned by the Hiſtorians, the *Segeſtani* had ſhaken off the Yoke, and their Revolt was thought conſiderable enough to call for a *Conſular* Army. *Metellus*, who was the Nephew of that happy *Metellus*, *the Prince of the Senate*, who had ſeen his four Sons promoted to the *Conſulate*, loved Glory; and he rejoiced to be ſent on a military Expedition. He promiſed himſelf nothing leſs than a *Triumph*, ſet out for *Illyricum*, defeated the *Segeſtani*, and ſubdued them.

Dion. Hall. L. 2. Plin. L. 13. Cenſorin. de Die Nat. Vell. L. 2. App. in Illyr.

But after all, this Affair was not of Importance enough, to procure *Metellus* the higheſt military Honours. Of this the *Conſul* himſelf was ſenſible; and therefore, that he might ſecure them at laſt, he made himſelf new Enemies. According to one of the Hiſtorians, who is pretty faithful in other Inſtances, *Metellus* made War unjuſtly on the *Dalmatians*, who bordered on the Country he had ſubdued. As he paſſed by them, he found them very peaceable; but at his Return, pretended to be apprehenſive of Treachery among them. This he reported by Letter to the Senate in ſuch a manner, that he extorted from them a Commiſſion to treat them as Enemies, and reduce them. And as it could not be difficult to ſubdue a People who had no Inclination to War, *Dalmatia* received his Troops without a Battle; and he ſpent the Winter in Tranquillity at *Salona* [31] the Capital of the Country. Nevertheleſs, the real Conqueror of the *Segeſtani*, and the pretended one of the *Dalmati*, demanded a *Triumph*, and obtained it for the next Year: And for the greater Diſtinction, aſſumed the Surname of *Dalmaticus*. Could then the *Romans* be ſo far impoſed on by falſe Appearances, as to honour imaginary Victories with a *Triumph*? It is more certain, that he built himſelf a Monument of the Spoils he brought from *Dalmatia*, which bore Teſtimony to the Succeſs of his Arms. The Temple of *Caſtor* and *Pollux* which he erected, and the ſtately Columns with which he adorned it, made Poſterity believe, that his Victory and his *Triumph* were real.

Appian ibid.

§. XII. In the mean time, *Rome* was not abſolutely in Peace, during the Abſence of the *Conſuls*. One of the *Prætors* of the Year, named *Quintus Fabius Eburnus*, had a Commiſſion to try State-Criminals; and an [32] Orator, of only 21 Years of Age, had the Courage

Epit. Liv. Cic. in Verr. Pædianus.

27 This is that *Calpurnius Piſo* who had been *Conſul* with *Publius Mucius Scævola*, in the Year 620. He wrote *Annals*, from which *Cicero*, *Dion. Halicarnaſſenſis*, *Pliny*, and other *Roman* Writers borrow many Facts, which they have tranſmitted to us, in their Works. *Cicero* alſo aſcribes to him ſeveral Orations.

28 This is the ſame *Lucius Cæcilius Metellus* who was afterwards diſtinguiſhed by the Surname of *Dalmaticus*. He was the Son of *Lucius Metellus* ſurnamed *Calvus* or *The Bald*, the Nephew of *Metellus Macedonicus*, and the Brother of *Metellus Numidicus*; as we learn from *Cicero* in his *Oration for Sextius*, from *Velleius Paterculus*, and from *Valerius Maximus*. He became *Pontifex Maximus*, and *Cenſor*. One of his Daughters was married to *Marcus Æmilius Scaurus*, *The Prince of the Senate*; who had by her that *Marcus Scaurus* whom *Cicero* defended.

29 The *Save* riſes in *Upper Carniola*, a League from *Willack*, towards the Frontiers of *Upper Carinthia*; from thence it runs Eaſt, and divides *Hungary* and *Sclavonia*, from *Croatia*, *Boſnia*, and *Servia*; and after it has run above 100 Leagues, it diſcharges it ſelf into the *Danube*, near *Belgrade*.

30 *Segeſta*, formerly a City of *Upper Pannonia* is now no longer in being. There are only ſome of its Ruins remaining, on the Banks of the *Save*, near the Mouth of the *Kulp*, and the little City of *Siſeg*.

31 The ancient City of *Salona* in *Dalmatia* ſtood nine or ten Miles from the Gulph of that Name, on the Coaſts of the *Adriatick* Sea, at a little diſtance from *Spalatro*. It was formerly famous for the Retreat of the Emperor *Dioclesian*. It is now buried in its Ruins.

32 It is evident, from *Cicero*'s *Brutus*, that the Orator *L. Licinius Craſſus* was born, in the Year of *Rome*, 613, the *Conſulſhip* of *Caius Lælius* ſurnamed *The*

Year of *ROME.* DCXXXIV.

L. Cæcilius Metellus, & L. Aurelius Cotta, Conſuls.

Cic. L. 1. & 3. de Orat. in Bruto; & paſſim alibi.

Courage to accuſe *Papirius Carbo*, at his Tribunal, of having been guilty of three Crimes againſt the Republick. The Name of the young Accuſer was *L. Craſſus*. He was of the *Licinian* Family; and perhaps the Son of that *Licinius Craſſus*, the Brother of *Licinia*, the Wife of *C. Gracchus*, who had died in the Defence of his Brother-in-Law; and he therefore undertook to deſtroy *Papirius*, as ſoon as his *Conſulſhip* was expired. No young *Roman* had ever been endowed by Nature with greater Talents for Eloquence; and he had carefully improved them, by a ſtrict Application to Study. Beſides, the Love of Revenge quickened him, and increaſed his natural Vivacity, in an attempt to deſtroy a Renegado from the *Gracchian* Party. But, the Faction he attacked was now powerful; and *Papirius* wanted neither Eloquence nor Intereſt. He had ſupported the Cauſe of *Opimius* with uncommon Succeſs, and by the Force of Perſuaſion induced the People to give Judgment againſt their own Intereſts. Beſides, the Senate were his Protectors, ſince he had left the *Plebeian* Faction to devote himſelf to the Intereſt of the Nobility. Nevertheleſs, *Craſſus* undertook to pull down this mighty *Coloſſus*.

The young Orator accuſed him of theſe three Things. 1*ſt*, That he had ſtirred up the elder *Gracchus*, to demand the *Tribuneſhip* a ſecond Year. 2*dly*, That he had made a Law for this Purpoſe when he was *Tribune*. And 3*dly*, That he had been at leaſt an Accomplice in the Aſſaſſination of *Scipio, The Second Africanus*. Theſe were heavy Accuſations, and muſt, if proved, be the Ruin of *Papyrius*. And it had been very eaſy for young *Craſſus* to have convicted his Adverſary, if his Probity had not had the Aſcendant over all his Paſſions. Whilſt he was ſearching for Proofs, a Slave of *Papyrius*, who was angry with his Maſter, ſtole the Box in which he kept the Papers that concerned his greateſt Secrets, and brought it to his Accuſer. But *Craſſus* abhorred the Treachery, and ſent back the Slave in Chains, and the Box unopened, to the Criminal; whom he would not deſtroy but by honourable Means. He thought the encouraging Slaves to betray their Maſters would prove a greater Injury to the Publick, than the ſuffering ſome Criminals to eſcape unpuniſhed.

Val. Max. L. 6. c. 5.

On the Day appointed, the Cauſe was firſt pleaded, in the *Prætor*'s Court, in order to be brought from thence, to the People in *Comitia*. The Aſſembly was very numerous; all *Rome* being curious to hear the firſt Eſſay of the young Orator, who had never yet ſhewn his Talents but in the Schools; and it intimidated him. As ſoon as he begun his Speech, his Heart failed him; he looked very pale, and had very like to have fainted. *Fabius* ſaw his Confuſion, and he adjourned the Court, to the next Day. Then the Crowd was ſtill greater; but the young Orator took Courage, and ſpoke with ſuch Strength and Life, that the Accuſed ſunk into Deſpair; and for fear of a ſcandalous Sentence, did juſtice on himſelf. Some ſay, he left *Rome*, and preferred a voluntary Exile to a ſhameful Death; but a better Authority aſſures us, That he poiſoned himſelf with *Cantharides*. From this Time, *Craſſus* gained the Reputation of the greateſt Orator *Rome* had ever bred. His Oration was put into the Hands of all the young People, who ſtudied Oratory; and if we judge by the ſeveral Paſſages of it which we find quoted in *Tully*, it will be the Admiration of all Ages.

Cic. L. 1. de Orat.

Val. Max. L. 3. c. 7.

§. XIII. *Rome* gloried in having produced ſo excellent an Orator, whilſt at the ſame time, ſhe was bringing up one of the greateſt Soldiers ſhe ever had. This was the celebrated *Marius*. He had already given ſome Proofs of his Valour and Conduct at the Siege of *Numantia*; and *Scipio* had told the *Romans*, that he would prove one of their greateſt Generals, and do honour to the Republick. He was of ſo mean [33] Extraction, that even the Village where he was born is not certainly known. All that is certain of his Origin is, that he was a Native of the Country of the *Arpinates* [34], and that his Father's Name was *Marius*, and his Mother's *Fucinia*. His long reſidence in the [35] Coun-

Cic. in Bruto. Plut. in Mario.

try

The Wife, and *Quintus Servilius Cæpio*; and conſequently, was three Years younger than *Mark Anthony* whoſe Fame is ſo great in the *Roman* Hiſtory, for his Eloquence. The latter was born in the Year 610, when *Appius Claudius Pulcher* and *Quintus Cæcilius Metellus Macedonicus* governed the Republick in quality of *Conſuls*.

33 *Velleius Paterculus* is the only *Roman* Hiſtorian who tells us that *Marius*'s Anceſtors were *Roman Knights*. *Caius Marius natus equeſtri loco.* All agree that his Father lived in the Country by the Labour of his Hands.

34 *Arpinum*, which gave Birth to *Marius* and to *Cicero*, was a City in the Territory of the *Volſci*, which was a Part of Old *Latium*. It was honoured with the Right of *Roman Citizenſhip*. See the preceding Volumes.

35 According to *Plutarch*, *Marius* ſpent all his Youth in the Town of *Cirrhajaton*, in the Neighbourhood of *Arpinum*. By this Place, the *Greek* Hiſtorian plainly means the Town, or little City of *Cereate*, whoſe Inhabitants, according to *Pliny the Naturaliſt*, were called *Mariani*, becauſe *Marius*'s Countrymen. *Frontinus*, in his Book *Of Aqueducts*, calls it *Cereate Mariana*,

try and the *Roman* Camps had made him a perfect Savage. But *The Second Africanus* saw through all his Clowniſhneſs ſuch a Fund of Underſtanding and Bravery, as muſt one Day raiſe him to the higheſt Dignities: And the Preſages of ſo great a Man, emboldened him to ſollicit the greateſt Honours. He ſtood for the [36] *Tribuneſhip*, a *Plebeian* Office, from which only the Nobility were excluded. The *Metelli*, his Patrons, had intereſt enough to procure him a Place in this College, which he conſidered only as the firſt Step to Promotion; and he diſcharged the Office of *Tribune of the People*, with the ſame Intrepidity which he had ſhewn in Arms, when he was only a Subaltern, and commanded Detachments.

Year of ROME DCXXXIV.
L. CÆCILIUS METELLUS, & L. AURELIUS COTTA, Conſuls.

Without fear of exaſperating the Nobility, and perhaps from a Love of Regularity and Order, he directed that the Bridges, over which the *Tribes* paſſed to give their Suffrage, ſhould be made narrower. He had obſerved, That theſe Ways which were made of Planks, and raiſed to a certain height above the Ground, were too wide; and That ſometimes People crowded into them, who were hired by the richeſt and moſt ambitious *Citizens* to corrupt the People as they paſſed. *Marius* therefore drew up a Law, by which he pretended to reform an Abuſe which had been injurious to himſelf, when he ſtood for the *Tribuneſhip* the firſt Time. He had indeed hitherto found great Obſtacles in the Way of his Promotion whenever he had appeared for any publick Office. He had been refuſed the *Curule Ædileſhip*, the *Plebeian Ædileſhip*, and the *Tribuneſhip*; and he choſe to aſcribe theſe Miſcarriages to the Intrigues of the Great, and the Corruption of the People, rather than to the Obſcurity of his Birth. To prevent therefore theſe Abuſes, which perhaps were not ſo general as he pretended, he reſolved to make the Bridges ſo narrow that only one Man could paſs at a time. But as ſoon as this Innovation was reported to the Senate, the *Conſul Cotta*, before he ſet out for *Gaul*, made a Decree to put a ſtop to it, and cited *Marius* to appear. The *Tribune*, tho' very proud and haughty, as well as poor, refuſed not to attend the *Conſcript Fathers*; but appeared with the Air of a Man who was going to give Law, more than of one who was to receive it from his Superiors. The young Magiſtrate, who had not yet ſignalized himſelf in his Office by any very remarkable Act, aſſumed ſuch an Aſcendant over the *Conſul* on this occaſion, as ſhewed what he would one Day be. He threatened the Head of the Republick, that he would have him arreſted, if he did not withdraw his Decree. The intimidated *Conſul*, conſulted *Metellus* the *Prince of the Senate*, what to do; and the latter, tho' the Patron and Friend of *Marius*, gave his Opinion for *Cotta*, and declared againſt narrowing the Bridges. Upon this, *Marius* inſtantly ordered one of his Officers to ſeize *Metellus*, and carry him to Priſon: and then the *Conſul*'s Decree was [37] diſannulled, and *Marius* returned a Victor from the Senate. The Boldneſs of *The Tribune* was aſtoniſhing to *The Fathers*; but it got him the Reputation of Intrepidity among the People. And indeed, he had carried both his Audaciouſneſs and his Ingratitude to a very great length. Such was the Character of this *Marius*, who will act a great Part in the enſuing Hiſtory. His Vices, his Virtues, his Proſperity, his Misfortunes, were all exceſſive in their kind. He had contracted a Friendſhip with *Jugurtha*, at the Siege of *Numantia*; but afterwards became his moſt implacable Enemy. *Jugurtha*, about this Time, uſurped the Kingdom of *Numidia*, which will be explained hereafter. When *Rome* ſhall intereſt her ſelf in the *Numidian* Affairs, and ſend *Conſuls* and Armies thither; we ſhall then take care to give the Reader a particular Account both of the Beginning and Progreſs of that important War.

Val. Max. l. 6. c. 9. Cic. l. 3. de Legib.

Plut. in Mario.

In the mean time, *Marius* found means to perſuade the Publick, in his *Tribuneſhip*, that Partiality did not ſo much influence him in his Deſigns, as the Love of Order, and the Hatred of Irregularity. He as little regarded the Intereſts of the People, as the Ho-

Mariana, to ſhew that it was the Birth-place of *Marius*, or at leaſt that he was there brought up in all the Exerciſes proper for his Age. And it is therefore probable, that the Text of *Plutarch* has been altered by the Copyiſts.

36 According to *Valerius Maximus*, *B.* 6. *Marius* being excluded from all the Magiſterial Offices at *Arpinum*, by the meanneſs of his Birth, reſolved to come to *Rome*. The Capital of the World opened a large Field for his Ambition. He ſeemed to have ſome private Preſentiments of his Succeſs; and from thence, promiſing himſelf that Fortune would favour him, he ventured to appear for the *Quæſtorſhip*. And tho' he met with many Repulſes, in the way to publick Honours, he was not diſcouraged; and by his Perſeverance at laſt, gained the Suffrages in his Favour. Nor did he find a readier acceſs either to the *Tribunate* or *Ædileſhip*. But by his Courage he ſurmounted all the Obſtacles in his Way, and at length brought the People into his Intereſt.

37 *Plutarch* adds, That *Metellus* proteſted againſt the Violence of *Marius*, and appealed to the whole Body of the *Tribunes*; but they left him to the Mercy of their Collegue. So that the Law was ratified by the Conſent of the Senate it ſelf.

nour of the Senate, when he thought they were inconſiſtent with the publick Good. One of his Collegues, willing to flatter the Commons, which was no unuſual thing with that Body, propoſed a Law, for a free Diſtribution of a certain Quantity of Corn among the Poor. *Marius* thought an unneceſſary Bounty an Abuſe, and a Miſapplication of the publick Treaſure; and he oppoſed it with warmth. By this Means he acquired the Reputation of a Man of Integrity, who had nothing but Juſtice at Heart; and whoſe Firmneſs proceeded not from that Obſtinacy which a factious Spirit inſpires. But he ſoon undeceived the People, with regard to the Prejudices with which he now preposſeſſed them in his Favour.

Year of *ROME* DCXXXV. M. Porcius Cato, & Q. Marcius Rex, Conſuls. *Aul. Gell. L. 1. c. 19.*

§. XIV. The *Tribuneſhip* of *Marius* expired almoſt at the ſame Time that *Rome* choſe new *Conſuls*. Theſe were, one *M. Porcius* [38] *Cato*, Grandſon of the firſt *Cato*, but by his firſt Wife; and one *Q.* [39] *Marcius*, ſurnamed *Rex*, doubtleſs becauſe deſcended from a Relation of King *Numa*. *Jugurtha* had already raiſed ſome Troubles in *Numidia*. The Senate therefore thought fit to ſend one of the *Conſuls* to *Africa*, and this Commiſſion fell by Lot to *Porcius Cato*. He ſpent ſome Months in *The African Province*, which was ſubject to *Rome*; and there narrowly watched the Steps of *Jugurtha*. But Death ſurprized him, before he could make his Report to the Republick of the Danger which threatened them from the new King of the *Numidians*; and the Hiſtorians are not clear, whether another *Conſul* was choſen in his Room, or *Marcius* was ſuffered to continue alone in his Office till his Year expired. Some Moderns think it probable, that the Vacancy was filled up by *Q. Ælius Tubero* [40]: But, we ſhall, without laying any ſtreſs on Conjectures, have regard only to what relates to *Q. Marcius*, whom the *Faſti Capitolini* make to have been the ſole Head of the Republick for almoſt the whole Year.

The *Province* which fell to him by Lot, was *Tranſalpine Gaul*. Ever ſince the Republick had got footing there, by the Conqueſt of the *Salyes*, and the Reduction of the *Allobroges*, ſhe had continually ſent *Conſuls* thither, at the Head of great Armies. Much was always to be feared from a warlike Nation, whoſe Fury ſhe had experienced, and which ſhe reſolved to conquer by degrees. But when the *Conſul* was preparing for his Departure, a Family-Misfortune kept him at *Rome*. He loſt his only Son; a Youth of great Hopes, and whoſe Virtues much endeared him to his Father. Nevertheleſs, tho' every one knew how much he was afflicted with this Loſs, no body could diſcover the leaſt appearance of Grief in him. The Day his dear Son was carried to the funeral Pile, *Marcius* gave Audience as uſual, and came to the Senate with ſuch an Air of Compoſure, as betrayed not the leaſt Mark of Sorrow. The *Romans* made the higheſt pitch of Virtue to conſiſt, in the Violence they offered to their natural Affections. They affected an oſtentatious ſhow of Philoſophy; and would fain have perſuaded the World, that the moſt ſhocking Calamities could not weaken the Conſtancy, or diſcompoſe the Gravity, of the Philoſopher.

Neither did he ſhew leſs Magnanimity in the Field, than in the City. His Views were much more extenſive than thoſe of his Predeceſſors. The *Ligures* beyond the *Alpes*, and the *Allobroges*, were already ſubdued; but this was only the beginning of the great Work which *Marcius* undertook. To make a Paſſage for the *Roman* Armies from the *Alpes* to the *Pyrenees*, and leave the Roads open from *Marſeilles* to the Mountains that divide *Spain* from *Gaul*, was a Scheme worthy of a great Commander. However, *Marcius* did not divulge it, whilſt he continued *Conſul*. But when the Republick had confirmed him in his Government for a ſecond Year, in quality of *Pro-Conſul*; and he found he ſhould continue long enough at the Head of his *Legions*, to undertake a Work of ſo much Danger, he croſſed the *Rhone*, and left the ſubdued *Allobroges* behind him. Then he advanced towards Mount [41] *Cemmenus*, to which the *Gauls* ſometimes gave the Name

Epit. Liv. Oroſ. L. 5.

38 *Aulus Gellius* commends the Eloquence of *Marcus Porcius Cato*, whom he deſcribes as a vehement Orator. In his Orations, adds that Author, which are ſtill in being, we ſee the Taſte and Genius of old *Cato* his Grandfather.

39 *Quintus Marcius Rex* was Grandſon to him of the ſame Name, who was *Tribune of the People*, in the Year 557. We have ſpoken of the *Marcian* Family elſewhere.

40 *Pomponius* affirms, That *Q. Ælius Tubero* was promoted to the *Conſulate*; which ſuppoſed, the only Queſtion is, in what Year? And as the *Roman* Hiſtorians are all ſilent, in this Particular, and it is impoſſible therefore to fix it with Certainty, the Annaliſts put him in the Vacancy made by the Death of *Porcius*.

41 Mount *Cemmenus*, now the *Cevennes*, divided *Gallia Narbonenſis* from *Gallia Aquitanica*. This Chain of Mountains reaches from the Spring of the *Garonne*, thirty Leagues Northward, through the *Vivarais*, the *Velay*, and *Gevaudan*.

of *Alpes*, as well as to all other high Mountains; and there found a very fierce Nation, and very fond of Liberty. The Ancients don't agree as to the Name of these People, whom some call *Stœnei* [42], others *Stoni*, and others *Sarni*; and we think it most probable, that by these different Names were meant the Inhabitants of the present *Gevaudan*, and the neighbouring Countries. These *Stœnei* took Arms, and defended their Country against the Invasion of the *Romans*, who made a terrible Slaughter of them; and as soon as they found they were surrounded by the *Roman* Army, they waited not to receive their Death from the Hands of their Enemies. Being fully persuaded they should enjoy another Life after this, they made no difficulty of parting with it. They first set fire to their Houses, killed their Wives and Children, and then threw themselves into the Flames; and all they who fell into the Enemy's Hands, even to the Children, killed themselves different Ways: so that not one of them survived the Loss of his Liberty.

Year of *ROME* DCXXXV. M. Porcius Cato, & Q. Marcius Rex, Consuls.

When the News of this bloody Expedition was brought to *Rome*, it filled the Senate both with Admiration and Fear. They were now more sensible than ever, that the *Gauls* were no common Enemies. Their Contempt of Life made them as formidable, as they were intrepid, or furious. The Senate therefore thought it necessary to plant a Colony of *Romans* beyond the *Rhone*, which should be strong enough to keep this Nation in awe, whose Prejudices raised them above vulgar Fears. And as this was an Affair which it properly belonged to the People to determine, because they were to furnish the new Inhabitants for *Transalpine Gaul*; it was reported, and long debated in the *Comitia*. A young Orator, named *L. Crassus*, took great pains to dissuade the People from complying with the Will of the Senate; but at last, the *Fathers* succeeded, and the Colony marched beyond the *Alpes*. It was planted in the Country of the *Volcæ Tectosages* [43], at some distance from the Sea; and it was called by the Name of [44] *Narbo-Marcius*. This was the Origin of the famous City of *Narbonne*, which long retained the Name of *Marcius* its Founder. It became in Time, the Capital of a great Country, and being peopled by *Romans*, was a convenient Place of Refreshment for the *Roman*

Cicer. pro Fonteio. Fast. Capitol.

42 Several Copies of the *Epitomes of Livy* vary as to the Names of these People; which disagreement must be ascribed to the Ignorance of the Copyists. But happily for the Criticks, *The Capitoline Marbles* are transmitted to us for their Assistance; and there we find the *Stœnei*, who in the Text of the Abridger, are called sometimes *Salini*, sometimes *Samii*, and sometimes *Sarnii*. So that the Authenticknes of this ancient Record dispels all Doubt, and confirms the Correction, for which we are indebted to *Pighius*. These *Marbles* in which the *Triumph* of *Marcius* is recorded, tell us, That the *Pro-Consul* enjoyed that Honour in the Year 636, on account of his Conquests of the *Ligures Stœnei*, and on the third Day of *December*, or *The Third before the Nones of that Month.*

Q. Marcius. Q. F. Q. N. Rex. Procos. An. DCXXXVI.
De Liguribus Stoeneis III. Non. Decemb.

All that remains then is to find out what Canton these *Stœnei* inhabited. Some ancient Writers seem to have placed them at the Foot of *The maritime Alpes*, in *Liguria Cisalpina*; particularly, *Stephen of Byzantium*. At least, he mentions a *Ligurian* City which he calls *Stoinos*. Στοῖνος πόλις Λιγυφων. Several of the Moderns have derived this Name from a City of *Stona*, which is no longer in Being. *Pliny the Naturalist* says, it was the Capital of the Country of the *Euganei*, who formerly inhabited a Part of *Bressau*, *Tarentin*, *Bergamasque*, and *Valteline*. But the *Stœnei* of *Liguria* had no relation to those of the *Cevennes*. The ancient Writers were unfortunately ignorant of the latter; at least, they say nothing of them; and their Silence puts it out of our Power, to form any solid Judgment, concerning a Point of Geography, into which the Historians give us no light.

43 The *Volcæ Tectosages* anciently possessed all that Land which lays between the *Pyrenees* to the South, and *Toulouse* to the North; that is, the Dioceses of *Narbonne*, *Besiers*, *Carcassone*, *St. Pons*, *Aleth*, and *Toulouse*. The *Volcæ Arecomici* inhabited that Part of *Languedoc* which is next to the *Rhone*; So that their Country contained the Dioceses of *Nismes*, *Uzez*, *Montpellier*, *Lodeve*, and *Agde*.

44 *Narbonne*, according to *Pomponius Mela*, was from the Time of the Republick, esteemed the most considerable City then subject to the *Romans* in the Province of *Gaul*. Besides the Name of *Narbo-Marcius*, which was taken from the *Consul*, *Marcius Rex*, its second Founder; the *Latin* Historians and Geographers call it, *Colonia Atacinorum*, from the River *Aude*, which waters its Territory; and *Colonia Decumanorum*, because a Part of its Lands were divided among the Soldiers of the *tenth Legion*. It was also called *Colonia Julia paterna*, after *Julius Cæsar* the adoptive *Father* of *Augustus*, had carried thither a new *Roman Colony*. We learn from *Strabo*, That this City was anciently so enriched by its Commerce, that it became the chief Port and Magazine of the *Gauls*. He says, its advantageous Situation drew Merchandizes thither from all Parts. When the *Romans* were become Masters of it, they erected there a *Capitol* in honour to *Jupiter*, after the Model of that at *Rome*: And afterwards, they adorned it with an Amphitheatre, and built *Baths* there for the publick Use.

They who place *Narbonne* in the Country of the *Volcæ Arecomici*, build on *Strabo's* Authority. But don't consider, that according to this ancient Author himself, *Nismes* was the Capital of the *Arecomicæ*. Μητροπολις των Αρεκομικων ἡ Νεμαυσος. Whereas, in order to have been consistent, he ought to have given the first Rank to *Narbonne*, which in his Opinion, was superiour to *Nismes*. So that he does in reality no more favour the Defenders of this Opinion than *Ptolomy*, who places *Narbonne* among the Cities which belonged to the *Tectosages*.

Armies,

Armies; which by that means more eaſily paſſed from the *Alpes* to the *Pyrenees*, and from the *Pyrenees* to the *Alpes*. When *Marcius* returned, the Republick thought the Conqueſt of this Part of *Gaul*, and the Foundation of *Narbonne* ſo conſiderable Works, that ſhe honoured him with a *Triumph* for it; which he enjoyed, on *The Third of the Nones of December*, in the Year of *Rome* 636.

Year of *ROME* DCXXXVI.

L. Cæcilius Metellus, & Q. Mucius Scævola, Conſuls. *Faſt. Capit.*

§. XV. The new *Conſuls*, *L. Cæcilius* [45] *Metellus*, and *Q. Mucius* [46] *Scævola*, were already near the end of their *Conſulſhip*, when *Marcius* triumphed on account of the *Stænei Ligures* [47], that is, as I conjecture, the Inhabitants of that ſlip of Land which reaches along the Shore of the *Mediterranean Sea*, from the *Alpes* to the *Pyrenees*. The Republick was in Tranquillity all the Year. *Jugurtha* indeed raiſed Troubles in *Numidia*; but *Rome* yet concealed her Concern, or at leaſt diſcovered it only by Negotiations. Whereas *Gaul* found Employment for one of the *Conſuls*. It was neceſſary to ſupport the new *Colony* at *Narbonne*, and preſerve *Marius*'s Conqueſts there: And this was the only Employment of the *Romans* abroad, in this peaceful Time, in which the Thoughts of the People were much turned to ſuperſtitious Obſervations. *Rome* was full of Rumours of Prodigies. The Lightening had often fallen near the City. It was pretended, That it had rained Milk at [48] *Præneſte*. It was reported, that the Lance with which the Statue of *Mars* was armed, had been ſeen to ſhake of it ſelf. An Earthquake had opened a Pit, of the bigneſs of 7 Acres of Land, at [49] *Privernum*. And laſtly, there was found in *Italy*, a Child of ten Years old, which had the Marks of both Sexes. This the *Romans* thought a Monſter which foreboded ill to their State; and the Child was thrown into the Sea, and the City expiated by Hymns, ſung by a Choir of 27 Maids of Diſtinction, in the Croſs-ways, and in the Temples.

Jul. Obſeq. c. 96.

Year of *ROME* DCXXXVII.

C. Licinius Geta, & Q. Fabius Eburnus, Conſuls. *Cic. Orat. pro Mur.*

The ſucceeding *Conſuls*, who had as little Opportunity as their Predeceſſors to acquire Glory, in *Italy* and *Gaul* their reſpective Provinces, were *C. Licinius Geta*, and *Q. Fabius Eburnus* [50]. The latter ſucceeded againſt *M. Æmilius Scaurus* his Competitor, a Senator of Reputation and Merit; which he could not have done without great Intereſt among the People. The *Prætorſhip* was more warmly contended for than the *Conſulſhip*. The famous *C. Marius*, whoſe Character we have already touched upon, and who will appear to be one of the Heroes of this Hiſtory, was a Candidate. Strange indeed! That a Man, the Meanneſs of whoſe Extraction excluded him from the loweſt Offices in *Arpinum*, a little City in whoſe Diſtrict was the Village which had given him birth, ſhould have the Boldneſs to ſtand for the *Prætorſhip* at *Rome*! What Qualifications had he for a Poſt, which no Man could fill with Credit, without Eloquence, and a

45 *Lucius Metellus* was the ſecond Son of the illuſtrious *Metellus Macedonicus*. An Ulcer which had diſfigured his Forehead, obliged him to wear a Fillet to hide the Wound; and he was from thence called *Diadematus*: as appears from *Plutarch*, *Pliny*, and the other Hiſtorians who mention him. The Term alludes to the *Diadems* worn by the eaſtern Kings. Some Moderns have, by miſtake, confounded him with his Couſin *Lucius Metellus Dalmaticus*; who was the Son of *Metellus Calvus*, as we have before obſerved.

46 The Father of *Quintus Mucius Scævola* was *Quintus Scævola*, one of the *Conſuls* for the Year 579. The ancient Hiſtorians have celebrated the Merit of this great Man with the higheſt Encomiums. They agree, That *Scævola* was a Pattern of Wiſdom as a Magiſtrate, and of Probity as a private Man. He learnt from the *Stoic* Philoſophy which he profeſſed, that rigid Virtue, which was the Characteriſtick of the firſt *Romans*. And to theſe eminent Qualities he added that of being the moſt able *Civilian* in *Rome*. So that his Determinations paſſed for Oracles. Moſt of the young Lawyers had recourſe to him, for Inſtruction; and among theſe was *Cicero*, as he himſelf informs us in his Treatiſe *Of Friendſhip*. I had ſcarce put on the *Virile Robe*, ſays he, when my Father introduced me to this venerable old Man, to learn from him the Principles of the *Roman* Law. Every one gloried in having been formed by the Hand of this great Maſter. Notwithſtanding his avocations abroad, he found Time to apply himſelf ſo cloſely to *The Civil Law*, and other Parts of Learning, that he excelled all that went before him, in the Extent of his Knowledge. He was honoured with the Dignity of the *Conſulate*; and Authors call him *The Augur*, to diſtinguiſh him from the *Pontifex Maximus* of the ſame Name. To which ſome Moderns do not attend, when they make them both the ſame Perſon. This great Man was Son-in-Law to *Caius Lælius* ſurnamed *The Wiſe*, and afterwards became Father-in-Law to the famous Orator *Lucius Craſſus*.

47 By the *Ligures* of *Gaul*, the *Roman* Hiſtorians mean the People who were neareſt to *Liguria Ciſalpina*; that is to ſay, thoſe who inhabited the maritime Parts of *Provence*, from the *Var* to the *Rhone*. *The maritime Alpes* divide the *Liguria of the Gauls*, or *Liguria Tranſalpina*, from that which was in *Italy*, and therefore called *Ciſalpina*, with reſpect to *Rome*.

48 *Præneſte*, a City of ancient *Latium*, ſtood at a little diſtance from the Place, where we now find *Palæſtrina*. See Vol. 1. p. 242. Note 27.

49 We have ſpoken of the ancient City of *Privernum*, Vol. 2. p. 102. Note 47. It ſtood according to *Cluver*, in that Part of the Country of the *Volſci*, where we now ſee the little City of *Piperno*.

50 It is conjectured, That *Quintus Fabius Maximus*, the *Conſul* for the Year 637, was Brother to *Quintus Fabius* the Conqueror of the *Allobroges*. His Surname of *Eburnus*, was taken from the Fairneſs of his Complexion, which was as white as *Ivory*. *Feſtus* ſays, he was ſtruck with Lightening, but received no damage; and this Prodigy gave occaſion to ſay, That he was the Favourite of *Jupiter*: for which Reaſon, he was commonly called *Pullus Jovis*.

Knowledge of the Law? He neither had any Talents for Oratory, nor had ſtudied the Laws, nor had any Experience at the Bar. Beſides, his having been refuſed both the *Ædile* Magiſtracies immediately after one another, was a ſtrong Prejudice againſt admitting him to that of *Prætor*.

Year of *ROME* DCXXXVII. C. Licinius Geta, & Q. Fabius Eburnus, Conſuls.

But when Ambition has once got Poſſeſſion of a Man of no Education, it makes him audacious. Having no Honour of his own or his Family to preſerve, he becomes enterprizing even to Effrontery. And ſuch was *Marius*. He again applied to the People, for their Suffrages, without Fear of new Affronts; and carried on his Canvaſs in a ſhameful manner. This Reformer of the Bridges over which the Voters paſſed into the Incloſure to vote, introduced a faithful Slave of one *Caſſius Sabaco*, a Senator, and his Friend, into the Incloſure it ſelf. This Slave, by Money or Promiſes, corrupted the People as faſt as they came in; and by this Management, tho' with Difficulty, *Marius* at laſt prevailed, to get himſelf nominated *Prætor*. But theſe Proceedings of the ambitious *Prætor* incenſed his Competitors, and they proſecuted him for it. He was cited to appear before the People, to be tried for having procured his Office by corrupt Means. *Sabaco*, when interrogated concerning his Slave who was taken in the Incloſure, found out this Evaſion; *That he was very thirſty when he went to vote, and took his Slave with him to carry drink for him.* This ſome thought a ſufficient, others a trifling Excuſe; and the Opinions being thereby divided, *Marius* was acquitted. But as for *Sabaco*, the *Cenſors* ſome time after recollected this Affair, and puniſhed the Maſter for the Act of his Slave. *If you carried him*, ſaid they, *into the Incloſure with a factious Intent, you have broken the Laws. If you did it that he might carry your Liquor, a Man of ſuch Intemperance is unworthy of a Seat in the Senate.* And he was ſtruck out of the Senators Roll.

Val. Max. L. c. 9. Plut. in Mario.

Another Accident which happened in the ſame Proſecution againſt *Marius*, will likewiſe help to give us a true Idea of his Character. *Herennius*, a Man of Diſtinction in the Republick, was cited to be a Witneſs concerning the Behaviour of the accuſed; and as it was evident, that *Herennius*, as Patron of *Marius*'s Family, could not but give his Teſtimony in favour of his Client, it was an Act of Friendſhip to cite him to appear in the Cauſe. But the Vanity of the Accuſed had a greater Influence upon him than his Intereſt. *I acknowledge no Man to be my Patron*, cried Marius; *the* Prætorſhip *I am inveſted with raiſes me above the Rank of a Client:* And this ſtopped the Mouth of *Herennius*. He would not ſpeak in favour of an arrogant Man, who deſpiſed his Protection. So that his Cauſe, which before was certain, now became doubtful; and he had very like to have ſunk under the Accuſation.

But after all, he had ſuch a fund of natural Equity and good Senſe, that he preſided in the Court of Judicature which was aſſigned him, as *Prætor*, without Reproach: And it falling to his Lot to go and govern *Further Spain* the next Year, he there acquired Fame by his Exploits. He cleared his Government of the Troops of *Banditti* that infeſted it, and cured theſe People who were yet *Barbarians*, of their inveterate Love of living only by Rapine. Theſe were the firſt publick Acts of *Marius*, whoſe Life was, upon the whole, both very glorious, and very unfortunate.

§. XVI. In the mean time, That *Æmilius Scaurus* who had failed of the *Conſulate* the laſt Year, at length prevailed; and had for his Collegue, *L. Cæcilius Metellus*. The latter was one of the four Sons of *Metellus Macedonicus*, who is famous in Hiſtory for his Happineſs in Life, and who at his Death left his Family advanced to the greateſt Honours. *Scaurus* was the Man who raiſed his Branch of the illuſtrious *Æmilian* Family from the Duſt. His Father was ſo reduced, as to be by Trade a Collier. The Son [51] found thoſe Sentiments revive in his Breaſt which the Nobility of his Anceſtors inſpired; and doubted not, of being able to raiſe his Family to Honour, both by Letters and Arms. The Gift of Eloquence, joined with a Knowledge of the Laws, were now a ſure way to the higheſt Offices in *Rome*. *Scaurus* [52] had therefore applied himſelf to

Year of *ROME* DCXXXVIII. M. Æmilius Scaurus, & L. Cæcilius Metellus, Conſuls.

Cic. in Brut.

51 *Marcus Æmilius Scaurus* being reduced to a very obſcure Life, conſidered to what he ſhould apply himſelf; and the low State of his Family, ſays *Aurelius Victor*, made him firſt turn Banker, to get Money to ſupply their Wants. But Ambition afterwards raiſed his Views, and the Hopes of recovering the Glory of his Family, engaged him in more noble Purſuits. He ſerved as a private *Legionary* in the Armies in *Spain* and *Sardinia*; and was there honoured with the military Rewards which the Generals give to the valiant.

52 *Scaurus*'s Orations were in being in the Time of *Cicero*; and the Air of Authority and Aſſurance with which he ſpoke them, gave new Strength to what he ſaid, and prejudiced the Judges in favour of thoſe he defended. He wrote the Hiſtory of his own Life, which he dedicated to his Friend *Lucius Fuſidius*. But *Cicero* ſays, That this Work, tho' a pretty good Piece, was read by no body.

Year of *ROME* DCXXXVIII. M. ÆMILIUS SCAURUS, & L. CÆCILIUS METELLUS, Conſuls.

Oratory, and made ſuch Progreſs in it, that the perſonal Honours he acquired fell not ſhort of the Eſteem which the *Romans* had for his Family; and in War, he had ſucceſſively acquired the Reputation of an intrepid Soldier, and a brave Officer. Till at length he obtained a Place in the Senate; and riſing by degrees through the *Curule* Offices, was now promoted to the *Conſulate*.

No Man ever maintained his Dignity with more Grandeur and Conſtancy, than the wiſe *Æmilius Scaurus*. Nevertheleſs, his former Poverty in his Youth, might perhaps be the Cauſe, which drew upon him ſome Contempt from the *Prætors*, now his Inferiors. At leaſt its certain, that one of them was wanting in reſpect to him. The ſame *Publius Decius Mus*, who had accuſed *Opimius*, after the Death of *Gracchus*, had paſſed from the *Tribuneſhip* to the *Prætorſhip:* He was very arrogant, and being ſupported by the Favour of the People, thought himſelf equal to the greateſt Man in the Republick: And *Scaurus* therefore took pleaſure in humbling his Pride. One Day, the *Conſul* and *Prætor* met in the ſame Street, both in their *Curule* Chairs; and the ancient Cuſtom had been on ſuch Occaſions, for the inferior Magiſtrate to give the Way to the ſuperior, and riſe to do him Honour. But *Decius* neglected this Ceremonial. He proudly kept his Seat in the *Conſul*'s Preſence; and his Inſolence was puniſhed upon the Spot. *Scaurus* ordered his *Lictors* to fall on thoſe that attended the *Prætor*, force him to alight from his Chair, break the Chair in pieces, and rent his Cloaths. Nor was this all. To make the Puniſhment the more exemplary, the *Conſul* interdicted the *Prætor* from the Exerciſe of his Office, and forbad the Pleaders to carry any Cauſes into his Court. By this means he revived the ancient Cuſtom, which the Vanity of the inferior Officers had in ſome meaſure deſtroyed.

Author. de Vir. Illuſtr. c. 72.

By this bold Step, the *Conſul* alſo acquired the Character of a Man of Reſolution. The *Conſular* Authority which had been diminiſhed by the Attempts of the *Tribunes of the People*, was re-eſtabliſhed. And now, he even ventured to propoſe Laws; a Privilege which the *Tribunes* had for ſome time engroſſed to themſelves. He mounted the *Roſtra*, and propoſed two, which the People paſſed in the *Comitia*, in reſpect to the Propoſer. As Riches increaſed at *Rome*, the *Romans* grew very ſumptuous and expenſive in their Tables; and common [53] Meats were not good enough to ſatisfy the Delicacy of the voluptuous. The only Rules of judging what was good, were the Dearneſs and Scarcity of Things. The moſt exquiſite Meats that the Foreſts, or Seas, or Rivers, of *Italy* produced, were all thought inſipid. Nothing could ſatisfy the preſent Taſte, but what was brought from beyond Sea at a great Expence. Nevertheleſs, *Scaurus* did not attempt to leſſen the Plenty of Tables, but only to retrench their far-fetched Delicacies. By his firſt Law, he expreſly forbad the eating fat Dormice, foreign Shell-fiſh, and ſuch Birds as were brought from far, and unknown in *Italy*.

Plut. L. 8. c. 57.

By his ſecond, which was in appearance not ſo judicious, but made neceſſary by the Circumſtances of the Times, the *Conſul* reſtored the *Freed-men* to their ancient Privilege. They had ſome time ſince been confined to the *Eſquiline Tribe* [54] only. But now, the Maſters had been ſo liberal of their Freedoms, that one *Tribe* was not ſufficient to contain the great Numbers of *Freed-men*; and by the *Conſul*'s Law, they were left at Liberty to enroll themſelves in any of the four *City-Tribes*, which they liked beſt. Thus, by the Prudence and Example of *Scaurus*, ſome little Remains of good Manners, and

Author. de viris Illuſt. c. 72.

53 We may judge of the Intemperance of the ancient *Romans*, by the Exceſſes with which *C. Titius* reproached them, ſo early as in the Year of *Rome* 592; that is, before they had extended their Conqueſts into *Aſia* and *Africa*. In a Fragment of his Speech, as related by *Macrobius*, he cries out, That even the Judges appeared upon the Bench loaded with Wine, and beſtialiſed with exceſſive Debaucheries. As the Gluttons come to the Court, ſays he, they talk of nothing but their delicious eating, and the number of Bottles they drunk at one Repaſt: And when they are there, they grudge the neceſſary Time for the Diſpatch of Buſineſs. They lament the Loſs of Time ſpent there, which they ſay might be much better employed over a Bottle of *Greek* Wine, and an exquiſite Diſh, which waits their Return.

Gluttony and Drunkenneſs were then carried to ſuch an enormous height, that ſeveral young *Romans* of good Families, ſold themſelves for Money to gratify their Taſtes. In the Aſſemblies of the People, who were to give Judgment in Matters on which the Safety of their Country depended, the greateſt Part of the Voters were drunk, or at leaſt intoxicated with Wine. *Macrobius* gives us theſe Particulars from *Sammonicus Serenus*.

The *C. Titius* here quoted, and mentioned Vol. 4. p. 534, was both an Orator, and a Poet. *Cicero* ſays, in his *Brutus*, That he made a pretty good Progreſs in Eloquence, for one who did not underſtand *Greek*. His Style was conciſe and polite. But he did not ſucceed ſo well, in the Tragedies he wrote for the *Roman* Stage. By his *Points* and Antitheſes he enervated his Characters and Sentiments.

54 *Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus*, the Father of the *Gracchi*, and *Caius Claudius Pulcher*, had, in their *Cenſorſhip*, in the Year 584, reduced moſt of the *Freed-men*, to *The Eſquiline Tribe*. See Vol. 4. p. 414. Note 57.

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Year of *ROME* DCXXXVIII.

M. ÆMILIUS SCAURUS, & L. CÆCILIUS METELLUS, Conſuls. *Plut. in Mario. Epit. Liv. Caſſiodor.*

good Order were ſtill preſerved in the Republick. And the Firmneſs of the *Conſul* was well ſeconded by the Zeal of the *Cenſors*, *Lucius Metellus Dalmaticus*, and *Cneius Domitius Ahenobarbus*.

They were both venerable Men, for their *Conſulſhips*, and their *Triumphs*; and their Courage was impregnable, when they came to purge the Senate of its unworthy Members. They ſtruck thirty two out of the Rolls, and among them *Licinius Geta* [55] the late *Conſul*, and *Caſſius Sabaco*. They alſo proſcribed Games of Hazard, and Concerts of Muſick. They granted new Leaſes of the Lands belonging to the Publick; and finiſhed their Office with a *Cenſus* of the People, in which were enumerated 394336 *Citizens* able to bear Arms. But after all, tho' their whole Adminiſtration was laudable, their higheſt piece of Wiſdom was their nominating this *Conſul Scaurus*, to be *Prince*, that is, *Preſident of the Senate*. This was inveſting him with a great Authority for Life, who appeared to be the Man in the World beſt qualified to govern a great State.

§. XVII. Yet ſtill, in order to compleat the Glory of his *Conſulate*, *Scaurus* wanted both a Victory, and a *Triumph*; and he had the Happineſs not to fail of either. The two *Conſuls* drew Lots for their *Provinces*. *Sardinia* fell to *Cæcilius Metellus*, whoſe Buſineſs was to appeaſe new Troubles there; and he ſet ſail for his Iſland, from whence he did not return till two Years after, and then *triumphed*. *Gaul* fell to *Scaurus*; but it is extremely difficult to determine exactly, who were the People of *Celtic Gaul* with whom he made War, and whom he brought under the *Roman* Yoke. One Hiſtorian calls them *Gantiſci*, and makes them a Part of the *Ligures*. The *Faſti Capitolini* give them the Name of *Carni* [56]. Nevertheleſs, it is very improbable, that the Inhabitants of the preſent *Friuli* and *Carniola*, whom the ancient Geographers call *Carni*, were then Enemies to *Rome*. This Hypotheſis diſagrees with the reſt of the Hiſtory. For my own part, I can ſcarce doubt, but theſe *Gantiſci*, or *Carni*, whom *Scaurus* conquered, poſſeſſed a Part of *Tranſalpine Gaul*, and of that Country, through which the *Romans* were now endeavouring to make themſelves a Way from the *Alpes* to the *Pyrenees*: And therefore if I may be allowed to offer my own Conjecture, it is, That theſe *Gauls* were a People of *Bearn*, perhaps in the Neighbourhood of *Gantum* [57], and therefore called *Gantiſci*.

Auth. de Vir Illuſtr. c. 72.

But be that as it will, the Expedition of *Scaurus* was neither long, nor difficult. He ſoon brought his Army back over the *Alpes* into *Italy*; and in his Paſſage through *Inſubria*, he formed a Deſign worthy of himſelf. The Roads from *Rome* to the *Alpes* had always been in a manner impaſſible. Nevertheleſs, ſince the *Romans* had got a footing in *Tranſalpine Gaul*, it was become neceſſary to ſend Troops continually from one Country to the other, tho' with inconceivable Difficulty. This *Hannibal* had formerly experienced, where his whole Army had like to have periſhed in endeavouring to paſs from the Banks of the *Po* into *Hetruria*; and himſelf had narrowly eſcaped, with the Loſs of one of his Eyes. The Cauſe of this were the Inundations of the *Trebia*, and other Rivers, which filled the marſhy Grounds ſo full of Water, that Horſes could not paſs without danger: And the Foot had ſtill more difficulty, to make their way through this wet and miry Ground, which greatly fatigued and retarded them in their march. *Scaurus* therefore formed a Deſign to employ the Remains of his *Conſular* Army, in making good Roads through this dirty Country.

Strabo L. 5.

No General had ever preſerved a greater Authority over his Troops, than *Scaurus*. Prodigious Things are related of the perfect Obedience they paid to their General's Orders. He had pitched his Camp near an Orchard, full of ripe Fruit; and ſo ſtrict was the Diſcipline of his Army, that when he decamped, not one Man had taken any one Piece of Fruit. *Scaurus* therefore had Reaſon to depend on the ready Compliance of his *Legionaries*, and doubted not by their Means to put his Deſign in execution. Accordingly, he dug Canals all the Way from *Placentia* to *Parma*, big enough to receive the overflowings of the Rivers, and the other Waters which ran down from the Mountains

Front. Strat. L. 4. c. 3.

55 Nevertheleſs, *Caius Licinius Geta* muſt have been afterwards reſtored to his Dignity, ſince both *Cicero* in his *Oration for Cluentius*, and *Valerius Maximus B. 2. ch. 9*, ſay, That he was promoted to the Dignity of *Cenſor*.

56 *Strabo* places the Nation of the *Carni*, in that Part of *Gallia Tranſpadana* which borders on the *Alpes Pennina*, from *The Great St. Bernard* to mount *Adula*, now *St. Godart*; and which is at preſent the eaſtern Part of *Friuli*, a little Part of *Iſtria*, and the County of *Goritz*. The Cities of *Aquileia*, *Grado*, and *Trieſte* belong to this Province.

57 *Gantum* or *Gant*, is now only a ſmall Town belonging to *Bearn*. It ſtands on the little River of *Nis*, a League and a half to the South of the City of *Pau*.

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in great abundance; and the Republick was indebted to him for the fine Road, which reached from the Port of *Luna* to *Dertona*. If the *Romans* ſo long delayed opening a free Paſſage between *Rome* and *Gaul*, it was not ſo much out of Negligence, as Policy. As long as they had any Reaſon to fear the *Ultramontan Gauls*, the Republick thought the badneſs of the Roads would obſtruct their Incurſions. But as ſoon as *Rome* had got a Barrier within *Gaul* it ſelf, ſhe made great Roads to the very *Alpes*, for the more convenient Marches of her Armies. And as ſhe was indebted to *Scaurus* both for the Deſign, and for putting it in Execution; a *Triumph* was unanimouſly decreed him. The People and Senate had therein more regard to the important Services he and his Men had done the Republick in *Italy*, than to the eaſy Victory he had gained over the *Gantiſci* or *Carni*, a Nation otherwiſe little known.

Year of *ROME* DCXXXIX. M' ACILIUS BALBUS, & C. PORCIUS CATO, Conſuls.

§. XVIII. At his Return, He found *M' Acilius* [58] *Balbus* and *Caius Porcius* [59] *Cato* advanced to the *Conſulſhip*. The Province which fell by Lot to the former was *Italy*, and that of the latter *Macedon*; ſo that *Gaul* now ceaſed to be a *Conſular Province*. Great Armies were no longer neceſſary there, ſince *Scaurus* had by his late Conqueſts, joined the *Alpes* to the *Pyrenees*. All the *Gallic* Nations, which reached from the *Mediterranean* Sea inwards, as far as the Country of the *Rutheni* and *Arverni*, were become *Romans*, and accuſtomed to bear the Yoke without Reluctance. This great Extent of conquered Countries, was therefore now made a *Prætorian Province*, and *Narbonne* appointed for the *Prætor*'s Reſidence. The *Ciſalpine* and *Tranſalpine Gauls* were from this Time diſtinguiſhed by different Names among the *Romans*; and each of the two Provinces had every Year its own *Prætor*. The different Names given to the *Gauls* on each ſide of the *Alpes*, were taken from their different Habits. The *Tranſalpines* were called *Braccati* [60], from their wearing long Breeches (called *Braccæ*) which reached from their Waiſts to their Heels; and the *Ciſalpines* were called *Togati*, becauſe they, like the *Romans*, wore a lighter Habit, and uſed the *Toga* for their City-dreſs. Whether all the Country which reaches from the *Alpes* to the *Pyrenees*, was now called *Provincia* [61] *Romana*, a Name afterwards appropriated to *Provence* only, is not certain: neither is it known, who was the firſt *Prætor*, that *Rome* ſent to govern *Tranſalpine Gaul*. But we know, That he very well ſupported his Authority there; and That thoſe reſtleſs *Gauls* were long kept in a forced Obedience.

Jul. Cæſ. Com. de Bell. Gall. L. 8.

And though *Tranſalpine Gaul* was now ſubdued, yet it was the Fate of *Rome*, to have *Gauls* to fight with in other Places. The *Scordiſci* [62] who inhabited a Part of *Thrace*, were originally *Gauls*. Whether they were of the Number of thoſe *Celtæ*, who had followed *Segoveſus* croſs the *Hercynian Foreſt*; or having entered *Italy* by the *Alpes*, had ſettled themſelves beyond the *Veneti*, and reached as far as the Banks of the *Save* and *the Danube*; it is certain, they came originally from *Gaul*. The ancient Traditions make them to have been the unfortunate Remains of thoſe *Celtæ*, who had the Audaciouſneſs under the Command of *Brennus*, ſacrilegiouſly to plunder the Temple of *Delphi*. Being obliged to abandon the Places they had prophaned, the Wretches had ſettled themſelves, under the Conduct of *Bathanatus* at the Conflux of the *Save* and *Danube*: and had extended themſelves, on one ſide almoſt to *Pannonia* [63]; and on the other,

Strabo L. 7.

Plin. L. 3. Athen. 6. 5. Florus L. 3. c. 3. Diod. Sic. apud Valeſ.

58 It is not improbable, that this *Manius Acilius Balbus* was the Son of him who was *Conſul*, in the Year 603.

59 *Caius Porcius Cato* was the Grandſon of *Cato the Cenſor*, by his Father *Marcus Cato*; and of *Paulus Æmilius*, by his Mother *Æmilia*, the Siſter of *Scipio Æmilianus*.

60 The Surname of *Braccati* was appropriated to the People of *Gallia Narbonenſis*, which was for this Reaſon called *Gallia Braccata*, till the Reign of *Auguſtus*. It comprehended all the Countries between the *Mediterranean*, the *Alpes*, the Lake of *Geneva*, and the *Pyrenees*; that is, *Upper* and *Lower Languedoc*, *Provence*, *Comtat*, *Dauphiné*, *Savoy*, *Chablais*, and *Genevois*. The reſt of *Tranſalpine Gaul* was diſtinguiſhed by the Name of *Gallia Comata*, becauſe all the Nations that inhabited it wore long *Hair*. See Vol. 2.

61 *Pliny the Naturaliſt* obſerves, That moſt *Latin* Authors call *Gallia Narbonenſis* by the Appellation of *Provincia Romana*: either becauſe it was the firſt Conqueſt of the *Romans*; or becauſe the Republick ſent thither ſo many *Colonies* from *Rome*, that it might paſs for an *Italian Province*.

62 See our Account of the Origin and different Habitations of the *Scordiſci*, Vol. 2.

63 Old *Pannonia* comprehended thoſe vaſt Countries which reach from the northern Courſe of the *Danube* to the Mouth of the *Save*. *Pliny* gives it almoſt the ſame Limits. He obſerves, *B.* 3, That *Dalmatia* and *Illyricum* bordered on the *Adriatick* Sea; whereas, ſays he, *Pannonia* lies to the North of theſe two great Provinces, and reaches to the *Danube*. *Strabo* ſays it bordered on *Dalmatia*, and *Dio Caſſius* is more expreſs when he affirms, *B.* 49, That the *Pannonians* inhabited the Country which lies beyond the *Danube*, between *Noricum* and *Myſia* in *Europe*. *Jornandes*, in his firſt Book of the *Gothic* Wars, affirms, That the exact Limits of *Pannonia* were, *Upper Mœſia* to the Eaſt, *Noricum* to the Weſt, *Dalmatia* to the South, and

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far as *Thrace*, of which their Country was now become the Boundary. In Barbarity they equalled, if not ſurpaſſed, the *Thracians* themſelves. Their Cruelty to the Enemies they took in War was enormous. They offered up their Blood to the Gods in Sacrifice; often burnt them alive for Burnt-offerings, and made Cups of their Sculls for Libations, and for drinking Veſſels at their Feaſts. And in point of Avarice they were inſatiable. Indeed their Misfortunes had taught them to deſpiſe Gold. Their Fathers had worn Gold-necklaces and Gold-bracelets, which had raiſed the Covetouſneſs of their Enemies; and for this Reaſon they had proſcribed Gold. But they were greedy of Silver. All the neighbouring Countries became a Prey to them; and thoſe ſubject to the *Romans* did not eſcape their Hoſtilities.

Macedon had long been in Peace under the Government of a *Prætor*, and this had created too much Security. The Frontiers were deſtitute of Garriſons, and a *Prætorian* Army, conſiſting of only one *Legion*, was not ſufficient to guard ſo great a Province. And indeed, in ſo vaſt an extent of Country, as *Rome* now poſſeſſed in the three Quarters of the World, how was it well poſſible for her, to be always ready to guard againſt the Inſults of her many jealous, or active, Enemies? Theſe *Scordiſci* therefore, or as ſome Hiſtorians chuſe to call them, theſe *Thracians*, penetrated into the Heart of *Macedon*, and there committed their uſual Robberies. And as it was cuſtomary for *Rome* to ſend *Conſular* Armies into ſuch of her *Provinces* as could not be defended by the Troops on the Spot; the Senate had regard to the Complaints of the *Macedonians*, and the People ordered that War ſhould be made with thoſe who diſturbed their Peace. The Conduct of this War fell to the Lot of the new *Conſul*, *Porcius Cato*; and it was the only one *Rome* had to maintain. *Jugurtha* indeed, had already raiſed Diſturbances in *Numidia*; but they were not yet come to be of Conſequence enough, for *Rome* to declare War with him.

The *Conſul Porcius* ſet out with that number of *Legions*, which ſtruck Terror where-ever they came. Nothing was more formidable than a *Conſular* Army. But theſe fine Troops wanted a General to command them who knew the Country, and the Stratagems of the Enemy. The *Scordiſci* drew him into a Country full of Rocks, Foreſts, and narrow Paſſes, and encompaſſed with Precipices; and there ſurrounded him ſo well, that not one of his Soldiers eſcaped the Darts of thoſe Barbarians. *Porcius* alone ſaved himſelf by flight. It was no unuſual thing, for the *Roman* Generals to meet with Repulſes when they firſt engaged with new Enemies, to whoſe way of fighting they were Strangers; but the Republick had not for a long Time ſuffered ſuch a Defeat as this. The Hiſtorians ſpeak of it with Aſtoniſhment. The People of *Rome*, ſay they, would have been as much terrified at it, as they were at the Battle of *Cannæ*, if it had been fought in the Heart of *Italy*. However, the Devaſtation of the *Roman Provinces* was the ſure Conſequence of this fatal Day. The *Scorſdici* [64] entered *Macedon* by *Dalmatia*, and ſpread themſelves into *Theſſaly*, and on all the Coaſts of the *Adriatick* Sea. There, theſe Barbarians, who came from inland Countries, to their great ſurprize, found a vaſt Extent of Waters which put a ſtop to their Incurſions; and to revenge themſelves on the Sea, they threw a Shower of Darts at it.

Florus L. 3. Epit. Liv.

Diod. Sic. apud Valeſ.

Florus L. 3. c. 3. Sex. Rufus.

But whilſt the *Scordiſci* were diſperſing themſelves far on the Coaſt, *T. Didius* avenged the Cauſe of *Rome*. He was *Prætor* in *Illyricum*, and had heard with Concern of the Ravages the Barbarians committed, even to the Confines of his Province. Fired therefore with a juſt Reſentment, he aſſembled Troops, joined them to the *Legion* he

and the *Danube* to the North; and *Ptolomy* affirms, That this vaſt Country was 3000 *Stadia*, that is, 375 *French* Miles, or 125 Leagues, in length, from Mount *Cætius* to *Belgrade*; and in breadth, 1500 *Stadia*, or 63 Leagues, from the northern Bed of the *Danube* to Mount *Alban*, which divides it from *Illyricum*. The River *Arabo*, now the *Rab*, divided *Pannonia* into *The Upper* and *The Lower*. The former contained *Carniola*, the County of *Cilly*, a Part of *Auſtria*, *Stiria*, *Vindiſmark*, *Croatia*, and *Sclavonia*; the latter, which lay more to the South, contained a great Part of *Hungary*, *Sclavonia*, *Boſnia*, and *Servia*. *Appian* is the only Author who has confounded the Nation of the *Pannonii* with the *Pæonii*; a People who came originally from *Thrace*, and ſpread themſelves into ſeveral Parts of *Macedon*, as we have elſewhere obſerved.

64 The *Scordiſci* who vanquiſhed *Porcius*, gained a ſecond Victory in ſight of *Heraclea* in *Macedon*, over one *Lucullus*, who commanded the Garriſon of that City. They had lain in Ambuſh behind a Hill, whilſt a Detachment of their Horſe hovered round the Walls of *Heraclea*, with a Deſign to draw the Governour into the open Country. They pretended to carry away ſome Cattle from that Neighbourhood. *Lucullus* immediately made a Sally at the Head of his Troops, to give chaſe to the Robbers. They, in a feigned flight, rode full ſpeed to the Ambuſcade. The Commander purſued them with warmth, and fell into the Snare the *Scordiſci* had laid for him. He was ſurrounded on all ſides, and cut in pieces with his whole Garriſon, which conſiſted of 800 Men. Our Authority for this Fact is *Frontinus Stratag. L. 3.*

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commanded, and marched to meet the Enemy. The Senate ſent him Orders to purge *Macedon* of theſe Robbers, and a Commiſſion to exerciſe the Office of *Conſul*, till another ſhould come; and the brave General ſoon repaired the Loſſes of his Republick. He ſurprized the *Scordiſci*, defeated them, and drove them back to the Banks of the *Danube* which they had deſerted. *Rome* therefore rewarded his Zeal with Pleaſure; and as ſoon as he returned, crowned his Victory with the Honours of a *Triumph*.

Tab. Triumph.

As for *Porcius Cato*, *Rome* did not expreſly condemn him for what the Republick had ſuffered by his Defeat. The Times were paſt, when ſhe made her Generals reſponſible for the unforeſeen Accidents that happened in their Engagements. But ſhe quarrelled with him about Trifles. During his *Conſulſhip*, and his Reſidence in *Macedon*, he had received about 4000 *Seſterces*, as a Preſent from the Inhabitants of the Country; which was ſo moderate [65] a Sum, that if it had been taken by any other Man, or at any leſs critical Time, it would not have been thought to deſerve the Notice of the Judges. But *Porcius* was become the Object of publick Hatred and Contempt. Tho' the Grandſon of the famous *Cato the Cenſor*, and Nephew by the Mother's ſide to *Scipio Africanus*, he was condemned for Oppreſſion, and baniſhed to *Tarragona* in *Spain*, where he ſettled ever after. A Puniſhment not ſo juſt, as in point of Prudence neceſſary; in order to make the *Roman* Generals afraid for the future of raſhly expoſing their Troops to the Mercy of Barbarians, in unknown Places.

l. s. d.
32 5 10 *Ster. Arbuth.*
Vell. Paterc. L. 2. c. 8.
Cic. in Verr.

Cic. pro Balbo.

§. XIX. And now, the *Conſular* Year was ready to have expired, when a fatal Accident accompanied with ſome *Roman* Superſtition, led the way to a Diſcovery, which cauſed a great deal of Diſturbance. A *Knight*, named *P. Helvius*, had carried his Daughter to the *Roman Games*, to entertain her with the Show; and as he was returning to *Apulia*, his uſual Place of Abode, he was overtaken by a Storm, in the middle of a Plain called *Stellates* [66]. It grew dark on a ſudden, and thundered; and at length, the Lightening fell upon the young Lady, ſtruck her dead off her Horſe, and rent her Furniture. But the Stroke which killed her, did not expoſe her. She was found with her Cloaths decently about her. Upon this Misfortune, as was uſual on the ſmalleſt Accidents, recourſe was had to the *Augurs*; who anſwered, That the Year would be fatal both to the Maids, and the *Roman Knights*; and the Prediction happened to prove true.

Julius Obſequens. c. 97.

It was not long before a Diſcovery was made, that a *Roman Knight*, named *L. Betuclus* [67] *Barrus*, maintained an infamous Commerce with a *Veſtal* of a noble Family. He was a profeſſed Debauchee, and gloried in corrupting Women of the greateſt Families and beſt Characters. The Difficulty he found in executing his criminal Deſigns quickened him in the purſuit of them. The more unlawful the Attempt was, the more violently he was bent upon it. He caſt his Eyes therefore on a *Veſtal* named *Æmilia*, and ſeduced her as he had done many others: And whilſt the criminal Correſpondence was confined to *Æmilia* and her Seducer, it was kept very ſecret. But the Contagion ſoon ſpread from one *Veſtal* to another. *Æmilia* had two Companions, whom her Example, and looſe Diſcourſes, and the Corruption of their own Hearts, had made her Aſſociates in Iniquity; one of which was *Licinia*, and the other *Marcia*. However, the latter preſerved ſome kind of Decency in her wicked Intrigues; inaſmuch as ſhe converſed with only one *Roman Knight*, and carried on her Amour with the Privity only of her two Companions. But *Æmilia* and *Licinia* found more than one Gallant raſh enough to engage in an Attempt, in which all the Accomplices had ever been puniſhed with great Severity. *Æmilius*, the Brother of *Æmilia*, was criminally converſant with *Licinia*; and *Licinius* her Brother, with *Æmilia*. So that it ſeems ſtrange that *Barrus*, when he ſaw himſelf attacked by ſeveral Rivals, did not break out; but the Fear of Puniſhment made him bear with Patience what it was ſo dangerous to divulge.

Oroſ. L. 5. c. 15.
Epit. Liv.
Plut. in Quæſt. Rom. c. 83.

65 *Cicero* advances this Sum to 18000 *Little Seſterces*; which at the rate of 2 *Sols* and an half to a *Seſterce*, make 2250 *Livres*.

66 The Plain *Stellates* in *Campania*, was bounded on one ſide by Mount *Callicula* which divided it from the Plains of *Falernum*; and it was watered by the *Vulturnus*, and the *Savone*. See Vol. 2. p. 297. Note 17. We muſt take care not to confound this little Territory with another of the ſame Name, which we have mentioned Vol. 2. The latter gave Name to the *Tribe Stellatina*, and lay between the Cities of *Capua*, *Veii*, and *Falerii*. See Vol. 1.

67 *Oroſius* gives this *Roman Knight* the Name of *Veturius*; which Miſtake is rectified by *Fabricius* in his Notes on that Author. *Porphyrion*, the old Commentator on *Horace* tells us, That the Name of the Criminal was *Betucius*.

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However, it is eaſy to imagine, that many Arts muſt have been uſed, and many wicked Agents employed, to elude the Vigilance of the *Pontifices*, whoſe Eyes were always fixed on the Behaviour of the *Veſtals:* And among the latter was a Slave named *Manius*, whom *Barrus*, the firſt Author of this Violation of the Sanctuary of *Veſta*, made uſe of, to carry on his Intrigues. His Freedom was, no doubt, the leaſt Part of the Reward he was to expect from his Maſter, who probably would have kept his Word with the Confident of his Amours. But he took it in his Head, to make his Agent reſponſible for all the Mortifications *Æmilia* gave him. He revenged them on the unfortunate *Manius*, who ſuffered very ſeverely for his Maſter's Jealouſy: And this produced a Diſcovery of all the Abominations which their Fears had made them artfully conceal. The Slave, provoked by this ill Uſage, went and accuſed his Maſter; and there was no Reply to be made to his Accuſation, becauſe he had it in his Power to prove the Charge. *Æmilia*, *Licinia*, and *Marcia*, were therefore cited to appear before the *Pontifices* with their Accomplices; and the abominable Inceſt of *Æmilia* and *Barrus* being confeſſed, they were condemned to the uſual Puniſhment. But, tho' *Licinia* and *Marcia* were not leſs guilty, the *Pontifices*, ſhocked at the Scandal it would bring on the whole *Sacerdotal* Order, to have ſo many Criminals puniſhed at once, and hoping to avoid ſome part of the Reproach, by leſſening the Number of the condemned, acquitted them, and reinſtated them in their *Sacerdotal* Offices: And this Indulgence raiſed great Murmurs among the People. There was a general Outcry, That the Misfortunes of the Republick were wholly owing to the Prophanations of the inceſtuous *Veſtals*. *It is the Gods*, ſaid the People, *that have ſtirred up the* Scordiſci *to march out of their own Country, maſſacre our* Legionaries, *and plunder our* Provinces. *It is not ſo much their Avarice, as our Wickedneſs, that has brought them to the Borders of* Italy. *To ſuffer the reſt of the Criminals to eſcape unpuniſhed, is to lay up in ſtore againſt our ſelves a greater Share of that divine Vengeance which has already been ſo ſignally inflicted upon us: And we already ſee the* Cimbri, *a Nation till now unknown, threatening our Frontiers with a ſpeedy Inundation.* And indeed, the Barbarians on the Side of *Germany*, were already in motion; and aſſembling together in order to ſome Expedition, which the Republick had Reaſon to fear.

§. XX. But tho' the Clamours of the People generally had the deſired Effect, the preſent Affair was a Matter of Religion, of which the *Pontifices* were ſole Judges, and their Determinations without Appeal. Nevertheleſs, one of the *Tribunes of the People* had Courage enough to bring the Affair of *Licinia* and *Marcia* before the aſſembled *Tribes*. *Sextus Peduceius* declaimed bitterly againſt the Incontinence of the *Veſtals*, aggravated their Crimes, and ſhewed the Iniquity of the Judgment of the *Pontifices*. *This is not the firſt Time*, ſaid he, *that Crimes againſt Religion have been brought before the Tribunal of the People. We have formerly ſeen a* Cenſor *aſſume a Right of conſecrating a Statue to* Concord, *in order to its being publickly worſhipped; and tho' the Worſhip of a Goddeſs was in queſtion, the Affair was brought before the* Comitia. *A* Veſtal *once thought fit to build an Oratory without the Conſent of the* Roman *People, and You ordered it to be demoliſhed. Is then the revival of the Proſecution of the* Veſtals *a Matter of leſs Conſequence to you? Will not the prophane Licentiouſneſs of the two mad Virgins fall directly on all the People? It is We, it is the whole Republick, that will bear the Puniſhment of it. The ill Conſequences of the War that threatens us, and the Miſeries of the Famine, will fall much heavier on the common People, than on the rich* Pontifices, *who are exempted, if they pleaſe, from going to the Frontiers to fight. We already ſee manifeſt Signs of the Wrath of Heaven. In the northern Countries, Nations, whoſe Names we knew not, are whetting their Swords againſt a Republick which is regardleſs of the Honour due to the Gods. It was by our Regard for Religion that we extended our Frontiers; and if we would preſerve our Conqueſts, it muſt be by the ſame Means. Whereas now, the very Patrons of Religion deſert it; and they who ought to avenge, betray its Cauſe. If only one* Veſtal *had polluted herſelf, it is a Crime which our Legiſlators have thought to deſerve the moſt terrible of Puniſhments.* Numa *had no regard to the Levity and Weakneſs of the Sex. He condemned every ſuch Criminal without Mercy. And now, the Inceſt has been repeated, has ſpread like a Contagion, and infected one half of the College. This is therefore an execrable Prophanation, which the Publick ought zealouſly and exemplarily to puniſh: And ſince their Miniſters will not, it is your Buſineſs to revenge the Affronts offered to the Gods.*

Thus

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Thus ſpake *Peduceius*; and his Motion was approved. It was determined by the People, That the Sentence given by *Metellus*, the *Pontifex Maximus*, was a very partial one; and That *Licinia* and *Marcia* ſhould be proſecuted afreſh. The *Comitia* alſo nominated a *Prætor*, to whom they gave an *extraordinary* Commiſſion to hear the Cauſe again, and finally and abſolutely determine it. This *Prætor* was the famous *Lucius*[68] *Caſſius*, a Man of known Integrity; but ſo ſevere, that his Court was called, *the Wreck of Criminals*. He had no regard, to the Birth of the Accuſed, or the Sentence paſſed in their Favour, or the Rights of the *Pontifical* College, or the Eloquence of *Lucius Craſſus*[69], who pleaded for his Relation *Licinia*. He condemned the two *Veſtals* to be buried alive, and their Accomplices to be whipped to death. Who then can deſcribe the mournful Silence which reigned in *Rome*, when the infamous Prieſteſſes were led to the Place of Puniſhment? Compaſſion was viſible in the Faces of the People; but their Hearts were full of Indignation. At leaſt, it appeared, That the Love of Chaſtity which had at all Times ſo much diſtinguiſhed the *Romans*, was not yet loſt. Some particular Perſons had been corrupted, but the Publick declared for Continence; and their virtuous Inclinations were yet ſupported by the Laws.

Val. Max. L. 3.

Jul. Obſeq. Ovid. Faſt. L. 5.

In order to wipe off, in ſome meaſure, the mighty Scandal which the *Veſtals* had given, *Rome* built a Temple to *Venus*, at the publick Expence, and gave her the Appellation of[70] *Verticordia*; becauſe they deſigned here to implore the Aſſiſtance of the Goddeſs, to *turn the Hearts* of the *Roman* Women and their Daughters, to Virtue. So that *Venus* was now invoked for Chaſtity. And when the Statue came to be conſecrated, the *Romans* thought fit to do Honour to the moſt chaſte of the *Roman* Ladies. They firſt choſe out one Hundred of the moſt unblemiſhed Characters; then reduced thoſe Hundred to Ten; and among them, conferred the Honour of the Conſecration on *Sulpicia*, the Daughter of *Serv. Sulpicius Paterculus*. Tho' very young, and lately married to *Quintus Fulvius Flaccus*, ſhe had given Proofs of an extraordinary Modeſty: And the Honour now done her, was not inferior to that of *Scipio Naſica*, who had been, by a Decree of the Senate, declared to be the moſt virtuous of the *Romans*.

Val. Max. L. 8.

68 This *Lucius Caſſius*, who was ſo formidable to the accuſed, had been *Conſul* in the Year 626, and *Cenſor* in the Year 628. To which it may be objected, That if he was the ſame Man who, when he was *Tribune of the People*, had made the Law about the manner of voting, and had been ſucceſſively raiſed to thoſe Offices; he muſt then have condeſcended, contrary to Cuſtom, to accept of an inferior Office, twelve Years after he had enjoyed the two higheſt Dignities in *Rome*, the *Conſulate* and *Cenſorſhip*.

To which we anſwer, that he was now elected *Prætor* out of courſe. This was an *extraordinary* Commiſſion with which the People entruſted him, to rehear the Sentence paſſed by the *Pontifex Maximus* in favour of the accuſed *Veſtals*. Beſides, we may have obſerved ſeveral, in the Courſe of the Hiſtory, who accepted of the *Prætorſhip*, after they had been *Conſuls*. Nay, they who were paſt the *Conſular* Chair, did not think it beneath them to accept of the *Quæſtorſhip*; an Office much below that of *Prætor*, becauſe it had no Juriſdiction. It may be remembered, that *Quintius Capitolinus* was *Quæſtor* with *Marcus Valerius*; tho' he had been three Times *Conſul*. So that there is no Reaſon for not believing, that *Lucius Caſſius*, who was *Tribune of the People* in 616, *Conſul* in 626, and *Cenſor* in 628, had this *extraordinary* Commiſſion in 640, to re-hear the Cauſe of the Prieſteſſes of *Veſta*.

By *Cicero*'s Account of him, he appears to have been a very ſevere Judge, who made Criminals tremble. His inflexible Severity was in a manner hereditary in the *Caſſian* Family; according to the *Roman* Orator, in his ſecond *Oration againſt Verres*. *Lucius Caſſius ex familia, tum ad cæteras res, tum ad judicandum Severiſſima*. It was probably this *Caſſius*, who gave riſe to the famous Maxim of Cui bono; which he applied to the Diſcovery of the Innocent from the Guilty. Indeed Intereſt, or the Hope of ſome Good, is generally the Motive upon which Criminals act. It ſeldom happens, that they do Miſchief, purely for the ſake of doing it. So that generally ſpeaking, the Preſumption is againſt the Accuſed, when he might have reaped any Benefit from the Crime laid to his Charge. But nevertheleſs, this Rule is only to be admitted in doubtful Caſes. It would be ridiculous to acquit a Man manifeſtly proved guilty of an Aſſaſſination, upon this Maxim of Cui Bono. For to what purpoſe would it be to urge, that it was not his Intereſt to commit the Murder? This Argument is not to be admitted againſt the full Evidence of a Fact. Add to this, That *Caſſius*'s Severity became proverbial. All ſevere Judges were, according to *Cicero* and *Ammianus Marcellinus*, from his Name called *Caſſiani Judices*.

69 *Cicero* ſays, That *Craſſus* was then 27 Years of Age.

70 It may ſeem ſtrange, that the *Romans* ſhould have recourſe to *Venus*, to put a ſtop to the Debauchery of the *Roman* Women. Since, according to the Doctrine of *Paganiſm*, ſhe was the Goddeſs of Pleaſure, the Incontinence of the condemned *Veſtals*, ſhould rather ſeem to have been the Work of the unchaſte Goddeſs. But the Senate, for that very Reaſon, becauſe ſhe was the Cauſe of theſe Diſorders, thought it neceſſary to make court to her, by the Conſecration of a new Image, and ſolemn Vows. She being allowed to be the ſovereign Directreſs of the Heart, they flattered themſelves, that ſhe might be prevailed on to guard it againſt Seduction. The Title of Verticordia, or *Converter of Hearts*, aſcribed to the Goddeſs on this Occaſion, anſwers to that of Apostrophia, or *Turner of Hearts*; under which Appellation *Harmonia*, the Wife of *Cadmus*, according to *Pauſanias*, erected a Statue to *Venus*, in the City of *Thebes*.

§. XXI.

§. XXI. In the mean time, it appeared that the Apprehenſions the Republick had entertained of an Inundation of Barbarians, were not purely imaginary. At the further end of *Germany*, that is, in the moſt northern Parts of it, there was a Nation, who were ſaid to have been originally deſcended from the *Aſiatick Cimmerians* [71], and to have taken the Name of *Cimbri*, when they changed their old Habitations. Theſe People were now ſettled near the Ocean, in the *Peninſula*, which we call [72] *Jutland*, and the Ancients *Cimbrica Cherſoneſus*; and were tired of cultivating a cold Country, ſhut up between

Year of *ROME* DCXXXIX. M' Acilius Balbus, & C. Porcius Cato, Conſuls. *Strabo L. 7.*

71 The ancient Geographers, among the reſt, *Strabo*, *Pliny*, *Ptolomy*, and *Pomponius Mela*, agree, That the *Cimmerii* came originally from *Scythia in Aſia*; and That they inhabited the Countries near the *Palus Meotis*, and the *Taurica Cherſoneſus*, (now poſſeſſed by the *Little Tartars*) and the *Boſphorus*, which from them was called *Cimmerian*. It is now the *Voſpero*, or the *Streights of Caffa*. And laſtly, the ſame Authors agree, That a Swarm of theſe People left their native Country, to go and ſettle between *Colchis* and *Iberia*. Theſe People made themſelves formidable to all *Aſia* by their Robberies, as early as in the Days of *Homer*. Being driven out of their own Country by the *Scythian Nomades*, they ravaged the fineſt Countries in the Eaſt. *Æolis*, *Ionia*, the Kingdoms of *Pontus*, *Lydia*, and *Paphlagonia*, felt their Fury. They took the City of *Sardis* by Force, and ſubjected it to their Dominion. *Autandros*, a City at the Foot of Mount *Ida* underwent the ſame Fate. At leaſt, *Pliny* ſays, That this City was inhabited by *Cimmerii*, who changed its firſt Name into that of *Cimmeris*. The Death of *Lygdamis* their General, who was killed in *Cilicia*, ſtopped theſe Barbarians in the midſt of their Courſe. After they had been vanquiſhed by *Alyates* King of *Lydia*, according to *Herodotus*; ſome of them returned homewards, and others, as moſt Hiſtorians conjecture, advanced towards the North, as far as the *Baltic*. It is natural to ſuppoſe, that the City of *Cimmerium* which *Strabo* mentions, ſituated in the *Taurica Cherſoneſus*, near the *Boſphorus* and *Palus Mæotis*, belonged to them. This ancient Geographer affirms, That the Inhabitants had fortified this Place with a Rampart, and a wide Ditch, to ſhut up the entrance into the *Iſthmus* which joins the *Peninſula* to the Continent. Near it was *The Cimmerian Promontory*, now known by the Name of *The Cape of St. Croſs*.

The Ancients have repreſented the Country of the *Cimmerii* as an ungrateful Soil, covered with thick Foreſts, and almoſt continual Fogs, which the Rays of the Sun could not break through. This frightful Deſcription gave room to *Cicero* and *Ovid* to ſay, That an eternal Night reigned in this gloomy Climate; and That Sleep had taken up his abode there: And from thence, according to *Lactantius*, the *Cimmerian Darkneſs* became Proverbial, to ſignify a gloomy, ſtupid Mind.

Lycophron, *Pliny*, *Strabo*, *Euſtathius*, *Servius*, &c. have planted a Colony of *Cimmerians* in *Campania*, between *Cumæ* and *Baiæ*, near the *Lake Avernus*; and they ſay, That the Sun never ſhined in this little Canton, which is ſurrounded on all ſides by high Mountains. Others, particularly *Ephorus*, who is quoted by *Strabo*, imagined, That the *Cimmerii* were a ſort of Savages, which choſe to live near *Cumæ*, in the ſubterraneous Caverns, which the Poets conſidered as the Paſſages which led to Hell. But *Strabo*, who had too much Judgment to give Credit to theſe puerile Fictions, acknowledges no other *Cimmerii*, but thoſe who inhabited *Scythia in Aſia*, and *Scythia in Europe*, near the *Palus Mæotis* and *Taurica Cherſoneſus*.

Add to this, that the *Cimmerii* were the moſt ſuperſtitious of all the Nations in *Aſia*. They worſhipped Woods, Rivers, and Fountains. As far as we can judge by *Heſychius*'s Teſtimony, and the Epithet of *Cimmeris*, which he gives to *Cybele*, this Goddeſs ſeems to have been one of the chief Objects of their Worſhip.

72 Moſt of the Ancients agree, That the *Cimbri* did make themſelves Maſters of that Part of the *Cimbrica Cherſoneſus*, which we now call *Jutland*. But they don't agree as to the Origin of theſe People. Some, as *Feſtus*, contend, That by *Cimbri*, we are to underſtand a Company of Robbers, which extended themſelves as far as to the *Palus Mæotis*, and from thence to the northern Countries of *Europe*; and they ſupport this Opinion by the Etymology of the Word *Cimbre*, which in the ancient *German* Language ſignifies *a Robber*. Others confound them with the *Germans*, who lived on the Banks of the *Elbe*. Some have affirmed, without any Proof, That the Name of *Cimbri* was common to the People of *Germany*, of the *Gauls*, and of *Great Britain*. And all theſe Authors, in order to ſupport their Conjectures, have amaſſed together a Multitude of Fables, which are below the Dignity of Hiſtory.

The greateſt Part infer from the Similitude of the Names, That they were the ſame People with the *Cimmerii* mentioned in the preceding Note. However, theſe Differences of Opinion diſable us from ſaying any thing certain of their Tranſmigrations. All we know is, That they inhabited the *Cimbrica Cherſoneſus*, long before the *Cæſars* Time; and That from them the *Cape of Scagen* in *Denmark*, was called *Promontorium Cimbrorum*, or *The Promontory of the Cimbri*.

However it is certain, from the Account of *Pliny the Naturaliſt*, That theſe Barbarians were a rambling unſettled Nation, like the *Nomades* and *Scythians*. They had no other Lodgings, according to him, than covered Waggons; and he ſays, That after *Marius*'s Victory, the Dogs, which in great Numbers followed the *Cimbri* to War, defended the Entrances into theſe moveable Houſes againſt the *Romans*, till they died on the Spot. No Man will diſpute with *Pliny* the Truth of a Fact, which is ſo agreeable to the Genius of the ancient northern Nations, and to the Relations of the graveſt Authors of Antiquity. But we cannot form the ſame Judgment of a Fable, which that Hiſtorian vends for a matter of Fact. He ſays, That the Clattering of the Arms, and the Sound of the Trumpets in the Heat of the Battle which the *Romans* gave the *Cimbri*, were heard to *Rome*; that is, above 100 Leagues from the Field of Battle. He ſhould have added likewiſe the Noiſe of the Drums; for *Strabo* at leaſt aſſures us, That the *Cimbri* uſed them in their Armies. A Fable which has not the leaſt ſhadow of Truth. To which we ſhall add here, another Miſtake of *Plutarch*, in his *Life of Marius*, concerning the Situation of the *Cimbrica Cherſoneſus*. He took it for granted, that in this *Peninſula*, which now contains *Jutland*, and *Holſace* or *Holſtein*, the longeſt Days, as well as the longeſt Nights, were 24 Hours. Which being ſuppoſed, it will follow, that the Country of the *Cimbri* muſt have lain under the *Polar* Circle, that is, in the 24th *Climate*; and the Elevation of the Pole with regard to them, muſt have been 66 Degrees and 30 Minutes. But it is eaſy to ſee the Miſcalculation of the *Greek* Author. *Denmark*, a Part of which belonged to the *Cimbri*, lies between the 54th and 58th Degrees of North Latitude; and conſequently, the longeſt Night at the Winter *Solſtice*, and the longeſt Day at the Sum-

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between two Seas. They therefore formed a Deſign to change their Habitations again, and ſeek their Fortune elſewhere. It was no uncommon thing for the northern Nations to ſpread themſelves towards the South, and get themſelves new Settlements by Conqueſt. Accordingly, the *Cimbri* left their *Peninſula*; and, joining with the *Teutones* [73] a neighbouring Nation, they all with their Wives and Children took their Journey Southward, and fell upon the Country which the *Boian Gauls* had long poſſeſſed, not far from the *Hercynian* [74] *Foreſt*. But this Army of *Cimbri*, was more formidable for their Numbers, and the Ravages they committed, than their Valour. The *Boij* [75] (who are the preſent *Bavarians*) ſoon got rid of them, and forced them to carry War and Deva-ſtation into other Places. Then they fell on the *Scordiſci*, whom *Didius* had juſt driven back to the Banks of the *Danube*; and from thence advancing ſtill nearer to the *Roman Provinces*, they penetrated into *Vindelicia* [76]; there ravaged the Country of the *Tauriſci* [77], and exerciſed their Robberies and Cruelties on the Banks of the *Drave* [78]. Inſomuch, that the Approach of theſe Barbarians made *Rome* her ſelf tremble, and both Senate and People reſolved to put a ſtop to their Incurſions, and diſperſe this terrible Number of Vagabonds.

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As ſoon then as the new *Conſuls*, *Caius Cæcilius* [79] *Metellus*, and *Cn. Papirius* [80] *Carbo* were choſen, the *Conſcript Fathers* made it their firſt Concern, to ſend one of them to meet the *Cimbri*. They drew Lots for their Provinces; and it fell to *Metellus* to go into *Macedon*, to finiſh the War with the *Scordiſci*. The Allotment of *Papirius* was *Illyricum*; and he had Orders to wait for the *Cimbri* at the furtheſt Part of the *Eaſtern Alpes*, and ſtop the Paſſes againſt them.

The *Conſuls* immediately ſet out for their Stations, and made War there with very different Succeſs. *Metellus* found the *Scordiſci* already fatigued by the Incurſions of the *Cimbri*; and he drove them from Poſt to Poſt, and weakened them by repeated Battles, till at length he ſo reduced them, as to put them out of a Condition to make any new Attempts againſt the *Roman Provinces*. So ſucceſsful was his Campaign, that the *Legionaries* gave him upon the Spot, the Title of *Imperator*, which was not given to all Generals; and at his Return, his Services were rewarded with the Honours of a *Triumph*, in which there was one particular Circumſtance which doubled his Joy on that Occaſion. His Brother, who was *Conſul* before him, had been ſent, as we have obſerved, to ſuppreſs the Rebellion in *Sardinia* and *Corſica*; and this brave General being now returned to *Rome*, after two Years Labours and Victories, the Senate and People agreed, That the two Generals ſhould *triumph* together: One for having conquered the *Thracians*, the other for having reduced the two rebellious Iſlands. A great Honour indeed for the *Cæcilian* Family! which had been diſtinguiſhed by as many, if not more publick Ho-

mer *Solſtice*, is no more than 18 Hours, in the moſt northern Part of the Kingdom.

73 The *Teutones* which ſome ancient Authors ſay came originally from *Scythia* in *Aſia*, ſettled near the *Baltic*. They poſſeſſed the Iſlands near *Denmark*, particularly thoſe of *Funen*, and *Zeeland*, in which ſtands *Copenhagen*, the Capital of the Kingdom.

74 See what we have ſaid of the *Hercynian Foreſt*. Vol. 2. p. 4. Note 17.

75 The *Boii*, a People who came originally from *Bourbonnois* and the neighbouring Provinces, as we have obſerved in Vol. 2, followed *Segoveſus* into *Germany*, whilſt his Brother *Belloveſus* made himſelf a Way over the *Alpes* into *Italy*. The *Gallic* Nation which compoſed that General's Army, diſperſed themſelves into ſeveral Provinces in *Germany*, and there ſettled. *Bohemia* fell to the *Boii*. But they were driven out, in the Reign of *Auguſtus*, by the *Marcomani*, whoſe Country was bounded by the Springs of the *Rhine* and the *Danube*; and when they were forced to abandon their firſt Conqueſt, they ſettled between the Rivers *Inn* and *Iſere*, in lower *Bavaria*, which from them was called the Country of the *Boii*, or *Boiarois*, and by corruption *Bavarois*, or *Bavarians*.

76 *Vindelicia* which ſome ancient Geographers make the ſame Country with *Rhætia*, formerly contained a Part of the Biſhoprick of *Conſtance*, of the *Tirol*, of the Biſhoprick of *Paſſau*, all *Upper Bavaria*, and part of *Lower*. To which ſome add, the Dutchy of *Neubourg*, the Marquiſate of *Burgon*, &c. In a Word, all the Lands between the River *Ins* and the Lake of *Bregentz* belonged to *Vindelicia*.

77 The Ancients gave the Name of *Tauriſci* to thoſe Nations of *Vindelicia* and *Noricum*, which lived neareſt to the *Alpes*.

78 The *Drave* riſes in the Territory of *Saltzburg*; from thence it croſſes *Lower Auſtria*, *Carinthia*, and *Stiria*; and at length falls into the *Danube*, in *Hungary*.

79 *Caius Cæcilius Metellus* was the fourth Son of *Quintus Metellus Macedonicus*. His Ruſticity and ill-breeding procured him the Surname of *Caprarius* or *The Goat-herd*. He firſt bore Arms in the *Numantian* War; in which he behaved himſelf ſo ill, that *Scipio Æmilianus* his General reproached him ſeverely for his Dilatorineſs and Stupidity; and ſaid, according to *Cicero*, That *if his Mother bore another male Child, it muſt be an Aſs*. By which he inſinuated, That the *Metelli* were leſs and leſs endowed with natural Talents, according to their Birth. So that *Metellus Caprarius* was wholly indebted to the Merit of his Father, and the Splendor of his Family, for the higheſt Dignities in the Republick.

80 *Cicero* obſerves, in a Letter to *Papirius Pætus*, That *Cneius Carbo* was the Son of the ſeditious *Caius Carbo*, who raiſed ſo many Diſturbances in the Republick. He was the Father of one *Cneius Carbo*, who periſhed in the Civil Wars of *Marius* and *Sylla*.

nours,

nours, than any other *Patrician* Family, in ſo ſhort a Space of Time. Above twelve *Cæcilii* had been ſucceſſively raiſed either to the *Conſulate*, or *Cenſorſhip*, and many of them honoured with *Triumphs*, in leſs than twelve Years.

Year of *ROME* DCXL.

C. Cæcilius Metellus, & Cn. Papirius Carbo, Conſuls. *Strabo*, L. 5. *Plin.* L. 3. *Appian.* *Epit. Liv.*

§. XXII. The *Conſul Papirius* was not ſo ſucceſsful. He came and encamped at *Noreïa* [81], a Village in *Carinthia* [82], at ſome diſtance from *Aquileia*; and there waited for theſe formidable *Cimbri*, whoſe Name ſtruck more Terror the nearer they advanced towards *Italy*. At length they appeared in the Country of the *Norici* [83], there exerciſed their uſual Robberies, and this put *Papirius* in Motion. He haſtened to the Defence of a People in Alliance, as he affirmed, with his Republick; and ſent notice to the General of the *Cimbri* to put a ſtop to Hoſtilities againſt a Nation which was under the Protection of *Rome*. But tho' the *Romans* maintained the Rights of Hoſpitality with the *Norici*, this did not oblige *Rome* to appear in their Defence; ſo that if the Republick declared againſt the *Cimbri*, it was not ſo much out of Regard to the *Norici*, as to her own Safety. The *Cimbri* anſwered, That they knew not what Engagements the Republick had entered into with the *Norici*; That They, who came from ſo great a diſtance, had not troubled themſelves about looking into the reciprocal Intereſts and Alliances of Nations; and laſtly, That the *Cimbrian* Army knew no Law but that of the ſtrongeſt Party. *Nevertheleſs*, added they, *we have a great Veneration for the powerful People of* Rome. *The Name of theſe Conquerors has reached even to the northern Regions; and in reſpect to* Rome, *we will commit no more Hoſtilities in the Places which ſhe protects. The Earth is big enough to furniſh a Subſiſtence for Men accuſtomed to ramble, without fixing their Habitations in any particular Place. Provided we may be permitted to make War or Peace, as we pleaſe, in all thoſe Parts of the World, to which the Alliances of* Rome *do not extend, we will turn our Arms againſt thoſe Countries of* Germany, *which have no Relation to her. Perhaps we may have the good Fortune to facilitate the Conqueſt of the Countries through which we paſs, for the* Romans, *by our Incurſions.*

Papirius pretended to be ſatisfied with the Declarations the *Cimbri* made, of their Inclinations to cultivate the Friendſhip of the *Romans*; but he only waited for their Departure, in order to prepare Ambuſhes for them with the greater Safety. When he ſaw them ready to quit the Country of the *Norici*, he corrupted the Guides which were to have led them another Way; and the Traitors made them take a large Compaſs, and brought them to the Plain of *Noreia*, where the *Conſul* and his *Legions* were in Expectation of them. There the *Cimbri* encamped, without perceiving that the *Roman* Army was ſo near, and quietly gave themſelves up to reſt. *Papirius* came upon them, ſurrounded their Camp, and promiſed himſelf a certain Victory. But what Difficulties cannot a warlike People ſurmount, when actuated by Deſpair and Indignation! They ran to Arms, and fought like Deſperado's, in defence of their Wives and Children: And after they had firſt made a vigorous Reſiſtance, they became Aggreſſors. They fell on the *Romans* with ſuch Fury, that they put them into Diſorder; and the *Legions* would have been entirely defeated, if they had not ſaved themſelves by flight. The *Roman* Soldiers fled in Confuſion to the neighbouring Foreſts for Refuge, and there diſperſed themſelves ſo much, that they were three Days aſſembling together.

And who could have imagined, but this fatal Overthrow muſt have produced the ravaging of *Italy*, and perhaps the taking and Deſtruction of *Rome* itſelf? The Conſternation there was univerſal. All expected to ſee the *Barbarians* immediately paſs the *Alpes*, and over-run the Provinces neareſt to the Capital, like a Torrent. But the *Cimbri*, upon what Motive is very difficult to ſay, neglected to reap the Advantages of their

81 *Noreïa* was formerly a City, or if you will, a Village of *Carniola*, which with *Carinthia* anciently made but one Province; of which the *Carni*, who came originally from *Celtic Gaul*, made themſelves Maſters. *Strabo* places this City on the Banks of the *Tilaventus*, now the *Taiamento*, which riſes in the *Julian Alpes*, and falls into the *Adriatick* Sea, 15 Miles from *Aquileia*. *Cluver* conjectures, with a good deal of Probability, That *Noreïa* was in the Neighbourhood of another City, which is now called *Venzoné*. *Pliny* will have it to have ſtood in the Country of the *Tauriſci*. *Cæſar* places it in *Noricum*. But they both meant the ſame Country, tho' they call it by different Names. The *Tauriſci* had ſeized that Part of *Illyricum* which made old *Noricum*, and poſſeſſed it a great while. *Strabo* ranks theſe People among the *Celtic Gauls*; who left their Country in ſearch of new ones, and ſeized *Carniola*, *Carinthia*, and the neighbouring Provinces.

82 *Carinthia*, now a Province of the *Circle of Auſtria*, formerly belonged to the *Carni*, as well as *Carniola*.

83 The Country of the *Norici* contained a Part of *Bavaria* from the River *Inn*, all *Upper Auſtria*, *Carinthia*, and *Stiria*. *Strabo*, *Pliny*, and ſeveral other Geographers comprehend this Country within the Bounds of old *Illyricum*.

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Victory. Whether they revered the Authority of the ſovereign Republick; or feared the Forces of a People, who had extended their Dominion ſo far into the three Parts of the World; or whether it was the good Pleaſure of Providence, to reward the Zeal *Rome* had ſhewn in avenging the Violations of the ſacrilegious Virgins, in this manner; whatever was the Cauſe or Motive, the *Cimbri*, by a kind of Miracle, turned their Arms elſewhere. They marched towards the Country of the *Helvetii*[84], and from thence entered *Tranſalpine Gaul*, which they filled with Deſolation and Slaughter. So that *Rome* had, at leaſt, ſome Time to breathe; tho' her Fears were not entirely diſpelled, till one of the braveſt of her Generals had totally deſtroyed the whole Nation of the *Cimbri*, as ſhall be related in due time.

Val. Max. L. 3. c. 7; & L. 6. c. 8.

§. XXIII. In the mean while, the Deliverance of *Italy* which the *Cimbri* had threatened, quickened the Zeal of the *Romans*, in the Proſecution of thoſe *Knights*, who had had any ſhare in the late Guilt. The famous Orator, *M. Antonius*, the Grandfather of that *Mark Anthony*, who afterwards diſputed the Empire with *Auguſtus*, was then in the Flower of his Age; and being more gallant than vicious, had given ſome room for a Suſpicion, that he had kept ſome unlawful Commerce with the condemned *Veſtals*. He was now juſt entered on publick Offices for the firſt Time. He had been very lately nominated to the *Quæſtorſhip* of *Aſia*, and was already got to *Brunduſium*, in order to embark for *Pergamus*. There Advice was brought him, That he was cited to appear before the ſevere *Prætor Caſſius*; That his Reputation was attacked; and That he was in great danger of being condemned to a very ſevere Puniſhment. And had he been conſcious of any Guilt, he might have continued his Journey, and have enjoyed, during his *Quæſtorſhip*, the Privilege of the Law, which exempted the Magiſtrates of the Provinces, from all Obligations to appear in a Court of Juſtice. But *Anthony*, ſecure in his Innocence, immediately returned to *Rome*, appeared before the *Prætor*, and deſired that his Cauſe might be heard without delay. The Judge endeavoured at firſt to intimidate him, by threatening to put the young Slave to the Torture, who was ſaid to be the Confidant of his Amours; and it was to be feared, That the violence of the Torments would extort from the young Child a falſe Accuſation againſt his Maſter. But the Courage[85] of the Slave revived *Antonius*. He offered himſelf to the Torture with an Aſſurance, which induced the Judges to ſpare him. The *Quæſtor* of *Aſia* was acquitted; and ſet out for his Province with more Honour, than if he had not been accuſed.

And now, the Puniſhment of theſe Iniquities, and the Departure of the *Cimbri*, had ſettled *Rome* in greater Tranquillity, than ſhe had long enjoyed. There was only one War to finiſh, with the *Scordiſci*; who were already weakened, but ſtill very haughty, and ready to take Arms again, as ſoon as the *Roman* Armies ſhould leave *Macedon*, for any more neceſſary Expeditions. Beſides, it was eaſy to foreſee, that *Numidia* would ſoon become the Seat of War. The Steps taken by *Jugurtha* became daily more and more ſuſpicious; and the War in *Africa* would ſoon become a Matter of the greateſt Importance. It was therefore neceſſary for the *Romans* to diſpatch the Affair of the *Scordiſci*, and deliver themſelves from theſe troubleſome Enemies, by utterly deſtroying them:

84 The *Helvetii*, at the Time we are ſpeaking of, and for ſome Ages after, were included among the *Gallic* Nations. *Strabo*, and *Cæſar*, after having ſuppoſed that their Country was a Part of *Gaul*, divide it into four Cantons. The firſt call'd *Tigurinus Pagus*, contained the Cantons of *Zurich*, *Appenzell*, *Schaffhauſen*, and *Rhintall*. The ſecond, called *Tugenus Pagus*, contained the *Cantons* of *Zug*, *Glaris*, *Schwitz*, and *Uri*. The third, which belonged to the *Ambrones*, contained a little Part of the *Canton* of *Friburg*, and the whole *Cantons* of *Lucern*, *Bern*, *Solothurn*, and *Underwald*. And laſtly, the fourth, which was near the River *Orbe*, and a City named *Urba* in *Antoninus*'s *Itinerary*, and therefore called *Urbigenus Pagus*, contained the Principality of *Neufchattel*, and the greateſt Part of the *Canton* of *Friburg*, and of the *Pais Roman*. The Country of the *Rauraci*, now *The Canton of Baſle*, was afterwards added to the *Helvetic* Body. In the moſt early Times, a numerous *Colony* of *Helvetii* had, according to *Tacitus*, made an Irruption into *Germany*, and got Poſſeſſion of the Provinces which lay between the *Danube*, the *Rhine*, the *Maine*, and the *Foreſt of Bohemia*. But it is difficult to aſcertain the Time of this Expedition. Some place it in the Year of *Rome* 150, under the Reign of *Tarquin the Elder*. At leaſt, we learn from *Livy*, that the *Boii*, a People of *Celtic Gaul*, then penetrated into *Bohemia*, and reduced it under their Dominion. The *Helvetii* maintained themſelves in their ancient Dominions, till the Reign of *Honorius*. In thoſe Times of Trouble and Confuſion, the *Germans* entered the Country of the *Helvetii*, which was then a Part of *Gaul*, Sword in Hand; and driving out the lawful Poſſeſſors, ſettled themſelves in all the *Swiſs Cantons*. And from the Time of this Conqueſt, the New-comers became Members of the *Germanic Body*, and the Country they uſurped, was no longer reckoned among the Provinces of *Gaul*.

85 *Valerius Maximus* ſays expreſly, *B. 6. c. 8.* That the Slave was accuſed of having lighted his Maſter in the Night with a Flambeaux, to the Place of Meeting; and adds, That the faithful Servant endured the moſt cruel Tortures, by ſcourging, burning Plates of Metal, and the wooden Horſe, with an Intrepidity which ſurprized the Judges.

Year of ROME DCXLI.

M. LIVIUS DRUSIUS, & L. CALPURNIUS PISO, *Epit. Liv. Suet. in vita Tiberii. Cic. in Verr. de ſignis.*

And this was their great Point in view, when *M. Livius Druſus* [86], and *L. Calpurnius Piſo*, were raiſed to the *Conſulate*. *Macedon* fell to the Lot of the one, and *Illyricum* of the other. *Druſus* went to finiſh the Affair of the *Scordiſci*; and *Piſo* to cover *Italy* againſt the Invaſion of the *Cimbri*, whoſe Return was ſtill dreaded. *Illyricum* was in Peace, ſo that *Druſus* had nothing to do, but with the *Scordiſci*; and they foreſaw the utter Ruin of their Country, as ſoon as the *Conſul* appeared on the *Save*. Inſomuch that he prevailed on them, partly by Force, and partly by Capitulation, to quit the Country they poſſeſſed, and repaſs the *Danube*. There they ſettled ever after, ſo that this great River was a Barrier between them and the *Roman Provinces*. But it is probable, That *Druſus* ſpent more than one Year in this Expedition; and That he did not return to *Rome*, where he was adjudged to have deſerved a *Triumph*, till after his *Conſulſhip* was expired, and he was become a *Proconſul*.

Thus was the Republick delivered from all her Enemies; for ſhe looked on the little Commotions in *Further Spain*, where *Lucius Piſo* [87] *Frugi* the *Prætor*, loſt his Life, as nothing. The Tranquillity was ſo general in all the States ſubject to the *Romans*, that they would have at laſt determined to have ſhut the Temple of *Janus*, if they had not thought *Jugurtha* a formidable Enemy. His Wars indeed are a very remarkable Part of this Hiſtory, and we muſt therefore trace them a little farther back, in order to give a more full and diſtinct Relation of them.

86 *Marcus Livius Druſus* was the Brother of the famous Civilian, *Caius Livius Druſus Claudianus*, who was tranſplanted from the *Claudian* Family into the *Livian*, by Adoption. The latter was Uncle to the Empreſs *Livia*, the Wife of *Auguſtus Cæſar*, and Mother of *Tiberius*. He lived, according to *Cicero* in his 9th Book *Of Tuſculan Queſtions*, to an extreme old Age; and was blind for ſome Years before his Death. But tho' reduced to lead a private Life, by his great Age and Infirmities, he loſt nothing of the Eſteem he had acquired by his Wiſdom and profound Learning. His Houſe became a ſort of publick School to which the *Romans* reſorted in Crowds, to be inſtructed in the Knowledge of the Laws, and for his Deciſions in particular Caſes. *Valerius Maximus* ſays, That for the Benefit of the Publick, he wrote ſeveral Books on the *Roman Law*. His Brother *Marcus Livius*, the *Conſul* for this Year 641, lived in a very ſtrict Friendſhip with him. He had already diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his Eloquence, in the Speech which he ſpoke againſt *Caius Cornelius Gracchus* his Collegue in the *Tribuneſhip*; and according to *Cicero*, in his *Brutus*, his adopted Brother *Claudianus* was not inferior to him in the Art of ſpeaking.

87 The *Prætor Piſo* was the Son of the famous *Lucius Piſo*, who procured the firſt Law againſt oppreſſive Magiſtrates.

THE Roman Hiſtory.

BOOK LIII.

Year of *ROME* DCXLI.

M. Livius Drusus, & L. Calpurnius Piso, Conſuls.

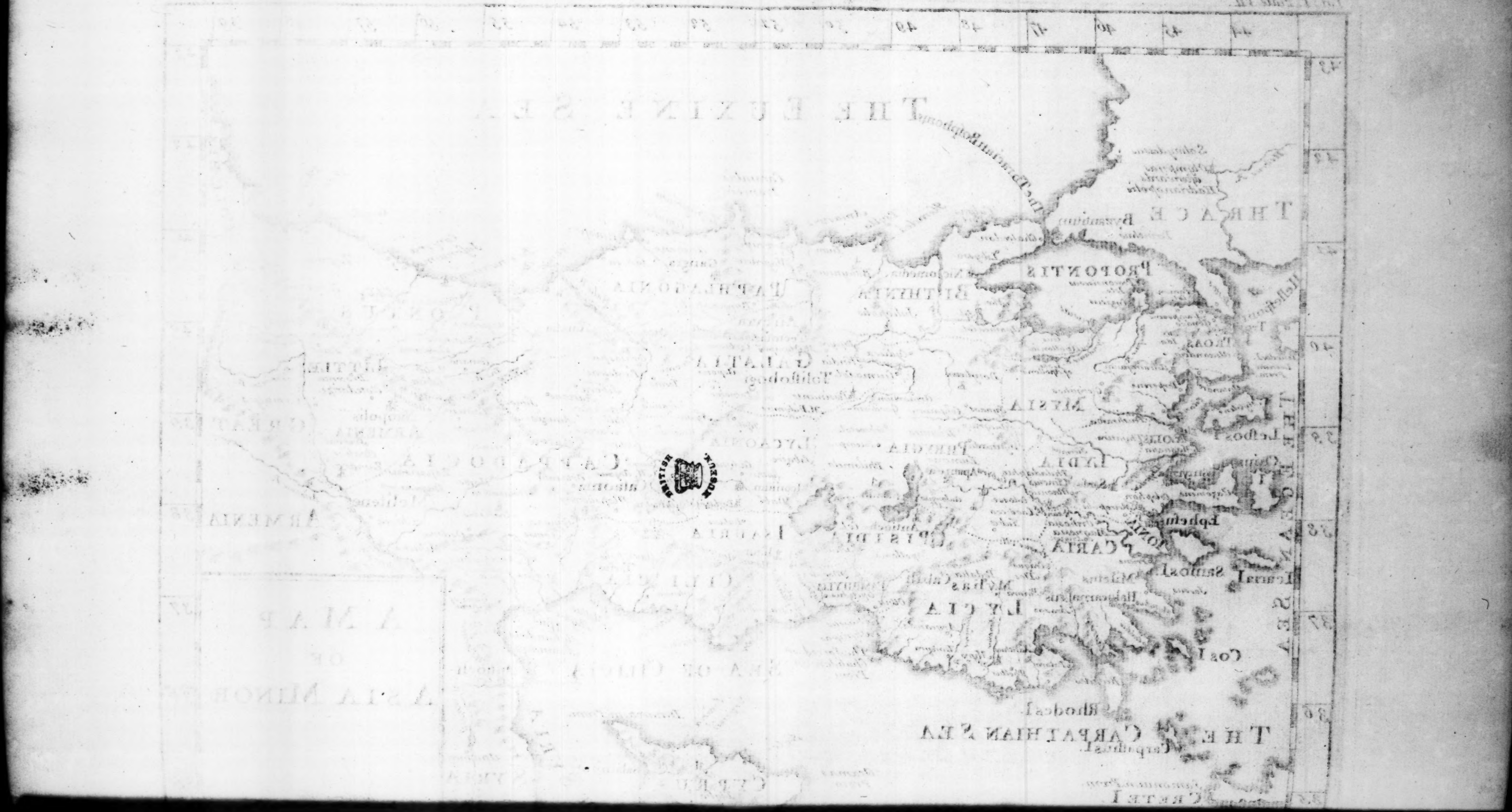
§. I. *NUMIDIA* took its Name from the great Number of *Nomades* [1] or *Shepherds*, who lived there; and who led their Flocks about from Paſture to Paſture, without having any fixed Habitations. It reached from the River [2] *Ampſaga*, which divided the [3] *Numidians* from the *Mauritanians*, along the [4] *Numidian Gulph* to *Africa* [5] *Propria*; and to the Land ſide, a Part of [6] *Lybia*, which lay within

1 *Pliny* and *Strabo* give the Name of *Nomades*, not only to the People of *Numidia*, but alſo to thoſe of *European Tartary*, and to ſome Nations who lived near the *Caſpian* Sea. As to the *Nomades* ſettled in *Africa*, *Salluſt* pretends that they were originally deſcended from ſome eaſtern Adventurers who came from *Media*, *Perſia*, and *Armenia*, into *Spain* with *Hercules*. After his Death, they rambled ſome time without a Leader, and at length reſolved to croſs the *Streights* which divide *Spain* from *Africa*. Some of them ſeized the Lands next to the *Mediterranean*. The *Perſians* ſpread themſelves along the Coaſts of the *Ocean*, or *Atlantick* Sea. There they at firſt propoſed to build themſelves Barracks, or Hutts, to ſhelter themſelves from the Weather. But they could find no Wood in that Neighbourhood, and were too poor to buy any of the Natives. To ſupply this Want, they turned their Ships Keel upwards, and lodged under them, till they could procure themſelves better Habitations. Then they placed theſe their firſt Edifices upright, and left them ſtanding like Hulks, in Memory of their Settlement. And *Salluſt* ſays, That this ſort of Building continued in Uſe among the *Numidians*; and That their Hutts were built in this manner in his Time. Afterwards, the new Colony of *Perſians* joined with the *Gætuli*, who inhabited the Lands to the South of *Carthage*, and made themſelves Maſters of the Provinces which were to the Weſt of that City; and then this Country was called *Numidia*, from the People who inhabited it. As for the *Armenians* and *Medes*, they ſpread themſelves near the *Mediterranean*, and joined with the *Libyans*, who were in Poſſeſſion of the Country; which after this Union was called *Mauritania*.

2 The River *Ampſaga*, now the *Suf-Gemar*, divides the Kingdom of *Tunis* from *Mauritania Cæſarienſis*, and falls into the Gulph of *Numidia*. See Vol. 3. p. 526. Note 52.

3 *Numidia* had not always the ſame Boundaries. They were different in the Times of the Republick of *Carthage*, and under the firſt *Cæſars*. According to *Pomponius Mela* this great Country was divided between *The Eaſtern Maſſylians*, and *The Weſtern Maſſylians*, who bordered upon the *Moors*. *Livy*, *B.* 27, obſerves, That they inhabited that Part of *Africa*, which is oppoſite to *New Carthage*, or *Carthagena*, a maritime City in the Kingdom of *Murcia*. *Pliny*, by *Numidia*, means no more than the Country which reaches from the *Ampſaga*, to the *Tuſca*, now the *Guadilbarbar*; which runs into the Kingdom of *Tunis*, and falls into the *Mediterranean* near *Tabarca*. The ſame Author, and after him *Ptolomy*, places the Country of the *Maſſylians* in *Mauritania Cæſarienſis*, between the *Ampſaga*, and the *Mulucha*, which *Strabo* calls the *Molochat*. *Mela*, by placing the *Maſſylians*, and the *Maſſeſylians* in *Numidia*, implies that *Maſſeſylia* was bounded by thoſe two Rivers. But he adds, That the *Mulucha* divided it from *Mauritania*, which he ſeems to confine within narrower Bounds, contrary to *Pliny* and *Ptolomy*. Nevertheleſs he acknowleges, That the City of *Carthage* was in *Numidia*, tho' it ſtood beyond the *Ampſaga*. The *Greeks* called the Country of the *Numidians*, *Metagonitis*; as *Pliny* and *Mela* have obſerved: And they derive the Name from the Promontory of *Metagonium* near *Hippo-Regius*. *Strabo* gives this Cape the Name of *Triton*, which is now called *Capo di Ferro*; and is different from another Promontory of *Metagonium*, which is mentioned by *Ptolomy* and *Strabo*. The latter is in the Kingdom of *Fez* near Mount *Abyla*, and the City of *Ceuta*; and is now called *Capo di Foreas*. It ought to be obſerved here, that moſt of the Hiſtorians and Geographers call *Maſſylia*, *Numidia Nova*, or *New Numidia*; either to diſtinguiſh it from *Maſſeſylia*, or in oppoſition to the *Carthaginian State*, which the *Romans* called *Provincia Vetus*, or *The old Province*, as *Appian* expreſly ſays, *Bell. Civ. B.* 4. Some Moderns think that the northern Parts of *Billedulgerid* were inhabited by the ancient *Numidians*.

As for the *Mauritanians*, or *Moors*, whom the *Greeks* called *Mauruſians*, they inhabited thoſe great Provinces of *Africa* which now make the weſtern Part of *Barbary*. *Mauritania*, according to *Pliny*, was 1039000 Paces, that is about 347 *French* Leagues, in length; and 467000, or near 156 *French* Leagues, in breadth. This vaſt Country was afterwards known by the Name of *Mauritania Tingitana*, and *Mauritania Cæſarienſis*. The former which lay more Weſtward, reached North and South, from the City of *Tingis*,


THE EUXINE SEA
THRACE
PROPONTIS
BITHYNIA
TROAS
LESBOS
LYCIA
THE CARPATHIAN SEA
CRETE

A MAP OF ASIA MINOR

THE EUXINE SEA

THE THRACIAN BOSPHORUS

THRACE

PROPONTIS

BITHYNIA

PAPHLAGONIA

PONTUS

LITTLE ARMENIA

GREAT ARMENIA

COLCHIS

MYSIA

TROAS

LYDIA

PHRYGIA

LYCAONIA

CAPPADOCIA

CARIA

PISIDIA

ISAURIA

CILICIA

LYCIA

PAMPHYLIA

GALATIA

SYRIA

THE AEGEAN SEA

THE CARPATHIAN SEA

SEA OF CILICIA

CYPRUS

CRETE I.

Rhodes I.

Carpathus I.

Cos I.

Samos I.

Lesbos I.

Icaria

Byzantium

Chalcedon

Nicomedia

Nicopolis

Amasia

Sinope

Cerasus

Trapezus

Gangra

Ancyra

Tectosag.

Tolistobogi

Iconium

Cataonia

Melitene

Comana

Tarsus

Mopsuestia

Anazarbus

Antioch

Salamine

Paphos

Rhodes

Miletus

Halicarnassus

Ephesus

Sardis

Troy

Pergamus

Smyrna

Hellespont

Propontis

Bosphorus

Thracian Bosphorus

Carambis Promont

Jasonium

Dinareum Prom.

Sacred or Chalidonian Prom.

Samonium Prom.

Acamas Prom.

Hebrus R.

Halys R.

Euphrates R.

Tigris R.

Cydnus R.

Pyramus R.

Sangarius R.

Thermodon R.

Iris R.

Lycus R.

Caicus R.

Meander R.

Scamander R.

Simois R.

Caystrus R.

Hermus R.

Cayster R.

Mt. Taurus

Mt. Argaeus

Mt. Olympus

Mt. Ida

Mt. Didymus

Mt. Latmus

Mt. Mycale

Mt. Cadmus

Mt. Sipylus

Mt. Tmolus

Mt. Messogis

Mt. Amanus

Mt. Casius

Mt. Corycus

Mt. Cragus

Mt. Phoenicus

Mt. Chimaera

Mt. Climax

Mt. Solyma

Mt. Ararat

Mt. Caucasus

Mt. Paryadres

Mt. Scordiscus

Mt. Haemus

Mt. Rhodope

Mt. Pangaeus

Mt. Athos

Mt. Ossa

Mt. Pelion

Mt. Parnassus

Mt. Helicon

Mt. Cithaeron

Mt. Oeta

Mt. Pindus

Mt. Othrys

Mt. Ida

Mt. Dicte

Mt. Ida

Mt. Olympus

Mt. Ossa

Mt. Pelion

Mt. Parnassus

Mt. Helicon

Mt. Cithaeron

Mt. Oeta

Mt. Pindus

Mt. Othrys

Mt. Ida

Mt. Dicte

Mt. Ida

Mt. Olympus

Mt. Ossa

Mt. Pelion

Mt. Parnassus

Mt. Helicon

Mt. Cithaeron

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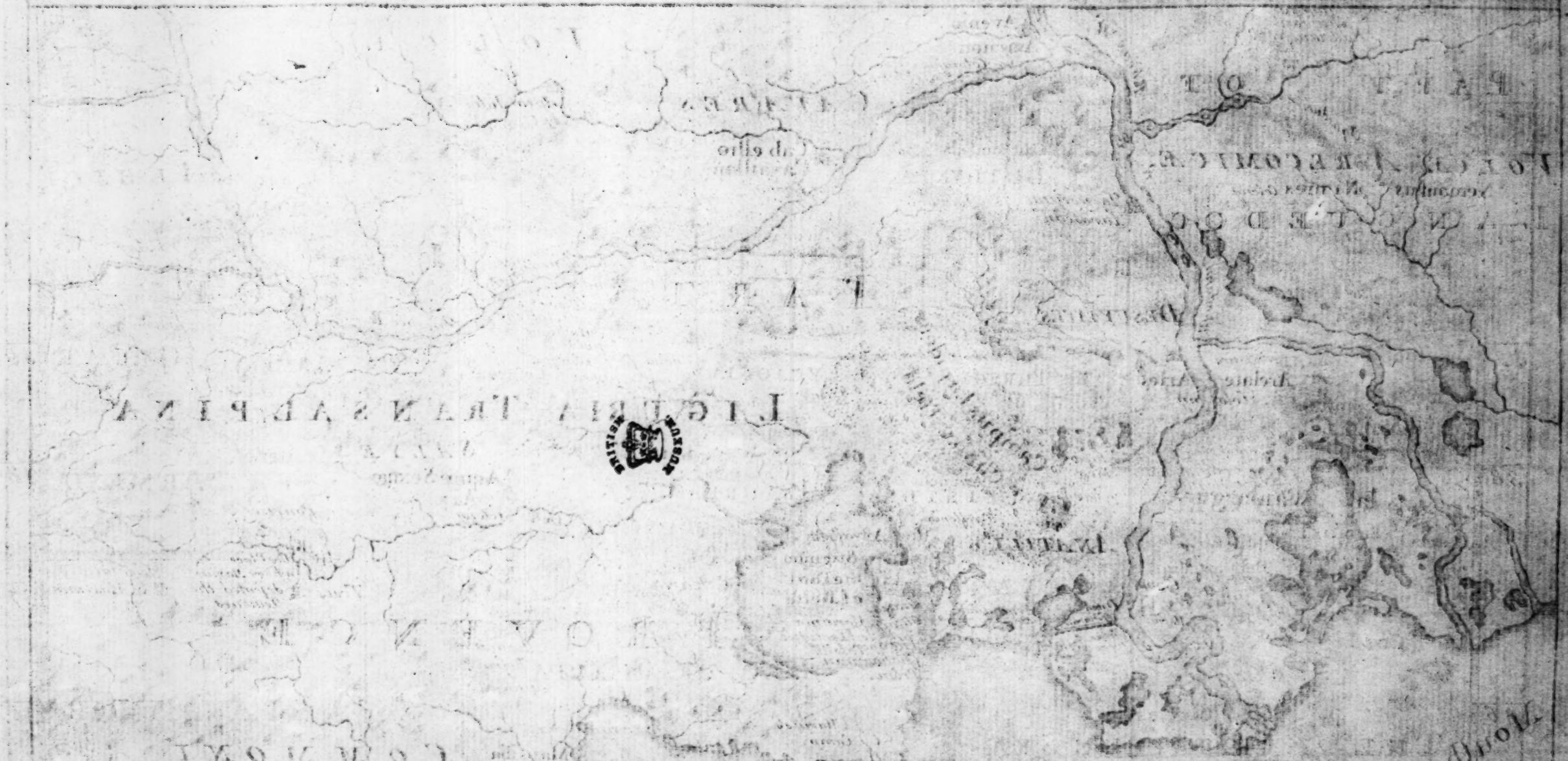
Mt. Pindus

Mt. Othrys

Mt. Ida

Mt. Dicte

A MAP OF PART OF THE ROMAN PROVINCE



A MAP OF PART OF THE ROMAN PROVINCE.

in the old Territory of *Carthage*, and reached to [7] *Cyrenaica*, belonged to it. The Enlargement of this Kingdom, which was formerly confined within very narrow Bounds, was the Work of *Maſſiniſſa*; the King who had been ſo remarkably devoted to the *Romans*, and who had kept up a friendly Correſpondence with the two *Scipio's* ſurnamed *Africanus*, to his Death. When this King died, he left three Sons, who ſhared the regal Functions between them, without dividing their Father's Kingdom; and they long lived in perfect Amity. At length, *Micipſa*, ſurviving his two Brothers *Manaſtabal* and *Galuſſa*, poſſeſſed alone the Throne of *Numidia*; and this good King had two legitimate Sons, who were the true Heirs of his Crown. Indeed, *Manaſtabal*, *Micipſa*'s Brother, had left behind him two Sons, *Jugurtha* and *Gauda*, by two different Miſtreſſes; and *Guluſſa* had had a Son in his Youth, named *Maſſiva*, by a Concubine. But no Baſtard had any Right to the Inheritance of his Father. So that the *Numidian* Throne ſtrictly ſpeaking, belonged only to *Adherbal*, and *Hiempſal*, who were both born to the Purple; whereas *Jugurtha*, *Gauda*, and *Maſſiva*, the natural Sons of *Guluſſa* and *Manaſtabal*, were excluded from the Crown by their illegitimacy. And therefore, tho' *Jugurtha* was born before the Death of his Grandfather *Maſſiniſſa*, this wiſe Prince had never acknowleged him to be a Prince of the Blood, but had condemned him to a private Life.

Year of *ROME* DCXLI. M. Livius Drusus, & L. Calpurnius Piso, Conſuls.

§. II. Nevertheleſs, *Micipſa*, (as has been already obſerved) had ſo much Regard for *Manaſtabal*, that he cauſed *Jugurtha* to be brought up in the ſame Palace, with the Princes his Children; and the illegitimate Youth gained greatly the Aſcendant over the two Heirs to the Crown, in all Exerciſes of Body and Mind. This raiſed the Jealouſy of the King, and he ſent *Jugurtha* to the Siege of *Numantia*, not doubting but the hazards of War, or his own Valour, would ſoon take him out of the Way of his Family. But Heaven determined otherwiſe. *Jugurtha* returned to *Numidia* loaded with Glory, and brought with him recommendatory Letters, from *Scipio* the Deſtroyer of *Numantia*, to *Micipſa*. And now, Age, and Intereſt had in appearance put a ſtop to his youthful Sallies. He was ſo far from giving umbrage to the King; that he found means, by a prudent Conduct, to become a Favourite with him, altho' he had already formed the Deſign of extorting the Crown by Force from his Sons. During the Time that he ſerved in *Spain*, under the Command of *Scipio*, he had contracted Friendſhips among the young *Roman* Officers, who had given him ſuch Advice, as might well rouze his Ambition. They had repreſented to him, *That as he was a King's Son, he had but one Step to take, in order to mount the Throne: That the Princes his Couſins were young, and had no Merit; That the old King their Father, would ſoon die, and leave it vacant; and That then he would have nothing to do, but boldly to ſeize it: And laſtly, That he would find Friends and Protectors enough at* Rome, *where Money and Intereſt would do any thing, the Senate it ſelf not being incapable of Corruption.*

Salluſt. De Bello Jugurth.

Jugurtha returned home with theſe Sentiments, which he had imbibed in *Spain*; and ſo effectually cultivated the Friendſhip of *Micipſa*, that this eaſy Prince adopted him, two

Tingis, now *Tangier*, to the moſt ſouthern Part of Mount *Atlas*. To the Weſt it was bounded by *The Streights of Gibralter*; and the River *Malva*, now the *Muluvai*, bounded it to the Eaſt, and divided it from *Mauritania Cæſarienſis*: which was bounded to the Eaſt by *Maſſeſylia*, or a Part of *Numidia*, to the North by the *Mediterranean*, to the South by *Getulia*, and to the Weſt by the River *Muluvia*. *Tingitana* contained the preſent Kingdoms of *Fez* and *Morocco*; and *Cæſarienſis*, the preſent Kingdoms of *Algiers* and *Tremezen*. *Pliny* aſcribes the Diviſion of the two *Mauritania's* to *Caius Cæſar Caligula*; but according to *Dio Caſſius*, it was made by the Emperor *Claudius*. *Sextus Rufus* ſpeaks of *Mauritania Sitifa*, ſo called from the Name of its Metropolis. This Province, which was a Part of *Mauritania Cæſarienſis*, Eaſtward, made a third Diviſion, in the Empire of *Honarius*.

4 *The Numidian Gulph*, is what the Modern Geographers call indifferently *The Gulph of Colle*, and *The Gulph of Stora*, on account of its nearneſs to two Cities of *Africa* of thoſe Names. *Mela* ſeems not to diſtinguiſh this Gulph from that which he calls *Sinus Laturus*.

5 From all that the Geographers have ſaid of *Africa Propria*, it follows, that it reached from the River *Tuſca*, in the extreme Parts of *Numidia*, to the Mouth of the River *Triton*, near the *Little Syrtis*. This is the River which *Marmol* calls *Capes*, or *Rio-di-Capi*. This Country contained the *Zeugitan Province*, and *Biſaſene*, which formerly made the *Carthaginian Province*. As for the Countries between the two *Syrtes*, as the *Romans* were never in peaceable Poſſeſſion of them, they ought not to be reckoned Parts of *Africa Propria*.

6 *Libya*, conſidered in its greateſt Extent, contained according to *Pliny*, the half of *Africa*; that is, all the Provinces that lay between the *Mediterranean*, the *Atlantick Ocean*, and *Æthiopia*. Both ancient and modern Geographers divide it into two Parts; and call the one *Outer* or *Hither Libya*, and the other *Inner* or *Further Libya*. The former contained all *Mauritania*, and *Africa Propria*; that is, the Kingdoms of *Fez*, *Morocco*, *Tripoli*, *Tauris*, and *Barca*, which was formerly called *Barbarica*, and was the Part of *Libya* next to *Egypt*. *Inner Libya* which was ſcarce known to the Ancients, contained *Nigritia*, the Country of the *Garamantes*, *Guinea*, *The Deſert of Zaara*, &c.

7 *Cyrenaica* is now called *Meſrate*, and belongs to the State of *Tripoli*. See Vol. 4. p. 477. Note 8.

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Years before his Death, and thereby made him capable of ſucceeding to a Share of his Dominions, or at leaſt of diſcharging the Functions of a King. At length, in the Year of *Rome* 635, *Micipſa* being ſeized with the Diſtemper of which he died, called for his Children, and among the reſt, for his adopted Son *Jugurtha*, and addreſſed himſelf to them, in this manner. *I gave you a Right*, Jugurtha, *to the Inheritance of my Kingdom at a Time, when you was fatherleſs, and without either Wealth, or Hope; upon a Preſumption, that my Benefactions would endear me as much to you, as the natural Relation of a Father would have done. And indeed, that Preſumption has not deceived me. For not* Salluſt. Ibid. *to mention other great and ſignal Services, you have upon your late Return from* Numantia, *brought great Glory both to me and to my Kingdom. And now that I am going to pay* Salluſt. Ibid. *the laſt Debt to Nature, I ſolemnly adjure you ever to hold theſe dear, who are by Blood your Relations, and through my Friendſhip your Brothers. I leave you a ſtrong Kingdom,* Salluſt. Ibid. *if you continue good; but if bad, a weak one. By Concord the ſmalleſt States flouriſh; by Diſcord the greateſt Empires are brought to ruin. And as your Age and Experience,* Jugurtha, *are greater than theirs, it will be more eſpecially incumbent upon you, to prevent thoſe Evils, which will at laſt recoil upon your ſelf. For in all Diſputes, the ſtrongeſt Party, tho' really injured, is generally ſuſpected to have been the Aggreſſor. As for you* Adherbal *and* Hiempſal, *do you do honour to this valuable Man, and imitate his Virtues.* Salluſt. Ibid. *Let it not appear to the World, that my adopted Son is more worthy of a Crown than my own Children. And as for* Gauda, *whom I have not adopted, he ſhall not ſucceed to the Crown, but after, and in default of Iſſue from, my three Sons.*

§. III. *Jugurtha* anſwered with Tears and feigned Proteſtations; but his Ambition ſhewed it ſelf, almoſt as ſoon as the King's Eyes were cloſed. After ſome Days had been decently ſpent in Mourning, the three Heirs of the Kingdom aſſembled, to deliberate on the Affairs of the new Government; and at their firſt meeting the Scene opened, and Diſputes aroſe, which began to ſow Diſcord among them. *Jugurtha*, being oldeſt, ſeated himſelf in the middle of the Throne prepared for the new Kings; and the middle place being by the *Numidians*, as well as many other People, deemed the moſt Honourable, *Hiempſal* who was the youngeſt, and proudeſt of the three, thought himſelf injured by the Superiority which *Jugurtha* aſſumed. He looked with Contempt on a Man, who notwithſtanding the Stains of his Birth, took place of the lawful Heirs of the Crown of *Numidia*; and ſeated himſelf by *Adherbal*'s Side, in order to give him the Place of Honour. It was not without great difficulty that his Brother prevailed on him, to pay ſome Regard to ſuperior Age, and remove to *Jugurtha*'s Left-hand.

As ſoon as the Diſputes about the Ceremonial were ended, *Jugurtha* propoſed to diſannul all the Edicts, and Acts which the late King had publiſhed within the laſt five Years; under Pretence, That *Micipſa* being then old, and his Underſtanding almoſt gone, had iſſued many Ordinances which were prejudicial to the Publick. To which *Hiempſal* replied with a diſdainful Air, *I am very ready to come into the Propoſal; and we will begin with diſannulling the Act of Adoption whereby you was aſſociated with us in the Inheritance of the Crown. This was done but three Years ago, within the Time that you have fixed for my Father's Weakneſs.* Words which ſunk ſo deep into *Jugurtha*'s Mind, that he never forgot them. His Silence ſhewed both his Surprize and his Concern; and he from thenceforth thought of nothing but Revenge. He made it his whole Buſineſs, to find out an Opportunity to rid himſelf privately of a young Prince, who might thwart him in his ambitious Schemes; and he ſoon found Means to gratify his Hatred, and deliver himſelf from the moſt troubleſome of his two Rivals.

Micipſa, had hid his Treaſures in ſeveral Parts of his Dominions; and the firſt Object that raiſed the Deſires, and employed the Attention of the three Brothers, was his Money. Before they divided the Provinces between them, they made it their chief Buſineſs to ſeize the Places, where the late King had depoſited his Effects. To this end *Hiempſal* ſet out for [8] *Thirmida*, a City where *Micipſa* was ſaid to have treaſured up the greateſt Part of his Riches; and if we may give credit to a celebrated Hiſtorian, *Jugurtha* overtook him and gave him Battle, and *Hiempſal* was ſlain in it. But we have a better Authority for affirming, That *Hiempſal* did not periſh by the Arms, but by the Snares, of *Jugurtha*. The latter happened to have very near him, a Man who was very

T. Liv. in Epit. *Salluſt.* *Salluſt. Ibid.*

8 We know nothing certain of the Situation of *Thirmida*, more than that it was a City of *Numidia*. Probably the Strength of its Fortifications was what induced *Micipſa* to depoſite part of his Treaſures there.

capable of executing the Fratricide which he had in view. The chief Officer of his Guard was an Inhabitant of *Thirmida*; and King *Hiempſal*, by I know not what Fatality, had choſen this Man's Houſe for his Reſidence. *Jugurtha* therefore ſeized the Opportunity, and made uſe of his chief *Lictor*, as the Inſtrument to execute his Revenge. The Officer got falſe Keys to all the Doors of his Houſe, and under pretence of going to ſee his own Country, returned to *Thirmida*, with a Detachment of Soldiers devoted to *Jugurtha*. He arrived at a Time when ſleep had cloſed all Eyes, and when *Hiempſal* was at reſt in his borrowed Houſe, with all the Keys by him. But the Aſſaſſin and his Company eaſily found entrance, put all they met to the Sword, and the King with great Difficulty eſcaped to the Cottage of a Slave. There they ſurrounded and ſurprized the defenceleſs Prince; and there he loſt his Life in the Flower of his Age, to the great Grief of the *Numidians*, who founded their Hopes on his Activity and Courage. His Head was carried to *Jugurtha*, who ſaw this firſt Victim to his Ambition, with Joy.

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But tho', this Cruelty and Perfidiouſneſs ought to have driven all into a Revolt, and made *Jugurtha* univerſally odious, yet the *Numidians* were divided. The ambitious, and they who delighted in publick Confuſions, were for him; whilſt the wiſe and the virtuous, who aſpired at nothing more than to ſee good Order and Equity flouriſh, followed the Fortunes of the pacifick *Adherbal*. But the latter were the weakeſt Party; ſo that *Adherbal*'s only Refuge was in the Protection of the *Romans*. *Numidia* had long been in Alliance with their Republick; and paid a Submiſſion to the Orders of the Senate, little inferior to that of the *Roman Provinces*. And as nothing could threaten more danger to the Intereſts of *Rome*, than the having an abſolute and independent King on the *Numidian* Throne; *Adherbal*, tho' not very ſagacious, had Penetration enough to ſee, That his only recourſe was to the Republick, and That *Jugurtha* could not but be ſuſpected there. He therefore informed the *Conſcript Fathers* of the baſe Aſſaſſination of *Hiempſal*, and of the other Violences of his adopted Brother: And at the ſame time, foreſeeing that the Deliberations of the Senate would take up much Time, he immediately began to levy Troops, and put himſelf upon his Defence, againſt the Hoſtilities of *Jugurtha*. But this warlike King ſoon got all Advantages over his ſurviving Rival, beſieged ſome Cities, took Poſſeſſion of others by Capitulation, and in ſhort, made himſelf in a manner, Maſter of the whole Kingdom. Inſomuch, that the dethroned *Adherbal* having no *Aſylum* but *Rome*, he immediately tranſported himſelf thither, in order to lay his Complaints before the Senate.

§. IV. As for *Jugurtha*, as ſoon as the firſt Fire of the War had given place to reflection, the rapid Conqueror conſidered, That his Succeſſes could laſt no longer, than during the Pleaſure of the ſovereign Republick; and therefore he alſo did his utmoſt to gain her over to his Intereſts. Having been long perſwaded, that all Things were venal at *Rome*, he ſent over Ambaſſadors thither, and furniſhed them with a good Part of thoſe Treaſures which he had inherited. Their Orders were, to ſpare no Expence in gaining their Maſter all the new Friends they could, and to cultivate the Friendſhips he formerly had contracted, when in *Spain:* And they arrived very ſeaſonably. The Senate were already very ſtrongly prepoſſeſſed againſt the Uſurper; and it was neceſſary for the Ambaſſadors to make many private Friends, before the *Fathers* could be brought to overlook the Intereſts of the Publick. But nevertheleſs, *Jugurtha*'s Miniſters diſcharged their Commiſſion with Succeſs. They found very few Senators who were Proof againſt their Preſents. At length the Day came, when *Adherbal* and the Ambaſſadors were admitted into the Senate, to lay their Grievances before them, and the King was firſt heard; but he had brought nothing to *Rome*, but his Right and mournful Complaints. *Salluſt. Bell. Jugurth.*

Conſcript Fathers, ſaid he, *when my Father* Micipſa *died, he commanded me to conſider my ſelf, as only your Procurator in the Kingdom of* Numidia; *and enjoined me to promote your Intereſts by all the Means I could, both at Home and Abroad. And whilſt I was preparing to do this, I was dethroned by the moſt abandoned and wicked of Men, in open Defiance of your Authority. I would willingly have deſerved your Favours before I aſked them; and the moſt grievous Circumſtance of my Afflictions is, that I am compelled to be burdenſome, before I could be ſerviceable to you. And therefore I come not in my own Name, but in the Name of my Father, to implore your Aſſiſtance. Surely,* Maſſiniſſa *is not yet forgotten in this Place. The Aſſiſtance he lent when you thought it neceſſary to humble, and to deſtroy* Carthage, *is ſtill freſh in your Memories. You rewarded his Fidelity with enlarging his Dominions; it is your Favours that have been torn from me by open Violence;* *Ibid.* *Ibid.* *Ibid.* *Ibid.*

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which Violence offered to me, your Friend, is an Act of Contempt to your ſelves. Alas Micipſa! *Are theſe the Returns made for thy Benefactions? Is he become the Enemy,* nay, *the Butcher of thy own Children, whom thou hadſt raiſed to a level with them, and made Joint-heir of thy Kingdom? And is our Family doomed to be never at reſt; but always involved in Violence and Blood? Whilſt* Carthage *was in Being, our Sufferings were naturally to be expected. Our Enemies were near; You, our Friends, at a great diſtance; and our only Hope was in the Succeſs of our Arms. And now that this Plague is driven out of* Africa, Jugurtha *ſtarts up, kills my Brother, makes his Kingdom a Prey, and carries his Violences to ſuch a height, as to make it ſafer for me to be in any other Country, than*

Ibid. *in my own Dominions. I ever thought with my Father, That whoever expoſed themſelves to any Dangers or Fatigues to cultivate your Friendſhip, might be confident, that under your Protection, they ſhould be ſafe from all their Enemies: And ſhall I by Experience find,*

Ibid. *that that Confidence was groundleſs? My Father is dead, my Brother baſely murdered, my Friends and Relations deſtroyed, or impriſoned; and to whom then can I have recourſe? Shall I apply my ſelf to thoſe, whom our Friendſhip for* Rome *has made our inveterate Enemies?* Maſſiniſſa *inſtructed us to cultivate no Friendſhip but with you. He aſſured us, That if the Republick proſpered, her Friendſhip would be an abundant Protection to us; and that if ſhe failed, we ſhould periſh with her. And ſince by the Bleſſing of the Gods,*

Ibid. *you are very Rich, and very Powerful; you can with the greater eaſe remedy the Injuries I ſuffer. Shall then the Artifices of* Jugurtha, *and his private Friends, induce you to delay Redreſs, under pretence that my Complaints are falſe, and my Flight feigned? His Uſurpation is notorious, and his Crimes avowed.* O Hiempſal! *O my Brother! How much more happy is even thy Fate than mine! Murdered indeed, by vile Aſſaſſins! But by that very Means delivered from the Flight, the Baniſhment, the Miſeries to which I am*

Ibid. *expoſed! I am driven from my Kingdom in Shame and Miſery, and expoſed a Spectacle to Mankind. And ſince I can neither live, nor die, with Honour: I implore you,* Conſcript Fathers, *for your own and your Fore-fathers Sakes, and in regard to the Majeſty of the* Roman People, *That you would avenge my Sufferings; and not ſuffer your own Kingdom of* Numidia *to be deſtroyed, by the ſame wicked Hands that are imbrued in the Blood of my Family.*

As ſoon as the King had done ſpeaking, *Jugurtha*'s Ambaſſadors appeared; and depending more on their Intereſt than their Cauſe, were very ſhort in their Reply. They repreſented, *That* Hiempſal *had by his own cruel Temper, ſtirred up ſome Malecontents againſt him; and That* Jugurtha *ought not to be made reſponſible, either for the Faults of his Aſſociate, or for the Attempts of an handful of Rebels. That* Adherbal *had had recourſe to Arms upon groundleſs Suſpicions; and That, ſince the Gods had not proſpered his Deſigns, his Fall and his Flight were to be aſcribed only to himſelf. That* Jugurtha *was the ſame now, as they had known him at the Siege of* Numantia; *and That neither his Probity nor Valour were leſs, than* Scipio *had repreſented them to be. That as* Micipſa *himſelf had borne Teſtimony to his Conduct, ſo* Adherbal *had felt the Effects of his Courage; and That ſince theſe were his only Crimes, they readily left it to the* Fathers *to judge, Whether there had been juſt Cauſe given for accuſing him at their Tribunal, and whether he ought to be made odious by mournful Complaints.*

When *Adherbal* and the Ambaſſadors were withdrawn, the Senate deliberated on the Affair; and by the Debates of the *Conſcript Fathers* it was eaſy to perceive, what Effects had been wrought by *Jugurtha*'s Money. The major part of them even diſcovered their Corruption by their Speeches. The Complaints of *Adherbal* were deſpiſed, his Brother's Courage extolled, and his Crimes applauded. *M. Æmilius Scaurus* indeed, then Preſident, had more regard to Equity and the true Intereſt of the Republick, than to the Offers of the Uſurper. Not becauſe he was above Corruption; for he loved Money, and afterwards ſufficiently diſcovered his Avarice: But as he was at the Head of this venerable Body, his Ambition led him to conceal the Depravity of his Heart. In ſhort, he was for *Adherbal*; but the Majority were againſt him. And therefore, without either pronouncing any Sentence concerning the Death of *Hiempſal*, or doing Juſtice to *Adherbal* for the Injuries he had ſuffered, the Senate, only reſolved, That ten Commiſſioners ſhould be ſent from *Rome* to *Numidia*, to ſettle the Diviſion of the Kingdom between the two Brothers. *Lucius Opimius*, the old *Conſul*, who was ſo famous for his Zeal againſt the Faction of *Caius Gracchus*, was at the Head of theſe Commiſſioners, and they all ſet out for *Africa*.

§. V. The *Romans* concluded that the Differences between the two Kings would ſoon be adjuſted by their Advice. But *Jugurtha* found Means, by his Artifices and Money, to involve them in a new War. *Opimius* had declared himſelf at *Rome*, on the Side of Juſtice; ſo that *Jugurtha* had Reaſon to fear his arrival, and his Determinations. But, by his Careſſes and his Preſents, he ſoftened this formidable Judge. He, who had avenged the Cauſe of the Republick againſt the *Gracchi* and their Parties, was not Proof againſt the immenſe Sums which were ſent him by *Jugurtha*; and as the reſt of the Commiſſioners, at leaſt the Majority, ſuffered themſelves to be corrupted the ſame way, the Sentence they pronounced was altogether to the Advantage of the adopted Son, and to the Prejudice of the true Son of *Micipſa*. They aſſigned to *Jugurtha* that Part of the Kingdom which was beſt peopled with warlike Men, and moſt fruitful in Grain; that is, the weſtern Part of *Numidia*, where it joined to *Mauritania*: And they gave *Adherbal* the eaſtern Part, which was indeed adorned with more Country-Seats, but poorer, more barren, and leſs populous, tho' better furniſhed with Sea-Ports. And this unjuſt Diſtribution it ſelf, encouraged the furious *Jugurtha* to take up Arms again, and renew the War. Whereas *Adherbal* ſubmitted to the Judgment of the Commiſſioners, and was wholly intent on reigning in Peace over the Subjects which *Rome* had aſſigned him. He was a pacifick Prince, of a very mild Diſpoſition, more inclined to ſuffer Injuries than repel them.

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Scarce were the ten Commiſſioners arrived at *Utica* in order to embark, when *Jugurtha* made ſuch Preparations, as juſtly raiſed Suſpicions. He had found it ſo eaſy to corrupt the *Romans*, that this encouraged him to ſtick at nothing, in order to make himſelf Maſter of all *Numidia*. His Troops entered the Frontiers of his Brother's Kingdom in Arms, committed Hoſtilities there, laid waſte the Country with Fire and Sword, and plundered the Villages. His Deſign was to draw *Adherbal* to a Battle. But the timorous Prince contented himſelf with ſending an Embaſſy to *Jugurtha*, to complain of the Injuſtice of his Proceedings. Nor could even the ill-treatment his Ambaſſadors received at his Brother's Court, provoke him to take Arms. He was patient to an Exceſs, and depended wholly on the Equity of the *Romans*; taking it for granted, that his Complaints to the Senate would be more effectual, than Force and Violence. A poor Refuge indeed for the Unfortunate! to rely on the Protection of a Republick, where all Things were venal, and which was ready to ſell it ſelf to the higheſt Bidder! *Jugurtha* judged much better of her. He laid more ſtreſs on his military Expeditions, than on the Menaces of the *Romans*. He well knew, That his Treaſury would ſufficiently enable him to guard againſt their Reſentments.

And therefore, from inſulting his Brother with ſmall Detachments, and by Incurſions into his Country, he proceeded to enter it at the Head of a great Army, and came and encamped near [9] *Cirtha*. And then Fear and extream Danger, rouzed *Adherbal* at laſt from his Lethargy. Being forced either to flee his Country, a ſecond Time, or to give Battle, he thought it better to run any Hazards, than trouble *Rome* again with his Complaints. He aſſembled his Troops, and coming in ſight of the Enemy, when the Day was ſo far cloſed, that it was too late to engage, he encamped in haſte and reſted his Troops. But *Jugurtha* did not wait the return of the Day. He attacked his Brother's Trenches in the dead of the Night, and the Alarm was ſo ſudden and unexpected, that it ſtruck his Men when ſcarce awake, and led by a young and unexperienced General, with a Panick. *Adherbal*'s Army was diſperſed in an inſtant, and the King himſelf forced to take Refuge in *Cirtha*, his Capital. *Jugurtha* purſued him in his flight; but ſome *Italian Cohorts* which he had in his Army happily covered his Retreat, and hindered the Conqueror from entering the City with the purſued. Had it not been for this ſeaſonable Relief, the War had been begun and ended the ſame Day.

§. VI. However, the Siege of *Cirtha* was not delayed a Moment. *Jugurtha* immediately began it, and well remembered the Leſſons he had learnt from *Scipio* before *Numantia*. He prepared *Mantelets* and *Covered Galleries*, raiſed *Cavaliers*, and built *Moveable Towers*. Nevertheleſs, the Valour of the *Italian* Troops protracted the Siege longer than he had expected. When the News came to *Rome*, the Faction the Uſurper had gained by his Money, prevailed that nothing ſhould be done, except the ſending to *Numidia* three young Magiſtrates, Men of no Diſtinction or Credit, with Inſtructions, to order the two Kings to put an end to Hoſtilities, both for their own Sakes, and in re-

9 See Vol. 3. p. 508. Note 10.

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gard to the Publick. And *Jugurtha* was untractable. He anſwered the Deputies, That his Conduct would be approved by the oldeſt, and moſt eminent Senators; That *Scipio* had known him, and borne Teſtimony to his Integrity; That *Adherbal* having made an Attempt upon his Life, he made War only to guard againſt the Villainy of a Brother who was an Aſſaſſin; and That the Republick was too equitable to diſapprove of a juſt Defence, which was agreeable to the Laws of Nations. After this uſeleſs Audience, the Envoys returned, without having been able to come to a Conference with *Adherbal*, who was ſhut up in the beſieged City.

As ſoon as the three *Romans* were gone, the Siege was carried on with freſh Vigour. Indeed, *Jugurtha* no longer made uſe of his *Rams* and other Machines, in order to make Breaches, and take the Place by Aſſault. He reſolved to reduce it by Famine. To this end, he encompaſſed it with a wide Ditch, and a Rampart guarded with Towers at proper diſtances, to keep out Succours and Convoys. This was the Method which he had ſeen *Scipio* take in *Spain*; and it ſtruck Terror into the City. *Adherbal* was intimidated by it; and in this Extremity, he prevailed on two Soldiers of the Garriſon, to croſs the Enemy's Trenches by Night, and carry the following Letter to *Rome*.

Salluſt. in Bell. Jugurth. *It is Neceſſity only*, Conſcript Fathers, *that obliges me to become troubleſome to you, a ſecond time. Your Commiſſioners ſettled Peace between me and* Jugurtha, *and I acquieſced in their Determinations, tho' they aſſigned to me the leaſt Share, and to him all the valuable Part of theſe Dominions. But* Jugurtha *is too ambitious to be content with your Deciſions. Nothing will ſatisfy him but my Blood. He has now kept me, your Friend, and your Ally, five Months ſhut up and beſieged in* Cirtha, *where I am in great Danger of periſhing, either by the Sword or by Famine: Not that I ſhall run out into Invectives againſt him; I have already experienced, how little Credit is to be given to the Unfortunate when they declaim againſt their Oppreſſors. But this I muſt declare, That if he thirſts for my Life, it is only in order to deliver himſelf from the* Roman *Yoke.* Numidia *is now ſubject to you; but his Aim is to reign alone and independent. And what can prevent his ſucceeding herein, but your Power? He has already poſſeſſed himſelf of your Kingdom by Force of Arms; and how little Regard he ſhews to your Ambaſſadors, my Dangers demonſtrate. My perſonal Sufferings indeed are nothing to you; and what I deprecate, is not Sufferings or Death, but Torture. Conſult then at leaſt, the Intereſts of your own Kingdom; and deliver me I adjure you, from the Tyranny of my Enemy, and the cruel Torments, which are prepared for me.*

This affecting Letter made an Impreſſion on all thoſe of the Senators, in whom the Love of their Country prevailed over ſordid Views of Intereſt; and ſome voted for marching an Army inſtantly againſt the Uſurper; others for immediately beginning a Proſecution againſt him, for his notorious Diſobedience to the Orders of the Senate. But the venal Senators were moſt numerous, and they reduced the Decree to this ſingle Point; That an Embaſſy ſhould be ſent to *Jugurtha* conſiſting of Magiſtrates more eminent and more venerable for their Age than the laſt, and That *M. Scaurus*, the *Preſident of the Senate* ſhould be at the Head of it. It ſhould ſeem therefore, that *Jugurtha* with all his Artifices, muſt ſink under the Weight of theſe three Men, who were famous for their great Integrity; and as the Affair required diſpatch, they were ready to ſet out in three Days; ſoon croſſed over to *Utica*, and ſummoned him to appear before them. The Conqueror, who was upon the Point of reducing *Cirtha*, and forcing the King his Rival, to ſurrender or periſh, was thunderſtruck with this Order, and it gave him great Uneaſineſs. Beſides, his Pride was touched, at being ſummoned to appear out of his Dominions; and he could not reſolve to quit the Blockade of a City which was juſt ready to fall into his Hands. Thus his Fear, Honour, and Intereſt, each diſtracted him in its turn, and for ſome time ſuſpended his Determination. At length he reſolved to make a general Aſſault on the Place, and not to appear before the *Roman* Ambaſſadors till he had compleated his Conqueſt, which perhaps might ſcreen him from their Reſentments. But he did not ſucceed in his Attack; his Soldiers were repulſed by the *Italian* Troops that defended the Walls.

§. VII. In the mean time, *Scaurus* began to be tired with theſe Delays; and as it was dangerous to provoke him, *Jugurtha* at laſt reſolved to obey. He left his Camp, with a ſlight Guard of Horſe, and came, not with empty hands, to plead his Cauſe before the Ambaſſadors. *Scaurus* at firſt broke out into bitter Reflections on the vile Attempts of the *Numidian* King, and reproached him with aſſaſſinating one of his Brothers, and ſhutting up the other, whom he was obſtinately bent on deſtroying by Famine

Year of *ROME* DCXLI.

M. Livius Drusus, & L. Calpurnius Piso, Conſuls.

mine in the beſieged City. But both the Threatnings and the Anger of the *Romans* ſoon abated. They heard *Jugurtha*'s Excuſes with great Compoſure, acquieſced in the frivolous Accuſations he brought againſt his Rivals; and in ſhort, returned home, without ſo much as ordering the ambitious King to raiſe the Siege, and to return into his own Kingdom. This ſudden Departure therefore, and this fruitleſs Negotiation, made *Scaurus* ſuſpected of having ſacrificed the publick Good to his private Intereſt; and his Conduct afterwards confirmed theſe Suſpicions.

And now, *Jugurtha*, being rid of theſe troubleſome Ambaſſadors, returned before *Cirtha*, and ſhut it up with more care than ever. The Famine began to be very great there, and the *Italian* Troops grew tired with the length of a Siege, in which they were ready to periſh for Want. They therefore perſuaded *Adherbal* to capitulate, and thereby ſecure his Life, leaving the reſt to the *Roman* Republick, which was concerned in Intereſt to re-eſtabliſh him in that Part of his Dominions, which ſhe had allotted him. This was the wiſeſt Advice they could give him, provided *Jugurtha*'s Word could be depended on; and *Adherbal*, tho' with the utmoſt Reluctance, reſolved at laſt to ſurrender upon Terms. How could he reſiſt the Deſires of armed Troops, who had it in their Power to compel him to comply? He therefore treated with the Enemy, and agreed to deliver up the Place, on Condition that he and his Garriſon ſhould have their Lives ſaved. He likewiſe probably included the Inhabitants in the ſame Condition; and it was agreeable to the Laws of Nations that the Burghers ſhould have Quarter, when their City ſurrendered by Capitulation. But *Jugurtha* was above all Law. Without any Regard to his Promiſe, he entered *Cirtha*, as if he had taken it by Aſſault, put all thoſe he found in Arms to the Sword, extended his Fury even to the foreign Merchants, and to compleat the Scene, murdered *Adherbal* in his Palace. Nay, his Cruelty went ſo far, as to put the King to variety of Torture, before he would ſuffer him to die. So great was the Uſurper's Confidence, in the Intereſt he had got at *Rome* with his Money!

§. VIII. A Crime ſo enormous could not long be unknown in the Capital of the World. The News of it was brought to the Senate, and all thoſe Senators, who were not ſold to commit Iniquity, heard the Relation with horror. But *Jugurtha*'s Friends endeavoured to pacify people's Minds, and laboured to get the Determination poſtponed. They hoped, That Time would abate this firſt Heat; and they, by numberleſs Chicaneries, and ſome fooliſh Debates, found Means to put off the Decree which was ready to paſs. In ſhort, the Villain would have eſcaped publick Vengeance, if the Commons had not exclaimed againſt the baſe Indulgence of the Senate. A zealous *Tribune of the People* named *Caius*[10] *Memmius*, perhaps in Indignation and Hatred to the Senators, related to the *Comitia*, the heinous Crimes, with which the *Numidian* King had polluted his Throne. He alſo exclaimed bitterly againſt the venality of the Senate, and convinced the People, that the Prevarication of the *Patricians* was the Effect of the Artifices of *Jugurtha*, and of the Money which his Emiſſaries knew how to diſpoſe of, for his Advantage. Upon this, the People reſolved to bring the Affair before their own Tribunal; and not to ſpare thoſe corrupt Judges, which were a Diſhonour to the *Roman* Name. It was therefore neceſſary that the *Conſcript Fathers* ſhould at leaſt take ſome Steps againſt the Uſurper, in order to avoid the Reproach of a ſcandalous Cenſure themſelves; and they decreed, That one of the new *Conſuls* which ſhould be choſen, ſhould have *Numidia* for his Province. This was declaring, that they would make War with *Jugurtha* the next Year; and therefore this is looked on by the Hiſtorians, as the Epocha of the Expeditions of the Republick, in *Numidia*. The Diſputes between the three Brothers had laſted ſix Years, from the Death of *Micipſa*; and *Rome* had hitherto neglected to concern herſelf in them, as ſhe now ſeemed reſolved to do. The Fear the Senators were in of the People, a little revived their Zeal; tho' it did not put an end to all thoſe Diſorders, which *Jugurtha*'s Money had cauſed among the *Patricians*.

The aſſembled *Tribes* gave the *Conſular Faſces*, for the Year of *Rome* 642, to *Lucius Calpurnius Piſo Beſtia*, and *Publius Cornelius Scipio Naſica*, two Men of very oppoſite Characters. *Naſica* poſſeſſed all the Virtues of his Anceſtors, and fell not ſhort in Character of his Great Grandfather himſelf, whom the Senate had adjudged the moſt virtu-

[10] *Cicero*, in his *Brutus*, ſpeaks of this *Caius Memmius*, and one *Lucius Memmius*, who is thought to have been the Brother of him here mentioned; and ſays of both, That with ſmall Talents for Eloquence, they made themſelves formidable by the vigorous Proſecutions they carried on againſt Perſons ſuſpected of Crimes. To which he adds, That they were ſeldom employed in the Defence of the Guilty.

Year of *ROME* DCXLII.

P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica, & L. Calpurnius Piso Bestia, Conſuls.

ous of the *Romans*. He publickly profeſſed Wiſdom; but his Philoſophy conſiſted not barely in outward Appearances and ranting Diſcourſes. He gave a much ſtronger Teſtimony of it, by refuſing the Offers *Jugurtha* made him. No Man ſhewed a greater Deteſtation of the general Corruption, of which the Senate was ſuſpected. Not that he was either ill-bred, or ill-natured. He was on the contrary always in good Humour, and joined great Politeneſs of Behaviour, with a lively and unaffected Eloquence. Whereas all [11] *Beſtia*'s Merit conſiſted in an impetuoſity of Temper, and ſtrength of Body, which were proper Qualifications for a Soldier. He was naturally brave, active, and vigilant; and conſequently could ſtrike Fear into his Enemies, and command Reſpect from his own Troops. But theſe valuable Qualities were much eclipſed by a very great Fault. He loved Money to ſuch exceſs, that his Heart was not proof againſt the leaſt Temptation of Intereſt. So that, all Things conſidered, *Naſica* was the more proper Man to begin the War in *Numidia*; ſince it was not *Jugurtha*'s Forces that were to be feared, ſo much as the Avarice of the General who ſhould be ſent againſt him. Nevertheleſs, it fell to *Beſtia*'s Lot to command in *Numidia*; and *Italy* became *Naſica*'s Province.

Cic. de Offic. L. 2.

Salluſt. de Bell. Jugurth.

§. IX. Immediately the *Conſul* deſigned for *Africa*, made it his whole Buſineſs to raiſe Troops, and prepare for his Expedition; not forgetting to draw from the Treaſury the Sums that were neceſſary for paying his Forces. In the mean time, *Jugurtha*, who had his Spies at *Rome*, was informed that a *Conſular* Army was raiſing againſt him, and that *Calpurnius Beſtia* was to command it. This ſtruck him with Terror; nevertheleſs he ſtill had great dependance on the reſiſtleſs Power of his Money; and ſent his Son, with two Confidants to *Rome*, with Orders to ſpare no Expence. But the arrival of the young *Numidian* Prince, and his two Collegues, was not agreeable to the *Conſul Beſtia*. He was afraid, that by their Intrigues and Preſents, they would divert the Blow, from which he expected to reap great Riches or Honour; and he oppoſed the new Embaſſy with all his Intereſt, and made it of no Effect. By his Advice, the Senate ordered, That *Jugurtha*'s Son and his Attendants ſhould not be ſuffered to enter *Rome*, unleſs they were expreſly empowered to deliver up the King of *Numidia* and all his Dominions to the Republick, by way of *Dedition*. And upon their Refuſal to do this, the *Conſul* notified to them the Order that had been made, That they ſhould leave *Italy* in ten Days.

After the Departure of the Ambaſſadors, *Beſtia* loſt no Time in haſtening his Embarkation. The Officers, he choſe for his Council and Lieutenant Generals, were for the moſt part factious, but eminent Men, on whom he might throw ſome of the Odium of his future Miſconduct, and ſcreen himſelf under their Names. *Scaurus*, whoſe Vices he knew, though he affected to conceal them, appeared to him a very proper Man for this Purpoſe; ſince both his extreme Avarice, and his Weight in the Senate, were proper Qualifications for it. And *Scaurus* readily conſented to follow the *Conſul*, promiſing himſelf a plentiful Harveſt from a freſh Country which had never yet been entered by any *Roman* Armies. As ſoon then as theſe two covetous Perſons were agreed, the *Legions* marched by Land to *Rhegium*, there embarked for *Sicily*, and from thence ſailed to *Africa*. In order to bring *Jugurtha* into their Meaſures, they thought it neceſſary to begin briſkly, with ſome violent Acts of Hoſtility: And accordingly, *Beſtia* reduced Cities by Force, took Caſtles, and made great numbers Priſoners. Nevertheleſs theſe firſt Aſſaults did not mightily affect the King of *Numidia*. Tho' he was not ſufficiently acquainted with the *Conſul*'s Character, he conceived great Hopes from the Preſence of *Scaurus*, to whoſe Covetouſneſs he was no Stranger, and whom he expected to gain by his uſual Artifices. This *Prince of the Senate* had only diſſembled when he had appeared to be his Enemy at *Rome*; and the King well knew the Way to his Heart; and therefore he ſent a Deputation to the *Conſul*, to deſire a Conference, promiſing to come himſelf to the *Roman* Camp, upon an aſſurance of Safety to his Perſon. The Offer was accepted; *Scaurus* had greater Expectations than *Beſtia* himſelf, that he ſhould find his private Account in the Conference; and from that Moment there was a Suſpenſion of Arms.

[11] *Cicero*, in his *Brutus*, ſays, That the *Conſul Publius Scipio* had more of the Purity of the *Latin* Tongue, than any other *Roman* Orator. His Orations were enlivened with ſmart Sayings, and ingenious Raillery, which ſavoured of the Chearfulneſs and Delicacy of his Mind. Nevertheleſs he ſpoke but ſeldom in publick.

All that now remained was to find out ſome Expedient, for bringing the *Numidian* King to the Conference he had deſired, and yet to ſave Appearances; and it was reſolved to ſend the *Quæſtor P. Sextius* to [12] *Vacca*, the City where *Jugurtha* reſided. The Pretence of his going, was to get the Corn *Jugurtha* had promiſed, in order to obtain the Truce; but the real Intent was, That he ſhould be an Hoſtage for the King's Safety. Upon this Proof of their Sincerity, the *Numidian* came to the *Conſul*'s Camp; and the Council of War was aſſembled to hear his Propoſals. But he there only made ſome Excuſes for the Reproaches that had been caſt upon him, and dropped a few Words about *a Dedition*. All the reſt was ſettled between *Beſtia*, *Scaurus*, and himſelf, in private Conferences; and it is eaſy to imagine, that the Intereſts of *Rome* were there ſold to him for Money. At leaſt, theſe two Chiefs gave the King Terms ſo very advantageous, that there was Reaſon to preſume that they had betrayed their Country.

Year of *ROME* DCXLII. P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica, & L. Calpurnius Piso Bestia, Conſuls.

§. X. The next Day, the *Conſul* aſſembled the *Legionaries*, who, in a *Roman* Camp, repreſented the *Comitia by Tribes*, as their Officers did the Senate. Nothing could lawfully be ſettled by the General without the Conſent of a Majority of both; and *Beſtia* artfully propoſed to them the Peace he deſired to make with *Jugurtha*, only in general Terms. He barely told them, That the King of *Numidia* ſurrendered himſelf at Diſcretion; and they approved of the Thing in general, leaving it to him to ſettle the Particulars of the Agreement. Which Particulars were only, That *Jugurtha* ſhould give the Republick 30 Elephants, a certain Quantity of Cattle and Horſes, and a very moderate Sum of Money. Very favourable Terms indeed, for one who had aſſaſſinated two Kings, and was a Fratricide, and an Uſurper! And all Men therefore ſuſpected, That *Jugurtha* had paid the *Conſul* and his Lieutenant very dear, for a Peace which was ſo little to the Honour of the *Roman* Name. As ſoon as the News came to *Rome*, the honeſt Part of the Senate murmured at it; nevertheleſs their Reſpect for *Scaurus* kept the Houſe in ſuſpence, and no one dared to propoſe the diſannulling of the Treaty made in *Numidia*, tho' not yet confirmed, either by the Conſent of the *Roman* People, or the Approbation of the Senate. During theſe Delays, the Time for the great Elections approached, and the Death of *Scipio Naſica* haſtened them. And as there was now but one *Conſul* alive, and his Preſence was very neceſſary, to preſide in the *Comitia*, *Beſtia* was recalled to *Rome*, and *Scaurus* followed him, both greatly enriched with the Bounties of *Jugurtha*. *Cic. in Brut.*

Thus *Scipio Naſica* died, poſſeſſed of the higheſt Honours, and had the Conſolation to have governed *Rome* in perfect Tranquillity. There was only one Accident which gave the leaſt Interruption to the publick Happineſs, during his *Conſulſhip*. A Fire broke out on the Hill *Palatinus*, by ſome unknown Accident, and burnt down Part of the City. The Temple of *Cybele*, whoſe Image had been brought from *Peſſinus*, was deſtroyed by it; but, which the *Romans* thought a Prodigy, the Statue of the *Veſtal Claudia* which ſtood near the Temple, received no Damage. This was the *Claudia*, who was ſaid to have drawn the Ship off from the Sand with her Girdle, which brought to *Rome The Mother of the Gods*. So that *Cybele*, who could not ſave her own Image, preſerved the Statue of her Benefactreſs from the Flames. And tho' the Pagan *Pontifices* may have been the Inventors of this Fable, thus much at leaſt may be ſaid for them, That theſe imaginary Miracles tended greatly to the Honour of *Chaſtity*. This was long the peculiar Virtue of the *Romans*; and their great Regard for it may well be thought to have drawn upon them the Bleſſing of Heaven. But to return. *Val. Max. L. 1. c. 8. & alii.*

§. XI. *Calpurnius Beſtia* held the Aſſembly for chooſing *Conſuls*, as ſoon as he returned from *Numidia*, and the Choice fell on *M. Minucius Rufus*, and *Sp. Poſtumius Albinus*. The different Provinces that fell to their Lots, were *Numidia* to *Poſtumius*, and *Macedon* to *Minucius*. The latter marched againſt the [13] *Scordiſci*, who tho' driven

12 *Salluſt* ſpeaks of *Vacca*, as made one of the wealthieſt Cities in the Kingdom of *Numidia*, by its great and extenſive Trade.

13 If we credit the Teſtimony of *Strabo L. 7*, *Juſtin L. 32*, *Liv. Epit. L. 63*, and *Athenæus L. 6*, we muſt believe, That the *Scordiſci* came originally from *Tranſalpine Gaul*; That being joined with the ſeveral Swarms of *Gauls*, that compoſed the Army of *Brennus*, they had attempted the Conqueſt of *Greece* and *Macedon*; That after they had pillaged the Temple of *Delphi*, they alone eſcaped the Vengeance of the Gods, who were exaſperated againſt the Prophaners of the Temple of *Apollo*; That theſe Remains of an Army, which had conſiſted of above 200000 Men, then ſought for new Habitations; That they fixed on the Banks of the *Danube*, near the Place where the *Save* runs into it; and That there they made the main Body of a Nation, under the Name of *Scordiſci*. A part of them had ſtayed in *Thrace*, according to *Juſtin*, and had returned from thence to *Gaul*, their old Country.

Year of ROME DCXLIII. M. Minucius Rufus, & Sp. Postumius Albinus, Conſuls.

ven back beyond the *Danube*, repaſſed that [14] River every Winter, over the Ice, and laid waſte the *Roman Provinces*. The *Triballi*, [15] a People of *Lower Mœſia* and the [16] *Daci* of *Upper Mœſia* had joined them, and they had all penetrated together as far as *Macedon*, and committed their Depredations there. *Minucius* therefore came to ſuppreſs

Country. *Florus*, *Sextus Rufus*, and *Strabo* acknowledge, That there were *Scordiſci* among the *Thracians*; and the latter adds, That this Nation made themſelves formidable to their Neighbours, extended their Dominions to the Frontiers of *Illyricum*, *Pannonia*, and the adjacent Provinces, and being at length vanquiſhed by the *Daci*, diſperſed themſelves in different Countries.

Theſe frequent Tranſmigrations have divided the Hiſtorians concerning the Situation of the Country of the *Scordiſci*. *Stephen of Byzantium*, *Pliny*, and *Ptolomy* place them in *Lower Pannonia*, in the Neighbourhood of the ancient City of *Sirmium*. *Strabo* conſiders them as a rambling People, ſeveral Colonies of whom ſeparated from the reſt and ſettled in *Thrace*, and near the *Danube*, in the Countries bordering on thoſe of the *Triballi*. Nevertheleſs he acknowledges, That in his Time, the *Scordiſci*, after many Revolutions, had been almoſt extirpated; and That the few that were left of them, were confounded with the *Illyricans*. *Appian* in his Fragment *Of the Wars of Illyricum*, derives the Name of *Scordiſci* from *Scordiſcus*, whom he ſuppoſes to have been the Son of one *Autarius*, and the Grandſon of *Poliphemus* and *Galatea*. But would it not be more natural, without having recourſe to Fable, to derive the Appellation of *Scordiſci* from Mount *Scodrus*, or *Scardus*, and the City of *Scodra* now *Scutari*, the Capital of the Province? According to the *Greek* Hiſtorian, theſe People joined themſelves with the *Medes* and *Dardanians*, ſpread themſelves in *Greece* and *Macedon* which were then ſubject to the *Romans*, laid theſe rich Countries waſte with their Ravages, and plundered the Temple at *Delphi* a ſecond time, thirty two Years after the firſt *Roman* Expedition againſt the *Cimbri*. But this Company of Barbarians could not withſtand the Attacks of the *Roman* Army, commanded by one *Lucius Scipio*. The *Scordiſci*, abandoned by the *Medes* and *Dardanians*, their Fellow-Robbers, almoſt all periſhed by the Sword of the Conquerors; the reſt ſaved themſelves by a precipitate flight to the Banks and Iſles of the *Danube*. *Appian*, who alone affirms this Fact, without entering into the Circumſtances of it, relates another Fact, which the other Hiſtorians ſeem to have been ignorant of. *Lucius Scipio*, ſays he, the Conqueror of the *Scordiſci*, ſuffered himſelf to be corrupted by the Gold of the Temple of *Delphi*, with which the *Medes* and *Dardanians* dazzled his Eyes; and he ſold them the Treaty of Peace he made with them, for ſome of the Treaſure taken out of that Temple. So that the General, adds our Author, ſhared with theſe Barbarians the Hatred and the Fruit of this enormous Sacrilege; this impious Connivance, enraged the Gods againſt the Republick; and They, to avenge the Crime of one Man, ſtirred up an horrible Train of civil Wars, in which millions of *Citizens* periſhed: till at length *Rome*, from being a Republican State, became Monarchical.

14. The ancient Geographers call the *Danube*, *Iſter*, from a certain diſtance to the *Euxine Sea*; but don't agree among themſelves on the Place where it begins to change its Name. The *Danube*, ſay ſome, is the weſtern Part of the River, the *Iſter* the Eaſtern. *Ptolomy* calls it *Iſter*, from the ancient City of *Axiopolis* where it turns, and runs from South to North. *Pliny* ſays, it loſes the Name of *Danube* in the Neighbourhood of *Illyricum*. Nevertheleſs it is certain, that *Old Illyricum* did not reach as far as to the *Danube*: And *Pliny* could not ſpeak of that of the middle Age. *Agathemerus*, *B.* 4. of his Geography, begins the Courſe of the *Iſter*, at *Vienna* in *Auſtria*. *Strabo* fixes it to the Cataracts of that River, between the Country of the *Daci* and that of the *Getæ*. But, notwithſtanding what *Le Noir* ſays of it, there is no Fall of Water to be found within that ſpace. Perhaps he meant that which is above *Lintz* in *Auſtria*. *Xiphilin* makes the *Iſter* begin at *Trajan's Bridge* near *Upper Mœſia*. In this contrariety of Opinions, it is not eaſy to ſay, which is to be preferred.

Nor are the Ancients more agreed about the Number of Mouths by which the *Danube* diſcharges it ſelf into the *Euxine Sea*. Some, as *Ephorus* quoted by *Strabo*, reckon five. Others, as *Pliny*, ſay ſix. *Mela* gives it ſeven, as well as to the *Nile*: And *Strabo*, *Ptolomy*, and *Ammianus Marcellinus*, agree with him. But be that as it will, the *Danube* now empties it ſelf into the Sea, by only two Mouths. The others are filled up with Mud and Sand. We alſo know, That this River riſes near *Doneſchingen*, in the Principality of *Furſtemberg*, near a Mountain anciently called *Abnoba*. It runs through vaſt Countries, in its Way from Weſt to Eaſt, as far as to the *Euxine Sea*.

15 The Canton of *Bulgaria* which lies between the *Danube* and *Romania*, was inhabited by the *Triballi* at the Time we are now ſpeaking of. Indeed *Strabo* places theſe People in *Thrace*. But it ought to be obſerved, that the Ancients extended the Bounds of *Thrace* far beyond the River *Strymon* which divided it from *Macedon*, and Mount *Hæmus* which is its Boundary on the ſide of *Mœſia*.

Herodotus ſpeaks of *Thrace* as the largeſt Country in the World except *The Indies*. *Pliny* carries its Frontiers to the *Danube*, and *Appian* joins it to *Illyricum*. And *Stephen of Byzantium* therefore reckons the *Triballi* among the *Illyrican* Nations.

The Geographers generally aſſign theſe People for their Habitations, the weſtern Parts of *Lower Mœſia*, from the *Ciabrius*, now the *Morava*, which runs into the *Danube*. In *Appian's* Time, the *Triballi* were no longer a diſtinct Nation. They were ſcarce known by their ancient Name; but were probably confounded with the *Scythians*, *Mœſians*, and *Daci*.

As to *Mœſia*, which the Ancients call *European Myſia*, to diſtinguiſh it from the *Aſiatick Myſia*, it was bounded, to the Weſt by the Mouth of the *Save* towards the extream Parts of *Pannonia*; to the Eaſt, by the *Euxine Sea*; to the South, by the Mountains of *Dalmatia*; and to the North, by Mount *Hæmus*. It was divided into *Upper* and *Lower Mœſia*. The former contained all the Country that lies between the *Ciabrius* or the *Morava*, and the Conflux of the *Danube* and the *Save*, near *Belgrade*. The reſt of the Country to the *Euxine Sea*, or at leaſt much the greateſt Part of it, belonged to the latter. The Time when this Diviſion was made cannot be aſcertained. *Tacitus* and *Pliny* ſeem not to have known it. *Suetonius*, in his Life of *Vitellius*, is the firſt that mentions two *Mœſia's*. *Sextus Rufus* includes both within the Provinces of *Thrace*. And we muſt at leaſt ſay, That the *Mœſians* came originally from that Country, ſince according to *Strabo*, they had preſerved the Mother-Tongue of it. Moſt of the ancient Geographers ſeem to make the *Scythians* and *Mœſians* but one People; either perhaps becauſe *Mœſia* had formerly been a Part of *European Scythia*, or becauſe the *Scythians* had ſettled there by a Right of Conqueſt. The two *Mœſia's*, now lie in *Ruſſia*, *Servia*, and *Bulgaria*.

16 The Geographers generally place *Dacia* between the *Boriſthenes* and *European Sarmatia* to the North;

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Epit. Liv.
Eutrop. L. 4.
Front. Stratag. L. 2.
Vell. Paterc. L. 2.

preſs their Inſolence. His *Conſular* Army was indeed inferior in Number to that of the Barbarians; but he made uſe of Stratagem with Succeſs. In a Battle which he gave them between Rocks and Mountains, on the Banks of the [17] *Hebrus*, he ſent his Horſe with ſuch Expedition from one Summit to another, and ordered them to ſound ſo great a number of Trumpets, that the Enemy thought they were going to be ſurrounded by an innumerable Multitude of Troops, and fled. And as the Pillagers were returning croſs the *Hebrus* on the Ice, it broke under them; and the River ſwallowed up a Part of them with their Booty. So that *Minucius*, after a two Years ſucceſsful Expedition againſt them, returned to *Rome* to *triumph* there; and the triumphant Victor built with the Spoils of the Enemy ſome ſtately [18] *Portico's*, which tranſmitted his Name to Poſterity.

§. XII. But theſe northern Wars, how ſucceſsful ſoever, did but little affect the Republick. All the Attention of the People was turned towards *Numidia*. The Peace lately ſold to *Jugurtha*, by *Beſtia* and *Scaurus*, was looked on with deteſtation at *Rome*; and tho' the Senators continued ſilent, in reſpect to their Head, a generous *Tribune of the People* had the Courage to repair the Injuries, which they had done the Publick by their Cowardice. *C.* [19] *Memmius* addreſſed himſelf to the *Comitia*; and his Speech, which is yet

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North; *Upper Hungria*, to the Weſt; the *Danube* to the South; and the River *Pruth* and the *Euxine Sea*, to the Eaſt. This vaſt Country which is now a Part of the Kingdom of *Hungary*, *Tranſilvania*, *Moldavia*, and *Walachia*, was afterwards enlarged, when the Emperor *Aurelian* removed the *Daci* beyond the *Danube*, between the two *Mœſia's*. This Removal occaſioned the Diviſion of *Dacia* into three Provinces, which the Geographers call *Dacia Alpeſtris*, *Dacia Ripenſis*, and *Dacia Mediterranea*. The firſt was called *Alpeſtris*, becauſe it was neareſt to Mount *Carpates*. It is well known, and has been obſerved, that the Ancients called all high Mountains *Alpes*. The ſecond was nearer the Banks of the *Danube*, the *Teiſſe*, and the *Maros*, either on one Side, or the other: For the Geographers don't exactly agree about the Situation of the three *Dacia's*. And the third was in the middle, and therefore called *Mediterranea*. We ſhall not examine the different Opinions of the Moderns, concerning the true Bounds of the three Provinces, but keep to that of Father *Briet*, which we think the moſt probable. He aſſigns to *Dacia Ripenſis*, ſome Parts of *Upper Hungary*, *Tranſilvania*, *Raſcia*, and particularly the County of *Temeſwaer*; to *Dacia Alpeſtris*, *Walachia* and *Moldavia*; and to *Dacia Mediterranea*, a little Part of *Upper Hungary*, and the greateſt Part of *Tranſilvania*.

Thus much of *Dacia* properly ſo called, including the Country to which the *Daci* were removed by the Emperor *Aurelian*. But *Dio* places in *Dacia* all the Countries on both ſides the *Danube*, as far as to the Mouth of that River, and to Mount *Hæmus*. He alſo ſpeaks of a Colony of *Daci*, who inhabited Mount *Rhodope* in *Thrace*. So that this Hiſtorian looks on the *Mœſians* and *Getæ* as Nations of *Dacia*. *Eutropius* makes this Country a million of Paces, that is, about 350 *French* Leagues, in compaſs. *Ptolomy* makes it to reach in length, from the northern Elbow of the *Danube*, to the Promontory of *Pterum*, where *Jenicala* now ſtands; which is 5000 *Stadia*, or above 208 *French* Leagues: And he makes its breadth to be, from Mount *Carpates* 3500 *Stadia*, that is, near 146 *French* Leagues. And *Pliny* agrees with *Dio*. He makes the *Daci* and *Getæ* who inhabited *European Scythia*, near the *Euxine Sea*, but one Nation; with this Remark, That the People who were called *Getæ* by the *Greeks*, were called *Daci* by the *Latins*. *Juſtin* L. 30, ſuppoſes them to have had the ſame Origin, and makes no difference between them. *Stephen of Byzantium* thinks the *Daci* were indifferently called *Dahæ*, or *Dai*. But *Strabo* differs from him, ſince he places the *Dahæ* in *Aſiatick Scythia*, near the Sea of *Hyrcania*. Nevertheleſs theſe two Authors agree in this, That the *Daci* were formerly called *Davi*. Which they infer from the Names of *Davus* and *Gæta*, which the Ancients gave their Slaves, as appears by the Comedies of *Plautus* and *Terence*. *Cato*, in his Book *De Originibus*, falſly pretends, That the *Daci* were called both *Dani*, and *Davi*; by which he ſeems to imply, That theſe People and the *Danes* were the ſame Nation. *Ovid* and *Strabo* who rank them among the *Thracians* and *Scythians*, have given us a more juſt Account. All the Nations that lay between the *Propontis*, the *Danube*, and *Dalmatia*, were deemed ſo many Colonies from *Thrace*, and *European Scythia*. In after Ages, the *Daci* were known by the Name of *Gepidæ*, a Name, which according to *Jornandes*, imports in the *Gothick* Language, the ſlowneſs and ſtupidity of theſe Barbarians. If *Ovid* has given us a true Account of the *Daci* and neighbouring Nations, they muſt have been the moſt fierce and hideous of all People. They were ſituated, ſays the Poet, in an ungrateful and barren Country, and had never taſted the Sweets of the Spring, or the Gifts of *Flora* and *Pomona*. Nevertheleſs, *Solinus* tells us, That the two *Mœſia's* were ſo fruitful in Corn, that the *Romans* called them *The Granary of Ceres*. *Ovid*, who was baniſhed to *Pontus*, on the Banks of the *Euxine Sea*, found none of the Pleaſures, and Delights he uſed to enjoy at *Rome*, in the Place of his Baniſhment; and has doubtleſs much exaſperated Things in his Account, and put them in ſtronger Lights than they deſerved, in order to affect *Auguſtus* with his Misfortunes. Notwithſtanding this Barbarity of the *Daci*, *Strabo* tells us, on the Authority of *Poſſidonius*, That ſome of them made it matter of Merit, to live in Cœlibacy all their Days. *Joſephus* mentions them, and compares their manner of Life, with that of the *Eſſenes* among the *Jews*, who profeſſed to lead more perfect Lives than others. Theſe Philoſophers, who denied themſelves all ſenſual Pleaſures, were, according to thoſe Authors, in great Eſteem among the *Daci*. *Pliny* obſerves, *L.* 22, That theſe People marked their Bodies with different Figures; as is done to this Day by the Savages in *America*. And he affirms, *L.* 7, as certain matter of Fact, That the *Daci* carried on their Arms, but only to the fourth Generation in a direct Line, natural Marks, which ſhewed their Origin.

17 The *Hebrus* is a River of *Thrace*, which *Leunclavius* calls *Marizza*. It riſes at Mount *Hæmus*; and after it has watered *Adrianople*, and ſeveral other Cities of *Thrace*, it falls into the *Ægean* Sea.

18 Theſe Portico's are not now in Being. In the Deſcription which *Victor* and *Rufus* have given us of *Old Rome*, they place them at a little diſtance from the *Flaminian Circus*.

19 *Cicero*, *L.* 2. *De Oratore*, ſpeaks of an Accuſation brought againſt *Beſtia*, by *Caius Memmius*, but

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yet preſerved, ſhews both his Zeal for the publick Good, and his Hatred to the Senators. *Shall I ſpeak*, Romans, ſaid he, *or be ſilent? If ſilent, I ſhall betray the Intereſt of my Country. If I ſpeak, I ſhall bring a Proſecution on my ſelf. Faction now does every thing at* Rome. *Right is a vain Title, and Innocence a weak Support. Juſtice is baniſhed from the Senate, and has no Retreat but among the People. Nay, the factious Great purſue her thither, in order to oppreſs her. What tragical Things have we not ſeen tranſacted within theſe* 15 *Years! Your Defenders have periſhed in your Arms, and your Fears ſeem to have increaſed to a Stupefaction. You are intimidated by a ſmall Number of audacious Men, whom you have Power enough to make tremble. Not that I adviſe a recourſe to Arms, or a new Separation, or the cutting the Senators in pieces. Indeed the Death of the* Gracchi *is not avenged. But I ſpeak not of Acts of Violence; let us lay aſide open Force. I will ſuppoſe for the preſent, that your Tyrants have re-eſtabliſhed you in all your Rights and Privileges. But will you therefore ſuffer the publick Treaſure to become a Prey to them? Shall the Tributes of Kings, and the Revenues of Provinces, be given up to the Avarice of the Great; and their Riches be ſuffered to increaſe* in infinitum? *Nay, Will you tamely ſee the Majeſty of the* Roman *People diſhonoured, their Reputation proſtituted for Money, and their Right of making Peace or War uſurped and betrayed, to ſerve the ſordid Views of particular Men? Yet theſe avaritious, rich Men, triumph over your Reſentments with Impunity. They canvaſs for civil and ſacred Offices, and appear with moſt Zeal for the* Conſulate. *Even Slaves that are ill uſed, will complain of the too great Severity of their Maſters: And will You, who are born to give Law, not dare to reſcue yourſelves from the Slavery to which you are reduced? Who then are theſe Tyrants, that ſtrike you with ſo much dread? Men loaded with Crimes, who have formerly been guilty of murdering your* Tribunes, *and lately of having ſacrificed the Republick to* Jugurtha *for Money. But alas! Their Crimes are their Support, and their Riches their Protection! Are not you then* Romans, *as induſtrious to ſhake off the Yoke, as they are to fix it upon you? You have Power by your Suffrages to exalt and depreſs whom you pleaſe. Why then don't you leave theſe Villains in the Duſt, and confer your Dignities only on Men of Probity? This is a ſafer Remedy, and more worthy of you, than that uſed by your Forefathers. Think not of Violence, or a Separation. It would become you much better to ſummon* Jugurtha *to appear before you. If his* Dedition *be not a feint only, he will obey you; and if he does not, you will then have no room to doubt, but he has fraudulently and baſely bought this pretended Peace.*

Thus ſpake *Memmius*, and the People aſſented to the Force of his Reaſons. There plainly appeared to be another Advantage in the Examination which the King of *Numidia* was intended to undergo. It was from his Mouth only that the People could with certainty know, whether *Scaurus*, or *Beſtia*, or *Opimius*, had been corrupted by his Money. But it was neceſſary to find out a Man, in whom *Jugurtha* could ſo much confide, as to reſolve to leave *Numidia* and come to *Rome*, upon his *Parole*; and the *Prætor Caſſius* was thought a proper Perſon for ſuch a Negotiation. He was a ſevere Judge, but a Man of great Addreſs, and of unſpotted Probity: And he carried to *Numidia* the Decree of the *Roman* People, which had been made at the Motion, and was agreeable to the Intentions, of their *Tribune Mummius*.

§. XIII. When he landed in *Africa*, he found great Diſorders in the Army there, which was univerſally corrupted by Avarice. The inferior Officers, and the private Men, following the Example of their General, thought of nothing but growing rich. Some had ſold to *Jugurtha* the 30 Elephants he had given the *Romans*, upon the Treaty of Peace. Others had ſet the Deſerters at Liberty for Money. And others had gone upon free Booty in the Country of an Ally. In ſhort, whatever and wherever they could plunder, they did. But as the correcting theſe Diſorders was no part of his Commiſſion, he applied himſelf wholly to cure *Jugurtha* of his Suſpicions, and to perſwade him to come to *Rome*, and acknowledge the Authority of the Maſters of the World.

does not ſay that it related to the Affair of *Jugurtha*. *Scaurus* undertook the Defence of the Criminal. Whilſt the two Orators were pleading for, and againſt the accuſed, a Noiſe was heard of a funeral Proceſſion which was paſſing by, and this gave *Caius Memmius* an occaſion to throw out this ill-natur'd Reflection on his Adverſary. *Scaurus*, ſaid he, there is a dead Man carrying to his Grave; be ſure, don't loſe the Opportunity, but take care to get Poſſeſſion of his Eſtate: Alluding to the Reproach generally caſt upon him, of having unjuſtly poſſeſſed himſelf of the Effects of a rich Man, named *Phrygio-Pompæus*, perhaps becauſe an *Embroiderer* by Trade. *Cicero* ſays, That this Man died ſuddenly, and left no *Will*, or at leaſt that *Scaurus* was not in it.

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He had many Difficulties to ſtruggle with in *Jugurtha*'s Breaſt. The Indignity this would bring on Majeſty, the Reproaches of his own Conſcience, the Fear of being detained a Captive at *Rome*, or even of being ſeverely puniſhed there, were great Obſtacles to his purſuing the Meaſures propoſed. But nevertheleſs, he reſolved to comply with the Orders of the *Roman People*, depending more on *Caſſius*'s Word, than on the publick Faith; and as ſoon as his Reſolution was known at *Rome*, his Party there were ſtruck with Terror. However, the King came, under the Conduct of *Caſſius*; and to raiſe the more Compaſſion, entered the City without any Pomp or Attendance, and dreſſed in a very negligent manner. A great Honour indeed to the *Roman People*, to ſee the powerful King of *Numidia* groveling at their Feet, and acknowledging their Sovereignty! Several Kings had pleaded their Cauſes before the Senate; but none had ever yet acknowledged the Juriſdiction of the *Roman Tribes*, or ſubmitted to be examined and tried by them, in a capital Caſe. This was new. Nevertheleſs, *Jugurtha* knew how to conduct his Affair with all poſſible dexterity. He was not ignorant, That all Cauſes brought before the aſſembled People depended on the *Tribunes*, and That the ſecuring one of them was ſufficient to put a ſtop to all Proceedings; and therefore immediately gained one of the ten with his Money. This was *Caius Bæbius Salca*, a Man impudently bold, and yet more Covetous than Audacious.

When the *Comitia* were aſſembled, *Jugurtha* appeared before them; and was himſelf a Witneſs of the Hatred which the Publick bore him. Some cried out for dragging him to Priſon, and others for putting him to death, if he did not diſcover thoſe Accomplices whom he had in his pay at *Rome*. The *Tribune Mummius* however, appeaſed this firſt Diſturbance; and then juridically cited the King to appear, and required him to anſwer. He, in the firſt place, reproached him with his ill Conduct towards *Micipſa*, his adoptive Father, and with the Uneaſineſs he had given him; but inſiſted moſt ſtrongly on the Murder of *Hiempſal*, and the Maſſacre in which *Adherbal* periſhed. And when he ſaw the King began to be intimidated, *Memmius* added; *Your Audaciouſneſs indeed could never have been carried to ſo great an exceſs, if you had not known that you were ſupported by a* Roman *Faction, whoſe Protection you had purchaſed. We know them all. Their Zeal to ſerve you, and their Partiality to your Intereſts have pulled off the Maſk. Nevertheleſs it concerns us to have their Names from the Perſon himſelf who has ſet them at work; and I dare engage, That the publick Faith ſhall be ſtrictly kept with you, if you honeſtly declare to us, without any Evaſions, the Perſons who have ſupported you in your Iniquities. Speak, and anſwer the Expectations of the* Roman People. But whilſt *Jugurtha* was preparing to reply, *Bæbius* ſtood up and oppoſed it. The mercenary *Tribune*, whom the King had purchaſed ſaid, *Tho' they preſs you to ſpeak*, Jugurtha, *I enjoin you ſilence.* And tho' this raiſed ſuch Murmurings and Clamours as might have affrighted, or confounded, a Man of leſs Effrontery and Intrepidity than *Bæbius*, yet he perſiſted in his Oppoſition: And ſo great was the Reſpect of the People for the Perſon of their *Tribune*, that they durſt not over-rule it. In ſhort, *Scaurus* and *Beſtia* were by this means extricated out of the Affair, and became much more attached to *Jugurtha* than ever.

§. XIV. Impunity likewiſe made the King himſelf more enterprizing. He now carried on his Villainies to an exceſs ſcarce to be imagined. We have before obſerved, that one of *Micipſa*'s Brothers, and his Aſſociate on the Throne with *Manaſtabal*, had left an illegitimate Son, named *Maſſiva*; who had neither been much advanced by *Galuſſa* his Father, nor adopted by *Micipſa*. So that tho' he was of the Blood Royal, and Grandſon to *Maſſiniſſa*, he was reduced to the State of a private Life. It may therefore well be imagined, that he could not but envy the good Fortune of *Jugurtha*, who, tho' the Son of a Concubine as well as himſelf, had found Means to get a Share in the Crown, and had had the boldneſs to take all *Numidia* from the two Brothers, who had been aſſaſſinated by his Orders: And whilſt *Adherbal* lived, *Maſſiva* had adhered to his Cauſe, as the moſt juſt. But after the taking of *Cirtha*, and the cruel Death of the King his Relation, he had fled for Refuge to *Rome*; and there the few Men of Honour whom *Jugurtha* could not corrupt, eſpouſed his Intereſts. The *Conſul Poſtumius Albinus*, to whoſe Lot *Numidia* was now fallen, was his avowed Friend, and moſt zealous Protector. He told him, That he was the only Remains of the Royal Blood of *Numidia*, after *Jugurtha*; That, that perfidious Relation of his was ready to ſink, and might, without much difficulty, be brought to ruin; and That if he would but make the Attempt, he might eaſily obtain the Kingdom. This *Conſul*, who was appointed to carry on the War

Salluſt. de Bell. Jugurth.

Ibid.

Ibid.

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War in *Numidia*, was afraid that the Peace his Predeceſſor had made with *Jugurtha* would be confirmed, infamous as it was; made it is his Buſineſs to diſconcert the King's Meaſures, and fruſtrate the Attempts of thoſe whom he ſo dearly paid at *Rome*; and at his Perſuaſion, *Maſſiva* demanded of the Senate and People of *Rome* the Crown of his Anceſtors, which *Jugurtha* had forfeited by his Treacheries.

This Attempt could not be unknown to his Rival; and as the ambitious Man is capable of any Villainy when he thinks himſelf out of the reach of Puniſhment, *Jugurtha* reſolved to get *Maſſiva* aſſaſſinated, in the Face of the Republick, even in *Rome* it ſelf. *Bomilcar* his Friend and Confident, whom he had brought into *Italy*, under the publick Faith, was his Agent in this Iniquity; and the baſe Miniſter, after much enquiry, found Aſſaſſines who took his Money, and he appointed them the Place and Time proper for the Execution. But one of them raſher than the reſt, inconſiderately ſeized the firſt Opportunity; and without conſidering his Danger, cut off *Maſſiva*'s Head. Which the Wretch had no ſooner done, but he was inſtantly taken and brought before the *Prætor*; to whom he confeſſed that he had done nothing without *Bomilcar*'s Orders, who had hired him to commit the Murder. This Depoſition exceedingly embarraſſed *Jugurtha*, on whom all the Odium of the Crime muſt at laſt fall; tho' *Bomilcar* only was cited to appear before the Judges. Indeed, to treat him as a Criminal was contrary to the Promiſe given him; but Juſtice required he ſhould be puniſhed. And what Part then had *Jugurtha* to act, in ſo critical a Juncture? If he expoſed *Bomilcar* to the Dangers of a Trial, this would reflect diſhonour upon himſelf, leſſen him in the Eſteem of all his Subjects, and diſoblige the Friends he had in *Rome*. He therefore reſolved immediately to contrive his Eſcape, and ſend him to *Africa*. Accordingly, the Confident diſappeared; and this turned all Suſpicions on the Maſter. Inſomuch, that Informations were privately given in againſt him, and Preparations making for arreſting him. Then, ſtung with the Remorſes of his own Conſcience, yet more alarmed with the Fear of the Suffrages of the People, who were not ſo eaſy to be corrupted as ſome of the Magiſtrates, and having no reſource, but in flight, he went off, without taking leave of the Senate; and made all poſſible haſte to embark at the neareſt Port. And as he was on the Road, he looked back on the Capital of the World, and with great Indignation and Contempt, burſt out into this Exclamation. *Thou avaritious, thou mercenary City! Thou wilt even ſell thy ſelf, as ſoon as thou canſt find a Man rich enough to buy thee!*

Epit. Liv. Florus, L. 3. Oroſ. L. 5. Eutropius. Salluſt.

§. XV. As ſoon as returned to *Africa*, he made it his chief Care, either to avoid, or at leaſt ſuſpend, the War which *Rome* now ſeemed determined to make with him. The *Conſul, Poſtumius Albinus*, was ſoon ready to ſet ſail for *Africa*, and there to put himſelf at the Head of the Army which his Predeceſſor had commanded. Knowing that the Year of his *Conſulate* was already advanced, and that he ſhould be obliged to preſide in the *Comitia* for the Elections for the enſuing Year, he loſt no Time in raiſing his Recruits, and receiving the neceſſary Sums out of the Treaſury; and the Senate by Decree, diſannulled the infamous Peace which *Beſtia* had made with the Uſurper of *Numidia*.

The Deſign of *Poſtumius* was, to finiſh in a few Months an Expedition which he thought by no means difficult; either by beating *Jugurtha* in one deciſive Battle, or elſe by forcing him to ſurrender himſelf up to the *Romans* a ſecond Time, by a voluntary *Dedition*. But he knew little of his Enemy's Character. *Jugurtha* was too wiſe to hazard a Battle raſhly; and few Princes knew better, how to turn himſelf into all Shapes, in managing a Negotiation. He promiſed all the *Conſul* deſired in the firſt Conferences; and pretended to be ready to deliver up himſelf and his Dominions. But when he was preſſed to perform this, he equivocated. Sometimes he objected a pretended Oppoſition from his Subjects; and ſometimes, his own Fears. One Minute he acquieſced in the Peace; and the next, threatened to have recourſe to Arms. By theſe Inconſiſtencies he gained Time, which he employed to the beſt Advantage, in the Regulation of his Affairs: And in ſhort, he led on the *Conſul* with one Evaſion or another, till the ſtated Time came for his Departure.

So that *Poſtumius* was obliged to return to *Rome*, without compaſſing any Determination, either by Action, or Treaty. All he brought with him from *Numidia*, was ſtrong Suſpicions, of his having ſold the Intereſts of his Country, as his Predeceſſors had done. And indeed, it was not very natural to believe, that the *Numidian* ſhould have found Means, by Artifices alone, and without any Connivance in their General, to ſuſpend the Motions of a large Army which *Rome* maintained in *Africa*, at a great Expence.

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pence. However, *Poſtumius* embarked for *Rome*, where he was loaded with the Curſes of the People: And to compleat his Misfortune, he left his Brother to command in *Numidia* during his abſence. This new Commander ſoon did the Republick as much Miſchief by his Raſhneſs, as *Poſtumius* had done, by his Delays and Inaction.

§. XVI. At his Return, the *Conſul* found very great Diſturbances in the City, occaſioned by the Intrigues of two *Tribunes of the People*. *P. Licinius Craſſus*, *C. Manilius*, and *L. Annius*, were aiming at getting themſelves continued in their Office another Year, contrary to Law. The firſt had with the Conſent of the Senate, publiſhed an Edict againſt expenſive Tables. By means of the Riches which flowed to *Rome* from all Parts, and particularly the late Bounties of *Jugurtha*, the *Citizens* were grown ſo delicate, and ſo profuſe in their Meals, that it called for a Reformation. *Licinius* therefore went ſo far, as to revive the old Regulations of *Fannius*; and to put Things upon the ſame frugal Foot, on which they ſtood, whilſt there was ſome Virtue flouriſhing in the Republick. His Law was in Subſtance this; That on the Days of the *Calends*, *Nones*, *Markets*, and *Great Games*, any Man might lay out the Sum of 30 [20] *Aſſes* on his Table; but That on other Days, no Man ſhould have more than three Pounds of freſh Meat, and one of Salt at one Meal. To which it was added, That as to Pulſe, or Herbs, and Fruits, every one might have as much of them as he pleaſed. This, tho' a ſevere Edict, met with ſo ready a Compliance from the *Citizens*, that they obeyed it as ſoon as declared by the Senate, before it was confirmed by the People; and [21] *Licinius*

20 Are we to believe *Macrobius*, or *Aulus Gellius*? The latter gives us a very different account of this Law, from that given by the former. *The Licinian Law*, ſays he, *L. 2. c. 24*, revived the Law which had been paſſed 50 Years before, by the *Conſul Fannius*. The new Legiſlator reduced the Expence of eating for each Meal to 30 * *Aſſes*. That is, he forbad that the Quantity of Meat ſerved up at any one time, ſhould exceed the Sum mentioned in the *Fannian Law*. Only this Clauſe was added, That if this was not ſufficient, any Man might add as many Diſhes of Pulſe, and as many ſorts of Fruits, as he thought proper, according to the Number and Taſte of his Gueſts. And *Licinius* alſo excepted ſome ſolemn Days; ſuch as the Feſtivals when the *Roman Games*, the *Plebeian Games*, the *Saturnalia*, and the *Games* dedicated to the Worſhip of *The Mother of the Gods*, were celebrated. Then, any Man might expend on his Table as far as 100 * *Aſſes*. Days of Marriage were alſo excepted. He alſo thought that Times ſet apart for Joy and Pleaſure, ſhould be privileged; and therefore allowed 200 *Aſſes* * to be ſpent on Nuptial Feaſts, excluſive of Bread, Wine, Herbs, and Fruits, which were left to the Diſcretion of the Maſters of Families. This Exception made in the *Licinian Law*, gave riſe to the Expreſſion COENÆ CENTENARIÆ, to ſignify a ſtately Entertainment.

Theſe Precautions againſt the Superfluity of the *Roman* Tables put a ſtop to the Evil for a Time. But Effeminacy, Gluttony, Luxury, and Debauchery, ſoon got ground among the great and rich Men at *Rome*. This Capital of the World, being too well ſtored with riches, and the Delights of *Aſia*, was continually offering them new Temptations to Niceneſs of Taſte and Delicacy. The wealthy *Citizens* could not bear to be confined to live upon little, in the midſt of abundance. The Magiſtrates had, for above theſe 72 Years, in vain endeavoured to bring back the *Romans* to the ancient Frugality of their Forefathers. The Laws of *Orcius*, *Fannius*, and *Didius*, which we have mentioned in the Fourth, and the former Part of this Volume, did little more than increaſe the Number of the refractory, without remedying the Diſorder. The Tyranny of Cuſtom, the Contagion of ill Examples, and Impunity, were too ſtrong for the Severity of the Laws. There was a private Man, ſays *Macrobius*, who, in contempt of the ſumptuary Laws, was not aſhamed to ſerve up to his Table, a Boar, the Legs of which were ſtuffed with all ſorts of eatable Meats, as the *Trojan* Horſe formerly carried in its Body a Company of armed *Greeks*. Hence the Name of *Porcus Trojanus*, which was given to theſe ſtuffed Boars. The continuance of theſe Exceſſes, ſtirred up from time to time, the Attention of the *Tribunes*, or *Conſuls*; and they declaimed againſt this exceſſive Profuſeneſs, had recourſe to ſevere Laws, and confirmed the old, by new ones. But theſe were no more regarded than the former. Nevertheleſs, the Abuſe was not yet ſo general, but that there were at *Rome* ſeveral Citizens of the firſt Rank, who always made it an inviolable Rule to keep within the Bounds of Temperance. In proof of this, *Aulus Gellius* quotes a Poet named *Levius*, in one of his Pieces called *Erotopægniæ*, or *The Sports of Love*. He mentions a Maſter of a Family, who for fear of tranſgreſſing *The Licinian Law*, would not accept of a *Chevreuil*, which was brought him. Indeed, the Legiſlators had given leave to ſupply the want of the forbidden Meats, only with Fruits, Herbs, and Pulſe, which were left at large, without any Reſtriction. And the Men of Taſte, thought they had a Right, if they did not expreſly violate the Laws, to indulge themſelves in the greateſt Delicacies; and made uſe of Art to heighten and enrich the Productions of Nature. The Men of Wealth valued themſelves upon keeping good Cooks, who ſtudied how to deceive the Eyes by diſguiſing plain Herbs and Pulſe, and by pleaſing the Taſte with the moſt exquiſite Sauces. *Cicero* himſelf, in a Letter to *Gallus*, *L. 7*, confeſſes, That the *Romans* had found Means to ſupply themſelves by the Skill of their Cooks, with what the ſumptuary Laws had denied them. *We owe*, ſays he, *to the Zeal of our Reformers, the Secrets which were hitherto unknown, concerning the manner of dreſſing Muſhrooms, and other Vegetables.* Lentulus, *the other Day entertained the* Augurs, *and I was preſent at the Entertainment. High ſeaſoned Vegetables were ſerved up; and I ate of them to ſome exceſs. But I was ſoon puniſhed for my greedineſs, by an Indigeſtion, which was followed by a Looſeneſs and Vomiting, which has not ſtopped, till this Day. Thus I, who can reſtrain my Appetite with regard to the deareſt Meats, ſuch as Oyſters and* Murænæ, *ſuffered my ſelf to be overcome, by Red-Betes and Mallows.*

21 This *Publius Licinius Craſſus* ſurnamed *Dives*, from his great Riches, was the Father of the famous *Marcus Craſſus*, the Rival of *Pompey the Great*.

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deſired to be continued in his Office, that he might take the more effectual Care of the Obſervation of this Edict, and make it the more laſting.

The *Tribune Manilius* had likewiſe got a new Law paſſed, which tho' not ſo extenſive as the other, was yet in the preſent State of Things neceſſary. It related to appointing Commiſſioners for trying thoſe, who had been corrupted by *Jugurtha*'s Money, and who had, during their Male-adminiſtrations in *Africa*, enriched themſelves by unlawful Means. Theſe were almoſt all Senators, or of the firſt of the Nobility, and were very odious to the People, becauſe they had formerly been moſt zealous in procuring the Deſtruction of the two *Gracchi*. But the greateſt Villain among them, *Scaurus*, the *Prince of the Senate*, was artful enough to get himſelf nominated at the Head of the Commiſſion. Such Weight and Authority has the very appearance of Virtue with the generality of Mankind! And then the Diſſembler ſeemed to be mightily changed. He, who was the moſt ſcandalous Extortioner in *Rome*, was very ſevere in his Judgments on others, who were leſs Criminal than himſelf. During the two Years which he ſate at the Head of the Commiſſion, he condemned to Baniſhment ſeveral [22] *Conſular* Men, and even one [23] *Pontifex*; a Thing never heard of before. He ſucceſſively proſcribed *Lucius Calpurnius Beſtia* with whom he had himſelf been Accomplice, and *Spurius Poſtumius Albinus*; and *Lucius* [25] *Opimius* fell a ſacrifice to his Severity, and the Fury of the *Tribes*. The Hatred the People bore him was very violent; and this old *Conſul*, this Perſecutor of the *Gracchi*, went and died of Want at [25] *Dyrrachium*. So that this Law of *Manilius* raiſed great Diſturbances in the Republick. Nevertheleſs, the Author of it might make this his Plea with the People, for continuing him another Year in the *Tribunate*. And *Annius* likewiſe requeſted the ſame thing. But their Attempts ended only in poſtponing the Election of the great Magiſtrates; which the *Centuries* after ſome time made in the *Campus Martius*, and proclaimed *Q.* [25] *Cæcilius Metellus*, and *M. Junius Silanus*, *Conſuls*.

Cic. in Bruto.

Cic. Orat. pro Sextio.

§. XVII. There was one War impending, and another actually begun, to employ the two *Conſuls*; and it fell to the Lot of *Silanus*, to lead a *Conſular* Army into *Gallia Narbonenſis*. There was not yet any Diſturbance in this Province which had been lately conquered; the eaſtern *Gauls* bore the *Roman* Yoke for the preſent, pretty peaceably. But the Re-

22 To the three *Conſular* Men, who were condemned, for promoting the Deſigns of *Jugurtha* againſt the Intereſts of the Republick, *Cicero* adds *Caius Porcius Cato*, the Grandſon of *Cato the Cenſor* by his Father *Marcus*, and of *Paulus Æmilius* by his Mother *Æmilia*, the Daughter of *The Second Africanus*. *Caius* had been *Conſul* in the Year 639; and we have obſerved above, p. 190, after *Cicero* and *Velleius Paterculus*, That at his Return from *Macedon*, he had been baniſhed to *Tarragona* in *Spain*, for embezzeling the publick Money. But nevertheleſs *Cicero*, in his *Brutus*, ſeems to contradict himſelf. He ſays expreſly, That *Caius Cato*, was brought before the Court of the Commiſſioners appointed to enquire after *Jugurtha*'s Partizans, by *Manilius*, the *Tribune of the People*. Either therefore *Cato* muſt have been then at *Rome*, and conſequently muſt have been recalled from his Baniſhment, or elſe, there muſt have been the Space of three Years, between his firſt Condemnation, and his Departure for *Tarragona*.

23 This *Pontifex* was *Caius Sulpicius Galba*; who, according to *Cicero*, in his *Brutus*, was the ſecond Son of the famous Orator *Servius*, and Son-in-Law to *Publius Craſſus Mucianus*, who underſtood the Law, as well as the Art of Speaking. When he was accuſed of favouring *Jugurtha*, he made a Speech in his Defence, which was afterwards made the Model for the young *Romans* to learn Eloquence by, and the Children were made to learn it by Heart.

25 *Cicero*, in his Orations, *for Sextius*, *againſt Piſo*, and *for Plancus*, never mentions the Baniſhment of *Lucius Opimius*, but with Indignation. He laments the Fate of this great Man, and inveighs againſt the Injuſtice of his Judges. To the Shame of the *Romans*, ſays he, the Man who had juſt ſaved his Country from the Fury of the *Gracchi*, could not find an hoſpitable Reception there. *Rome* proclaims the Importance of his Services, by the famous Monument erected to his Honour in the *Forum Romanum*, and yet forces him to ſeek a Retreat, and a Sepulchre in a foreign Land.

25 *Dyrrachium* ſtands on the Coaſts of the *Adriatick* Sea, and borders upon *New Epirus*, or *Albania*. It is now called *Durazzo*. See Vol. 3. p.21, Note 44.

26 *Quintus Cæcilius Numidicus* was the Son of *Lucius Metellus Calvus*, who was *Conſul* in the Year 611; and conſequently, was Brother to the *Pontifex Maximus Lucius Metellus*, ſurnamed *Dalmaticus*. *Pedianus* alſo gives the latter the Surname of *Calvus*. Hence the Miſtake of ſome Writers, who have confounded the Father with the Son. As for *Metellus*, the preſent *Conſul*, *Velleius Paterculus* ranks him among the greateſt Orators in *Rome*. In his Youth he went to *Athens*, and was the Diſciple of *Carneades*; and under this great Maſter, ſtudied Eloquence and Philoſophy. When he returned to *Rome*, he contracted a ſtrict Friendſhip with the famous *Craſſus*. His intrepidity and greatneſs of Mind were obſerved in a Speech he made againſt *Caius Manilius*, on account of ſome Reflections which this *Tribune of the People* had caſt upon him, in an Aſſembly of the People. We have only a Fragment of it remaining, which *Aulus Gellius* has preſerved. *Romans*, ſaid he, *Manilius* thinks to do himſelf great Honour, by declaring himſelf my Enemy; and perhaps he expects that I ſhould make a long Apology. But what occaſion have I to defend my ſelf againſt a Man, who can do me little Service as a Friend, and whoſe Anger as an Enemy, I deſpiſe. Such ſort of People don't deſerve to have any thing ſaid of them, either good, or bad. The beſt way is to leave them in oblivion. It is doing them too much Honour, to condeſcend even to mention their Names.

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Year of *ROME* DCXLIV.
Q. Cæcilius Metellus, & M. Junius Silanus, Conſuls.
Florus L. c. 3. Eutrop. Oroſ.

publick was under ſome Apprehenſions from the *Cimbri*, *Teutones*, and *Tigurini*. Theſe People had united, and after having long rambled about the *Alpes*, had croſſed the *Pyrenees*; and ſeemed determined, after they had pillaged *Spain*, firſt to fall on *Gallia Narbonenſis*, and then on the *Whole Roman Province*, in order to enter *Italy* that Way. This made it neceſſary to drive theſe numberleſs Vagabonds and Robbers, whoſe Fury had already been too much felt by the Republick, from the Frontiers; and therefore *Silanus* was ſent to prevent their Inſults, fortify that Part of *Gaul* which was ſubject to the *Romans*, and place his Army as a Barrier againſt their Paſſage. And then, what *Rome* had feared came very ſuddenly upon her. Theſe *Cimbri* came down from the *Pyrenees*, and over-run *Gallia Narbonenſis* like a Torrent. The *Conſul*, not alarmed at their Numbers, came to meet the Barbarians; and poſted himſelf at ſome diſtance from their Camp. Upon this, the *Cimbri* took the firſt ſtep towards a kind of Negotiation, but it was rather a Declaration of War. Their Chief ſent Deputies to the *Conſul*, with Orders to talk very loftily to him, and terrify him with Threatenings. *War*, ſaid they, *muſt be the Conſequence, if you will not allot us a Territory in* Italy, *in caſe we ſhall not think fit to put an end to our long Labours, and many Incurſions, by ſettling here.* But theſe were Inſults which the *Romans* were not uſed to bear from their Enemies; neither was it in the *Conſul's* Power to aſſign them Lands in *Italy*. All the Country on this ſide the *Po* was inhabited by *Gauls*; and the Lands in the eaſtern Parts of *Italy* were ſcarce ſufficient to ſatisfy the Avarice of the *Citizens* of *Rome*. He therefore as haughtily rejected the Propoſal, and immediately had recourſe to Arms. But the Battle he fought turned ſo much to the diſadvantage of the *Romans*, that they were [27] routed at the firſt Onſet; and in Conſequence of this, all *Gallia Narbonenſis* was at once expoſed to the Plunder of theſe Barbarians. *Rome* only continued Miſtreſs of thoſe Cities, which the *Cimbri* could not take for want of being uſed to carry on Sieges. Nevertheleſs they did not yet drop their Deſign of ſettling in *Italy*. The *Rhone* and the *Alpes* were now Barriers to them.

§. XVIII. As for *Metellus*, it was his Lot to make War in *Numidia*; and his Expedition was more ſucceſsful than that of his Collegue. *Jugurtha* was alarmed at the News of his coming; notwithſtanding that he had gained a conſiderable Advantage over the *Roman* Army, ſince his Return. The Brother of *Spurius Poſtumius Albinus*, who was left to command the *Conſul's* Troops in quality of *Pro-Conſul*, no ſooner ſaw himſelf at the Head of 40000 Men, but his martial Ardour got the better of him, and he reſolved to take Advantage of the Abſence of the *Conſul*, to gain himſelf Riches, or Glory. Tho' the *Romans* were in Winter-Quarters, and the Month of *January* was a very improper Time for a military Expedition, he aſſembled his Troops, marched into the Field, through dirty Roads, and in a rainy Seaſon, and brought them before [28] *Suthul*, a ſtrong Hold in *Numidia*, where *Jugurtha* was ſaid to have depoſited his Treaſures. This City ſtood on an Eminence, and could not eaſily have been taken in any Seaſon; and in Winter, the Marſhes about it made it almoſt inacceſſible. But nevertheleſs, the Covetouſneſs of the *Pro-Prætor* led him to beſiege it. He built Machines, and made ſeveral Aſſaults; but with all his Efforts could gain nothing there, except the Shame of an ill-timed and ill-conducted Enterprize. Beſides, this plainly ſhewed *Jugurtha*, that the temporary General was no great Maſter of the Art of War; and he concluded, it would not be difficult to draw him into a Snare, and fight him with Advantage. To this end, he drew near *Suthul*, and pretended to be terrified at the Sight of the *Roman* Army. After many Supplications to the General, which he knew could not be heard, he retired from Poſt to Poſt, through difficult Roads; and the *Roman* Army marching directly after him, purſued him to the inmoſt Parts of *Numidia*. And when *Jugurtha* had got him into the Heart of his Dominions, he then returned to his uſual Artifices. He did not indeed offer the *Pro-Prætor* Money. He held him in ſo great Contempt, that he did not think it worth his while. But he applied himſelf to the Officers and Soldiers of his Army; and bought off not only a *Cohort* of *Thracians*, and another of *Ligurians*, but many of the *Legionaries* themſelves. They were not more deaf to the Offers of *Jugurtha*, than the greateſt Magiſtrates of *Rome* had been; and in

27 The Authorities of *Florus*, *Paulus Oroſius*, and *Livy*, *Epit. L.* 68, concerning the ill Succeſs of the Battle fought with the *Cimbri*, ought to be preferred to that of *Eutropius*. This Abridger, in the end of his fourth Book, takes it for granted, That *Junius Silanus* had entirely defeated theſe Barbarians in *Narbonne Gaul*.

28 We have no exact Account of the Situation of *Suthul*, a City of *Numidia*.

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ſhort, a conſiderable Part of the *Roman* Army baſely agreed to ſacrifice the Love of their Country to their private Intereſt.

Jugurtha's Camp was not far from that of the *Romans*, and both hourly expected to come to a Battle. But the King of *Numidia* had no Deſign to run that Hazard. He thought an attack on the *Pro-Prætor*'s Trenches by Night, would better favour the Treachery of the *Roman* Soldiers whom he had gained; and he ordered his *Numidians* to advance at the Time when ſleep is generally ſoundeſt. The latter mounted the Rampart with inconceivable Swiftneſs; and ſpread Confuſion and Terror in the beſieged Camp upon the firſt Alarm. The Soldiers roſe in diſorder, and endeavoured to repair to their Colours in the dark; and the General himſelf was in doubt whether he ſhould flee, or keep his Ground. He thought the Danger equal either way; and what determined him to leave his Poſt, was the Deſertion of his *Thracians* and *Ligurians*. He was informed that one *Cohort* of the former, and two of the latter were gone over to the Enemy: And this was not the worſt of his Misfortunes. The chief Officer of the third *Legion* had, according to his Plot with *Jugurtha*, opened to him two Gates of the *Roman* Camp, and ſupported the *Numidian* Army as they entered it. Every *Roman* they found was killed; but the Slaughter was not ſo great, as might have been expected. As the Night favoured the taking of the Camp, ſo it likewiſe facilitated the Retreat of the vanquiſhed; and the latter retiring through the two other Gates of the Camp, and taking different Roads, gained an Eminence, and poſted themſelves there. And when it was Day, the *Pro-Prætor* found ſcarce any of his Men wanting, except the Traitors who had ſold themſelves to the Enemy; but the greateſt Part of them had thrown away their Arms, that they might be the lighter for flight.

As ſoon as *Jugurtha* had given his Soldiers Time to plunder the Enemy's Camp, he immediately ſurrounded the Hill on which the *Romans* were poſted; and then *Aulus Poſtumius* diſcovered as much Timorouſneſs in treating, as he had ſhewn ill Conduct in Command. After the Enemy had inveſted him, he was continually ſending one ſhameful Deputation after another, and in one, demanding Quarter only, in another, offering a laſting Peace, which he would undertake to get ratified by the Senate. But the proud Conqueror was not to be moved either by his Offers or Intreaties. He anſwered, That he would promiſe Quarter, on no Conditions, but thoſe of firſt concluding a ſolid Peace, and then of all the *Romans* paſſing *under the Yoke*. This was an inſupportable Diſgrace, and any other General would probably have choſen rather to have forced his way through the Enemy, than to have ſubmitted to it. But the cowardly *Pro-Prætor*, tho' he had *Legionaries* enough armed, and they had Courage enough to have made their Paſſage good through *African* Troops, was ſtruck with dread, and conſulted only his Fears. He, without much deliberation, conſented to this Peace; and himſelf and his whole Army ſubmitted to march between two infamous Poſts, amidſt the Taunts and Shouts of the *Numidian* Soldiers. After this, the *Roman* Troops, when thus diſgraced under a ſcandalous Commander, diſbanded themſelves, and returned as they could, into the *African Province*; that is, into the ancient Dominions of *Carthage*, which were now poſſeſſed by the *Romans*. There they lived without Order, or Diſcipline; and by their Licentiouſneſs, made themſelves ſome amends for the Shame they had undergone.

Salluſt. Bell. Jugurth.

§. XIX. At *Rome*, the News of the Diſgrace which the Republick had ſuffered in *Numidia*, was received with great Indignation; and by none with more Concern than by *Poſtumius*, the *Conſul*. He had preſided at the Election for the Year enſuing in the *Field of Mars*; but nevertheleſs had about two Months of his Year ſtill left; and he endeavoured to make the beſt uſe of this Interval. In the firſt place, he got the Peace his Brother had made with *Jugurtha* diſannulled both by Senate and People; then ordered Recruits to ſupply the Place of the dead and Deſerters of the Army in *Africa*; and as ſoon as his Preparations were made, embarked for his Province, reſolving if poſſible, to repair the Injuries which his Brother had done the Republick. But the *Tribunes* not thinking it proper that he ſhould carry any new Troops into *Africa*, reſerved the Levies for *Metellus*, who was to ſucceed him; and this putting it out of his Power to undertake any thing, he was forced to wait for the arrival of *Metellus*, in inaction. After that, he returned to *Rome*, with his infamous Brother; who was ſoon after condemned to Baniſhment by *Scaurus*; who convicted him of having been corrupted by *Jugurtha*'s Money.

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And now, the *Romans* placed all their Hopes of Succeſs in *Numidia* on *Metellus* alone. This great Man was ſo far from being carried away with the popular Faction, that he had never declared for the Commons againſt the Senate. But nevertheleſs he had kept Meaſures with the People; and had, by an uniform and moderate Conduct, acquired the good Will of the Nobility, without incurring their Hatred. So that all Difficulties vaniſhed before him. His Reputation for Probity, which had ever been unſpotted, gained him the Eſteem of all. The Confidence was general, that it would not be in *Jugurtha*'s Power to corrupt him with his Offers. Beſides, he had given Proofs of an uncommon Valour and Prudence in the Command of Armies; ſo that all Things ſeemed to promiſe Succeſs to his Enterprize. The *Romans* decreed him the Recruits he deſired; refuſed him nothing he thought neceſſary for the Support of his Troops; and even diſannulled ſome Laws which had reduced the Pay of the *Legionaries*. The *Allies* furniſhed their Contingents with great readineſs; and the Kings, who were well affected to the Republick, ſent conſiderable Reinforcements to the Army in *Africa*. And indeed, the preſent Point in hand was, to wipe out one of the moſt ſhameful Reproaches that had ever been caſt on the *Roman* Name, ſince the Affair of *The Caudian Forks*.

Plut. in Mario.

As for *Metellus* himſelf, one of his chief Concerns was, to chooſe ſuch Subalterns for his Army, as were well qualified to ſupport him, and whoſe Skill in the Art of War had already been proved. Among others, he found the famous *Marius* quite idle in *Rome*. Ever ſince he had ſucceſsfully made War in *Spain* during his *Prætorſhip*, he had languiſhed away his Time in inactivity. He had neither Birth, nor Fortune, nor Eloquence, ſufficient to raiſe him to the firſt Dignities: So that tho' his Ambition led him to aſpire after them, he could not attain them otherwiſe than by Arms: And he therefore joyfully accepted the Offer *Metellus* made him, of being one of his Lieutenant Generals. His view was, to raiſe himſelf at the Expence of his General; but the *Conſul* did not then know what a Rival he was going to raiſe up againſt himſelf. Tho' his greedy deſire of Glory, and extravagant Vanity, and reſtleſs Attempts to riſe, afterwards made him inſupportable to *Metellus*; He took great Care at firſt to conceal his Faults from him. Inſomuch that the *Conſul* found no Reaſon to repent of the Preference given him, till after he had ſuffered him to gain too great an aſcendant. And what Artifices *Marius* then made uſe of to diſcredit his General, and what ſevere Mortifications *Metellus* then met with, from him whoſe Gratitude [29] if nothing elſe, ought to have obliged him to confine his Zeal to the common Good, will appear in the Sequel. The *Conſul* likewiſe choſe himſelf another Lieutenant General, *Publius Rupilius*; who always behaved himſelf like a Man of Honour, and lived in a good Correſpondence with him. And after all, thus much, at leaſt, may be ſaid of both; That neither of them could be moved by *Jugurtha*'s Offers.

§. XX. When all Things were ready, the *Conſul* ſet out without delay; landed in *Africa*, and received from *Poſtumius* his Predeceſſor, an Army which lived diſperſed about the Province in the utmoſt Diſorder, and were more intent upon Rapine, than Diſcipline. He therefore began with reforming his Troops, as *Scipio* had done, before he would lead them to the Enemy; and performed this difficult Work with great Succeſs. He even excelled *The Second Africanus* in the manner in which he conducted it; for he proceeded not only by anthoritative and ſevere Methods, but gained his Point over his *Legions*, by blending Humanity with Rigour.

His firſt Order was, That no more Bread ſhould be ſold in the Camp, but every Soldier learn to knead and bake his own. Then he baniſhed all Meats but plain boiled, and roaſt; would ſuffer no private *Legionary*, to have any Servant, or Horſe, or Waggon, to carry his Proviſions or Arms; and in ſhort, brought his Troops to exact Diſcipline, not ſo much by Chaſtiſement, as Vigilance. He was watchful of the leaſt defect in point of Duty, found Pretences for often changing his Camp, and would never ſuffer his Men to continue long in one Place. When he removed to a new Poſt, he choſe to do it by the longeſt and moſt difficult Roads; and often found out plauſible Pretences, for enjoining them laborious Marches. In ſhort, he forced the *Legionaries*, tho' *Roman Citizens*, to carry their Arms, and Utenſils, and the Corn that was diſtributed among them monthly, on their own Shoulders; and by Degrees, brought the weakeſt to be aſhamed

29 *Marius* carried his Ingratitude ſo far, ſays *Plutarch*, in his Life of this General, that he often boaſted, That he was not ſo much indebted to *Metellus*, as to Fortune, who had led him into *Africa*, as to a great Stage, where he ſhould in the end be ſuffered to diſplay all his military Virtues.

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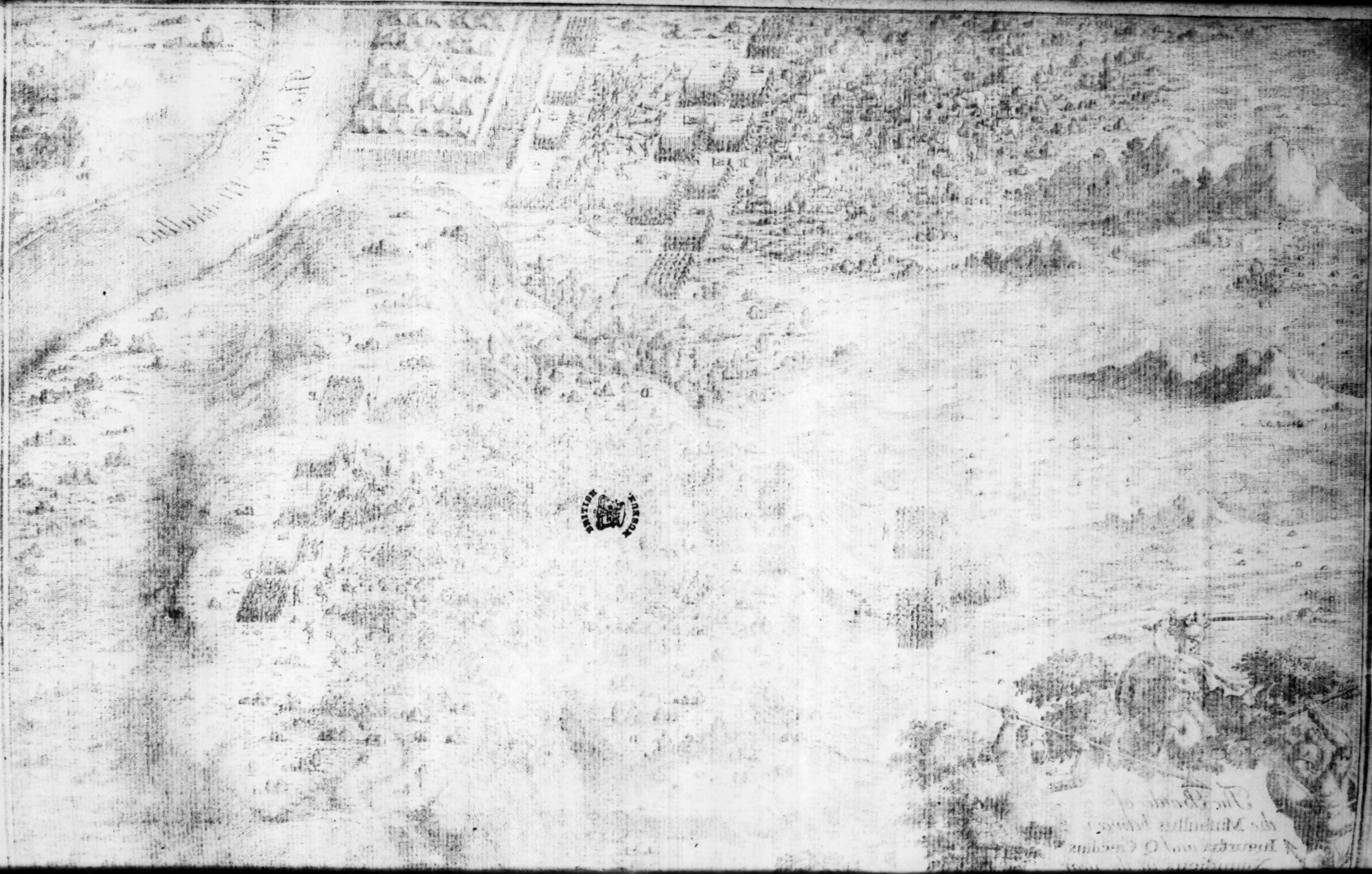
of their Weakneſs, and the ſtrongeſt to glory in their Strength. He would not exempt from Labour his own Son, whom he had brought to make his firſt Campaign with him; inſtead of taking him into his own Tent, and excuſing him from Fatigue, he made him ſerve in his *Legion* as a private Soldier, and loaded him with all the uſual Burdens. By this means he put an end to all Murmurs; ſince no Man could take it ill, that he was not treated with more Reſpect than the *Conſul*'s own Son: and he ſtill perſiſted in not meeting the Enemy, till he found that Diſcipline was perfectly re-eſtabliſhed in his Army. He knew with what Impatience the People of *Rome* waited for the News of a Victory, which might wipe off the Diſgrace brought on the Republick by *Aulus Poſtumius*. But nevertheleſs, he choſe rather to be thought dilatory, than to hazard a Battle with undiſciplined Troops. In a Word, he ſpent the whole Summer in this uſeful inactivity; and would not ſuffer his Army to engage, till he had firſt taught them how to conquer.

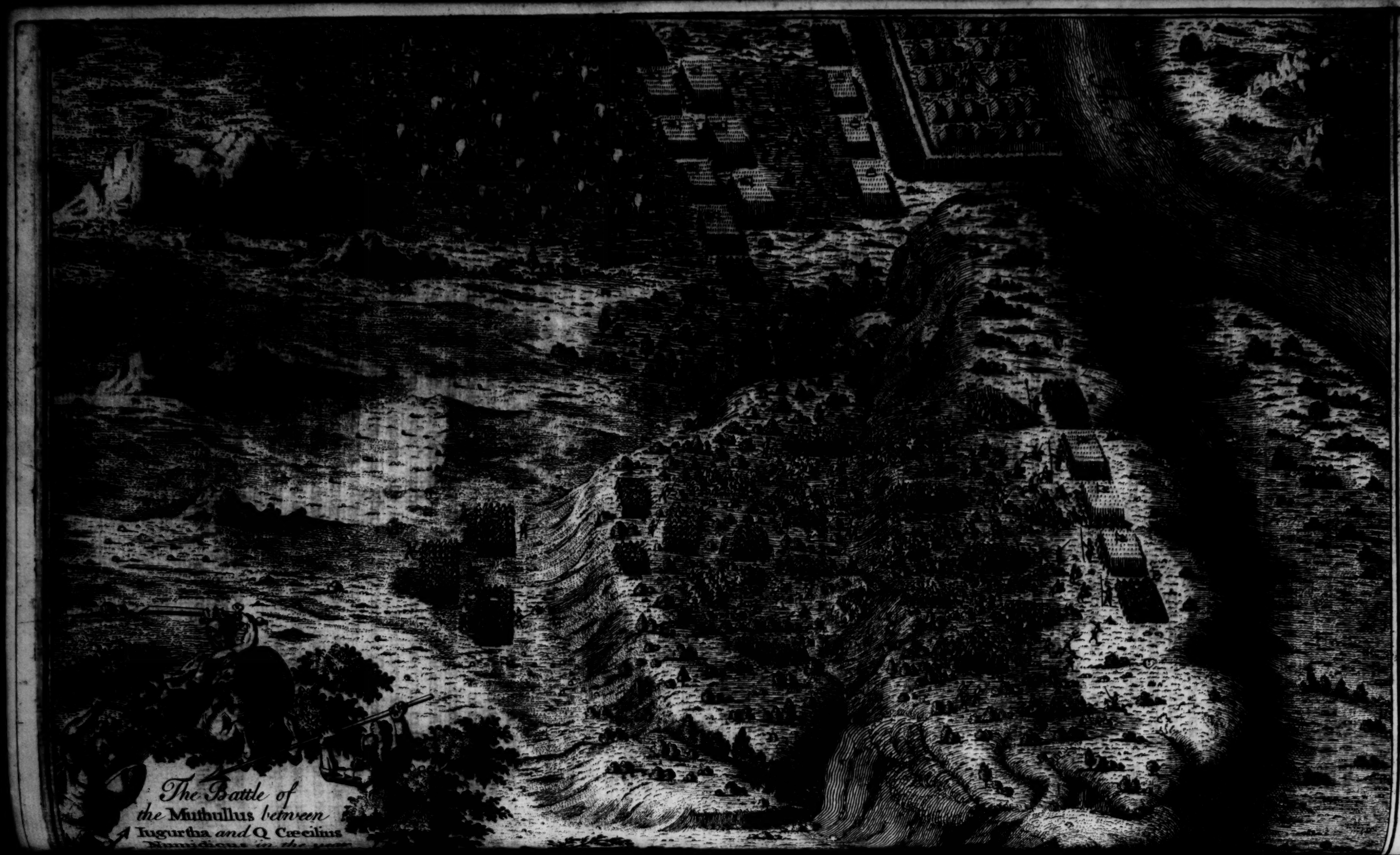
§. XXI. By this Conduct he made *Jugurtha* tremble in his own Kingdom. The *Roman* Generals hitherto ſent againſt him, had either been covetous, or raſh. But *Metellus* was neither ſo wicked and avaritious as *Beſtia*, nor ſo inconſiderate and imprudent as *Poſtumius*. So that the *Numidian* King could not now depend, either on his Money, or his Stratagems; and he therefore had Thoughts of honeſtly delivering himſelf up to the Mercy of the new General, and making a ſincere *Dedition*, both of his Perſon and Dominions. With this View, he ſent an Embaſſy to the *Conſul*, with all poſſible Marks of Submiſſion; and all he aſked, was barely Quarter for himſelf and his Children. But what Reaſon could *Metellus* have to depend on the Proteſtations of a *Numidian*? Tho' he ſhould be ſuppoſed to act with Sincerity in ſuch a Criſis; yet who could warrant that the Levity natural to his Countrymen would not lead him to fly off again? A known Cheat is not to be believed, even when he ſpeaks Truth.

Metellus therefore always ſuſpected *Jugurtha* of double Dealing; oppoſed Artifice with Artifice; and thereby fought him with his own Weapons. He took every one of the *Numidian* Ambaſſadors aſide, and obtained a ſeparate Promiſe from each, That he would deliver up the Uſurper to him, alive, or dead. But the Project was diſconcerted, through the Circumſpection and Suſpicions of the King; and therefore the *Conſul* now reſolved to attack him with open Force. The *Roman* Army entered *Numidia*; and ſoon promiſed fair, for recovering the Time they had loſt. For whether by *Jugurtha*'s Orders, or from an Affection in the Natives for the *Roman* Government, all the Cities and Towns towards which they came, ſent to meet them, and offer them Proviſions and Refreſhments. Nevertheleſs, the *Roman* General was not impoſed on by theſe fine Appearances. He kept conſtantly upon his Guard againſt a Surprize, and advanced with great Caution. His Troops always marched in order of Battle, and he ſent out his Scouts to a great diſtance, to diſcover the Enemy. *Metellus* himſelf led on the advanced Guard, at the Head of the Archers, Slingers, and light-armed Troops. *Marius*, the Corruption of whoſe Heart was not yet diſcovered, commanded the Cavalry of the *Legions* in the Rear, and covered the Foot in the Center, who were under the Command of *Rutilius*. And in the Wings, were placed the auxiliary Squadrons, mixed with ſome light-armed Infantry, to ſupport the Infantry of the *Legions* in Flank.

The *Roman* General thought this Circumſpection neceſſary. He reſolved to run no Hazard againſt an Enemy, who was acquainted with the Country, and who might only pretend to deſire a Peace, in order to take all Opportunities of falling on the *Romans* with Advantage; and in this fine Order, the *Conſular* Army appeared before *Vacca*, a trading City, full of *Italian* Merchants. *Metellus* thought it conveniently ſituated for a Magazine of Proviſions; which might from thence be conveyed to him, wherever he ſhould encamp; and he ſounded the Inhabitants, to diſcover whether *Jugurtha* had ordered them to ſtand a Siege, and whether his pretended *Dedition* was ſincere. Upon this ſummons, the *Vaccæans* received a *Roman* Garriſon; and the *Conſul* was well pleaſed to have a reſource for the Subſiſtence of his Troops, whether the *Numidian* prepared for War, or deſired Peace. And indeed, he was from this Time wholly bent on deceiving *Metellus*. Tho' he ſent repeated Embaſſies with many Intreaties, and renewed his former Promiſes; his Heart was now changed, and his former Apprehenſions abated.

§. XXII. In the mean time, the *Conſul* ſtill kept advancing, in the ſame order, towards the Heart of *Numidia*; and his great Progreſs and continual Precautions, made the *Numidian*, at laſt, throw off the Maſk. A foreign Army was now almoſt got into the





The Battle of
the Muthullus *between*
Iugurtha *and* Q. Cæcilius

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the center of his Dominions, and the Surrender of *Vacca* ſecured it againſt Want. He therefore reſolved to act with open Force againſt a General, whom he could neither overreach, nor corrupt.

In that Part of *Numidia*, which had fallen to *Adherbal*'s Lot, there was a River whoſe Courſe runs from South to North, called [30] *Muthullus*. About 20000 Paces from the River there ſtood a Mountain, which was directly in the *Conſul*'s Road; ſo that his Army muſt neceſſarily croſs it, in order to come into the dry and uncultivated Plain, which reached to the River's ſide. About half way down this Mountain, there was an Hill which led to the Plain, and the top of which was of a conſiderable length and breadth, and covered with wild Olives and Myrtles, and ſuch other Shrubs, as grow without Cultivation in ſandy Soils. There *Jugurtha*, after he had got together all the Troops he could, lay in ambuſh for the *Romans*, waiting to engage them, as they ſhould come down from the Mountain. *Bomilcar*, with the Elephants and Part of the Infantry, was poſted on that declivity of the Hill which was neareſt to the River; and *Jugurtha*, with his Squadrons drawn up in cloſe Order, and ſome choice Battalions, placed himſelf on the top of it. There, before the *Conſul* appeared, the King exhorted his Troops to preſerve the Reputation they had gained by the Defeat of a *Roman* Army. He told them, That they were now to defend their Wives, and their Children, and all that they had, from the Violences of the *Romans*; That tho' the Enemy's Army was led by another Commander, they were the ſame cowardly Men which had *paſſed under the Yoke*; That the Day was come, which muſt either confirm to them all their former Victories, or be the Prelude to the greateſt Evils; and in ſhort, That they muſt either conquer, or be Slaves.

Salluſt. in Bell. Jugurth.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

But ſcarce had he concluded, e're *Metellus* reached the top of the Mountain; and thought he ſaw Men and Horſes hid among the Buſhes, which were not thick enough to cover them. And being fully ſatisfied, as he drew nearer, that the Enemy was in Ambuſh there, he halted; and changed both the Rout and Diſpoſition of his Army. In the firſt place, he ordered *Rutilius* to advance, make the beſt of his Way down to the Plain from the top of the Mountain, without croſſing the Hill, and go and pitch a Camp on the Banks of the River. This was a wiſe Precaution, becauſe if his Army had been forced to have encamped in that dry Plain, it muſt have periſhed with Thirſt, in this burning Climate, and in the hotteſt Seaſon of the Year. And he altered the Diſpoſition of his Troops in their March, after this manner. Being reſolved to leave the Hill to his Right, he made his right Wing three times as ſtrong as uſual, becauſe it would be moſt expoſed to the Enemy. In the Center he placed his Infantry with ſome *Manipuli* of his light-armed Troops intermixed; and ordered his Cavalry to cover his Army in the Flanks. In this fine Order he marched down the ſteepeſt Part of the Hill, and advanced ſlowly towards the Plain. *Marius* commanded in the Center, and himſelf in the right Wing, which muſt naturally be the firſt attacked. The Enemy durſt not attack him in his deſcent; but as ſoon as the advanced-guards of the Body which he commanded were got below the top of the Hill, *Jugurtha* began to move. After he had ordered 2000 Men to take Poſſeſſion of the top of the Mountain which the *Romans* had quitted, leſt they ſhould retreat to it after the Battle; he ſounded the Charge and began the Attack.

The *Numidians* came pouring down from the top of the Hill, and taking the Rear-guard of the *Romans* in the Flank, put them into ſome Diſorder. The braveſt of them faced about; but they fought up-hill, were wounded by Darts thrown from ſome diſtance, and could not bring the Enemy to ſtand to a cloſe Engagement. *Jugurtha* had ordered his Horſe to fly ſingly, every Man as widely as he could, whenever a Body of the Enemy began to purſue them. But theſe Fugitives went and joined other Companies, and with them fell on the *Romans*, in different Quarters. If the Hill lay more convenient for their Retreat than the Plain, their Horſes mounted it with ſurprizing ſwiftneſs. If they were purſued by the *Roman* Cavalry, they entered the Coppices, where no Horſe but their own could paſs. In ſhort, never was a more extraordinary Battle fought. No *Corps* kept to its *Colours*, but all fought in little Parties. It was a kind of Fray, wherein every one attacked others or defended himſelf, as he found occaſion, without any Rule or Order. For this Reaſon, the Day was far advanced, before it could be known which ſide had the Advantage. Both ſides were equally faint, and

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

[30] The Ancients have not told us any thing of the Rife and Courſe of the *Muthullus*.

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Q. Cæcilius Metellus, & M. Junius Silanus, Conſuls. *Salluſt. de Bell. Jugurth.*

exhauſted with Heat and Fatigue. Nevertheleſs, *Metellus* was indefatigable. He drew together his diſunited Troops, and preſſed his weary *Legionaries* to hold out againſt the *Numidian* Foot with Reſolution. He encouraged them not to ſuffer a flying Enemy to overcome them; and obſerved to them, That if they gave way, there was no Camp or Fortification to which they could retreat that Night.

At the ſame time, *Jugurtha*, on the other hand, performed all the Offices of a great Commander. He encouraged his Troops, led them on to the Charge, attacked the moſt fatigued *Cohorts* with Fury, and with his Darts repulſed thoſe who appeared moſt active in the Battle. Never did two Generals diſcover more equal Valour, or more Activity and Perſeverance, than in this Battle of the *Muthullus*. The King of *Numidia* had all the Advantage of the Ground. But the *Conſul* had better Troops, which he had diſciplined himſelf. The former invented a new Way of fighting, ſuitable to the Inſtability of his People. The latter, tho' ſurprized by an Ambuſh, took his Meaſures wiſely, and ſuſtained the unforeſeen Attacks of the Enemy with Vigour. In ſhort, the *Numidian* loſt the Day, only by the Inconſtancy of his Soldiers; and the *Roman* could not have gained it, but through the indefatigable Bravery of his *Legions*. In order to procure themſelves a ſafe Retreat in the Night, they reſolved to drive the *Numidians* from the Hill, on which they had poſted themſelves. This was a very difficult undertaking for haraſſed Troops, towards the cloſe of a very fatiguing Day; but nevertheleſs, they climbed up the Hill, on the firſt Orders, and there formed themſelves, in order to fight the Enemy on even Ground. And this Step decided the Conteſt, and compleated the Victory which had been ſo long diſputed. The *Numidians* were not uſed to cloſe Engagements, and they left the Field of Battle, and diſperſed. So that the *Conſul*, being now Maſter of the Mountain, the Hill, and the Plain, had nothing more to do, but to conduct his Troops to the new Camp, which *Rutilius* had Orders to pitch, on the Banks of the *Muthullus*.

Nothing had given the *Roman* General more Uneaſineſs during the Battle, than his Concern about the Execution of the Orders he had given *Rutilius*. There were two Things that might very probably obſtruct it. In the firſt place, the Zeal of the Lieutenant General himſelf; who might naturally enough leave off working on the Camp, and haſten to the Relief of the *Conſul*, when he ſaw him attacked on the Mountain; and in the next place, *Bomilcar*, who continued in the Plain with a Part of the *Numidian* Foot, and their Elephants, might attack the Workmen, and prevent their finiſhing the Trenches. And the latter was no vain Apprehenſion. As ſoon as *Bomilcar* knew that a Detachment of the *Conſular* Troops was at work, in encamping on the Banks of the River, he moved that way, drew out his Battalions in a long Line, to prevent *Rutilius*'s Return to the Mountain, and in this Order, marched a great Pace towards the Place where the *Romans* were buſy in throwing up their Fortifications. The Pioneers ſaw a cloud of Duſt ariſe, but thought it only the driving of the Sand by the Wind. There were ſome Coppices between them and the Enemy, which hindered them from ſeeing *Bomilcar*'s Horſes and Elephants. But when they found the Duſt advance towards them, and ſaw it reſembled that which is raiſed by the March of an Army; *Rutilius* immediately put an end to the Work, ordered his Men to Arms, and drew them up before his Entrenchment. As ſoon as he had done this the Enemy appeared, and the Battle began. The *Numidians* were repulſed in the firſt Onſet, and then waited for the coming up of their Elephants to renew the Attack. But theſe having taken their Rout through the Coppices, were ſo ſurrounded there with Boughs and Buſhes, that they could not diſentangle themſelves; and upon the failure of theſe Succours, the Courage of the *Numidians* ſunk. They all left their Arms on the Field of Battle, and fled for Refuge to the Hill from which *Metellus* had driven the others; and then the Rout was compleat in two different Places, ſo that the *Conſul* gained two Victories in one Day. Four of *Bomilcar*'s Elephants were taken, and the reſt, to the Number of Forty, were killed in the Wood.

§. XXIII. And now, the Camp was finiſhed. But *Metellus* ſtill delayed to lead his victorious Troops over the Plain, towards the River; tho' the Night was advanced, and he had no leſs than 20000 Paces to it. The moſt impatient therefore marched before, and the Joy of their Succeſs enabled them the better to go through with this Fatigue. They continued their March all Night, and made the Valleys ring with their Shouts. *Rutilius*, who knew not the Cauſe of it, thought them a Party of the *Numidian* Army eſcaped from the Rout; and marched in the Dark to meet them, and cut them in pieces.

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But he had the Caution to ſend out Scouts before him, to know who they were. Without this, it would have been a fatal meeting to the *Romans* on both Sides. As ſoon as they knew one another, their Fears were at an End, and their Acclamations doubled. Each Party entertained the other, as they marched, with the Feats done in the Battle, and at the Camp; the moſt Cowardly were the moſt earneſt in boaſting of their Exploits; and at length the *Conſul* himſelf arrived. He was the laſt that kept the Field of Battle; and when thus crowned it with Glory, her eſted four Days in the Camp of the *Muthullus*, there took care to have his Wounded dreſſed, and diſtributed the uſual Rewards of Valour.

However, theſe leſs important Concerns did not prevent his ſending to reconnoitre the Enemy. And he received Information, That the *Numidian* was retired to a deſert Place, cover'd with Foreſts, and interſperſed with Rocks; and That being deſerted by his Army, he was there gathering together from all Parts ſome Peaſants and Shepherds to form a new one. Deſertion was no Crime among the *Numidians*. After the firſt Defeat, they were at liberty to leave their General, with Impunity. So that only the King's Horſe-Guards ſtuck by him inviolably, to death.

Nevertheleſs, his Succeſs in one Battle, was not a ſufficient inducement to the *Conſul* to fight a ſecond. In a Country ſo far diſtant from *Rome*, every little diminution of his Men was of great Conſequence to him. Whereas *Jugurtha* could eaſily repair his Loſſes, in a Country which ſubmitted to his Authority. And therefore the *Roman* General now changed his Method. He ſent out Parties into the moſt plentiful Countries, plundered the open Cities, deſtroyed the Towns and Caſtles, ſacked all Places were he came, and laid the Country waſte with Fire and Sword. Upon this, the Natives came in Crowds to ſurrender themſelves up to him, furniſhed him with Proviſions, and received *Roman* Garriſons without Oppoſition. And theſe Hoſtilities ruined *Jugurtha*'s Affairs more than the Loſs of Battles would have done. It was his Intereſt to have made a Diverſion, by carrying the War into the *African Province*. Whereas this Method obliged him to follow *Metellus*, to defend his own Country; which he did with the Addreſs and Ability of a great General. He generally hid the main Body of his Army in ſeveral different Valleys; and at the Head of a Squadron of light Horſe, fell on the *Romans*, who were diſperſed about the Fields in order to lay them waſte. He appeared in different Parts with incredible Expedition, cut all the *Romans* he met with in pieces, and then retired to inacceſſible Places. But ſtill his Dominions were plundered, and his People began to be tired with the Government of an Uſurper, who was ſo little able to protect them.

Such was the Situation of Affairs in *Numidia* when the News came to *Rome*, of the Victory gained by *Metellus*, near the *Muthullus*. And as this was the grand Object on which the *Romans* were moſt intent, it made them almoſt forget what they had ſuffered from the *Cimbri*, in *Gallia Narbonenſis*. Neither were they much affected, either with the Exploits of the *Pro-Prætor*, Q. [31] *Servilius Cæpio*, who had juſt driven the Robbers out of *Luſitania*; or with the Victory juſt gained hy the *Pro-Conſul Minucius*, over the *Thracians*, and *Scordiſci*; tho' almoſt all the Horſe of theſe latter Barbarians had been drowned, in paſſing over the Ice of the *Hebrus*. They were liberal of their Applauſes only to *Metellus*, whom they compared with a *Beſtia*, and a *Poſtumius*; and his Probity, Diſintereſtedneſs, Valour, and Wiſdom, were in the Mouth of every *Roman*. The Temples were opened, and *Supplications* made in them, by way of Thankſgiving to the Gods, for the Succeſs with which they had bleſſed his Arms.

Eutrop. Sextus. Julius Rufus. Florus, B. 3. c. 4. Salluſt. de Bell. Jugurth.

The Report of this general Approbation, made him act with the greater Caution. The more Glory he had acquired, the more he was afraid of loſing it; and he had Reaſon to be under ſome Apprehenſions, as from the Cunning of *Jugurtha*, ſo likewiſe from the Jealouſy of *Marius*. This Lieutenant-General was now become a private Enemy, whoſe ſecret Practices began to alarm him; tho' we ſhall for the preſent poſtpone the Relation of them, till they become more notorious.

In the mean time, *Rome* would have enjoyed a perfect Tranquillity, if *Scaurus* had not raiſed ſome Diſturbances there. Being both *Prince of the Senate*, and *Cenſor*, and crowned with more Honours than he had deſerved, he refuſed to lay down the *Cenſorſhip* at a Time when the Laws required it. Whenever one of the *Cenſors* died in his

Plut. in Quæſt. Rom. Author. de Vir. Illuſtr.

31 *Valerius Maximus* tells us, *B.* 6, That *Quintus Servilius Cæpio* was honoured with a *Triumph*, at his Return from *Spain*.

Office, the other was obliged to abdicate. And therefore as *Marcus* [32] *Livius Druſus*, the *Cenſor*, had juſt loſt his Life, any other but *Scaurus*, would have renounced the Office upon his Death. But he inſiſted on continuing in it, and pleaded the Services he had done the Publick, during his Adminiſtration. And indeed, he had repaired *The* [33] *Æmilian Way*, and built the Bridge [34] *Milvius*. But did this raiſe him above the Law? A *Tribune of the People*, who was zealous for old Cuſtoms thought otherwiſe; threatened to ſend him to Priſon if he did not deſiſt; and upon theſe Threatenings he laid down.

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§. XXIV. After this, *Rome* choſe *Servius Sulpicius Galba*, and one [35] *Q. Hortenſius*, for the new *Conſuls*; tho' the latter never entered on the Office to which he was elected. Whether Death ſurprized him; or he was condemned by the People for Bribery, all Things being then venal at *Rome*; or he was content with the Honour of the Nomination only, and would not bear the Burden of the Office; cannot well be known. For nothing is more uncertain than the Interpretation of the initial Letters under the *Capitoline Marbles*, which are put to ſignify the Cauſe, which prevented his enjoying the Office which had been conferred upon him. But this is ſure, That another *Conſul* was choſen in his Room, which was one *Scaurus*, of a different Family from that *Æmilius Scaurus* who had been forced to abdicate the *Cenſorſhip*, and whoſe Name was *M. Aurelius Scaurus*. At the ſame Election, *Q. Cæcilius Metellus* was continued General of the *Roman* Army in *Numidia*, with the Title of *Pro-Conſul*. So that the new *Conſuls* could draw Lots only for *Italy*, and *Gallia Narbonenſis*; the former of which fell to *Sulpicius Galba*, and the latter to *Aurelius Scaurus*, who went thither to make War with the *Cimbri*, and did ſo with Succeſs. But we muſt return to *Jugurtha*.

The more Glory *Metellus* had gained by his Exploits, the more Reaſon had he to be afraid of loſing it, by taking any falſe Steps. *Marius*, whoſe Jealouſy was raiſed by the Applauſes *Rome* had given his General, narrowly watched him, and took all Opportunities to defame him. They both had now the ſame Point in view; and purſued it with the Animoſity of Rivals. *Metellus* aimed at getting himſelf continued in the Command of the Troops in *Numidia*, till ſuch Time as he ſhould entirely defeat *Jugurtha*, which was a Diſtinction but rarely granted to Commanders of the higheſt Merit. Generally ſpeaking, few had of late continued longer than two Years at the Head of an Army. *Marius* was impatiently deſirous of getting the *Conſulſhip*, that he might himſelf put an End to the *Numidian* War, and obtain a *Triumph* at *Rome* after his Conqueſt: And hisPretenſions were not without ſome Foundation. If you except thoſe

33 It is conjectured, That this *Marcus Druſus* was the ſame Perſon whom we have before, p. 197, ſeen honoured with the glorious Title of *Protector of the Senate*; and the ſame that *triumphed* over the *Scordiſci*.

34 *The Æmilian Way* here ſpoken of, was above 130000 Geometrical Paces long, and reached from the City of *Piſa* in *Tuſcany* near the Springs of the *Arno*, to *Derthona* in *Liguria*. It croſſed the Territories of *Luna*, and *Savona*, on the Coaſt of *The Sea of Genoa*. After this, it made an Elbow, and came and ended in North *Liguria*. In order to make this great Road paſſable, *Æmilius Scaurus*, according to *Strabo*, drained the Marſhes which were made by the Inundations of the neighbouring Rivers; and confined the Rivers to their Beds, by Dykes raiſed by skilful Workmen, according to his Directions. It was in this Canton, that *Hannibal* and his Army ſuffered ſo much, as we have obſerved Vol. 3. The Author we have laſt quoted ſays, That *Scaurus* took the Precaution to dig a deep Ditch, from *Parma* to *Plaiſance*; and the Waters of the *Trebia* and other neighbouring Rivulets, which had long overflowed the Fields, was henceforward conveyed into this Canal, in ſuch Plenty, that it was able to carry a Boat.

But we muſt not confound *The Æmilian Way* which was made by *Æmilius Scaurus*, with another *Æmilian Way* which the *Conſul*, *Æmilius Lepidus*, had made in the Year 566, and reached from *Rimini* to *Boulogne*, where it joined *The Flaminian Way*. From thence, it ran on, according to *Strabo*, a great deal beyond *Plaiſance*, and entered far into *Liguria*. He expreſly ſays, That one of the Branches of this great Road, after it had croſſed a great many Cities and Towns, ended at the City of *Aquileia*, at a little diſtance from the *Alpes*. But it is difficult to reconcile this ancient Geographer with *Livy*. The latter makes the ſecond *Æmilian Way* to reach no farther than between *Plaiſance* and *Rimini*. To which we may add, That what *Strabo* ſays of the Road made by *Æmilius Scaurus* along the Coaſts of the *Ligurian* Sea, agrees as well with another Way which *Cicero* calls *Via Aurelia*, in his twelfth *Philippick*, and the making of which *Sigonius* aſcribes, without any Proof, to *Aurelius Cotta*, who was *Cenſor* in the Year 512. The Truth is, That *Bergier*, and the Maps, mention no other *Æmilian Way*, but that which took its Name from *Æmilius Lepidus*, and which joined to the *Flaminian Way*. They, upon *Cicero's* Teſtimony, confounded the other *Æmilian Way*, with the *Flaminian*.

34 The Bridge *Milvius*, which the modern *Italians* call *Ponte-Mole*, is ſtill ſtanding, a Mile from *Rome*, without the Walls; it having been firſt repaired by *Auguſtus*, and afterwards by Pope *Nicholas* V. It leads directly to the *Flaminian Way*.

35 This *Servius Sulpicius Galba* was the Son of the famous Orator *Servius Sulpicius Galba*, who was *Conſul* in the Year 609.

36 *Quintus Hortenſius* was the Father of the famous *Hortenſius*, who was *Cicero's* Rival for Eloquence.

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Virtues and Diſpoſitions of Mind and Heart, which form the Character of an honeſt Man, *Marius* had been endowed by Nature with all the Talents of a great Commander. He was juſtly to be ranked among the Greateſt, for an heroic Valour, a great Love of Diſcipline, a ſtrange but happy Aſcendant over the Soldiers to keep them to their Duty, a Temperance carried to the ſevereſt Abſtinence, great Intrepidity in ſudden Dangers, great Coolneſs and Preſence of Mind in Battle, a prodigious Skill in forming Troops either for marching or fighting, and a moſt happy readineſs at Expedients after ill Succeſs. And the more worthy the Lieutenant General was of the Command, the greater were the *Pro-Conſul*'s Apprehenſions of being ſupplanted by him, at the end of his Year; and the greater his Care not to give any Advantage to his malicious Rival, by ill-Conduct.

The *Roman* Army having ſuffered a little by the ſudden Irruptions of *Jugurtha*, the *Pro-Conſul* would no longer permit them to 'ſpread themſelves in the Fields, in Plattoons. The Convoys were all for the future eſcorted by ſtrong Guards; and wherever the Cavalry went to forrage, the whole Body went together. The *Romans* no longer ruined the Country by pillaging only, but by burning whole Towns and Farms. During theſe military Expeditions, *Metellus* and *Marius* were poſted in two different Camps, at ſuch a diſtance, as enabled them to command a great extent of Ground, but at the ſame time near enough to bring Succours to each other, on the firſt Signal. And by this new Way of making War, they tired out the *Numidian* King. He at laſt left his Faſtneſſes, and appeared in the Plains, tho' with the Hazard of being forced to give Battle. He had had Time enough to teach his new Army a little Diſcipline; and with it he followed the *Romans* at a diſtance to their ſeveral Camps, and keeping always on the Hills, was very intent both on ſurprizing the Enemy, and avoiding them. He burnt up the Forrage, and poiſoned the Waters, in all Places where the *Legions* were to paſs; was every Moment harraſſing, ſometimes *Metellus*, ſometimes *Marius*, in their march; and as ſoon as he had given either of them a vigorous Onſet in the Rear, he immediately regained the Mountains. So that nothing could be more troubleſome, than to have a General continually attacking them, who was at the ſame time reſolved never to run the Hazard of a Battle. *Jugurtha* was indeed one of the greateſt Generals of his Age, and next to *Marius*, the moſt able Warriour that *Scipio* had formed.

§. XXV. However, *Metellus*, ſince he could not draw him to a Battle, was reſolved to force him to it. The *Conſul* determined to beſiege [37] *Zama*, afterwards the Capital of *Juba*'s Kingdom, and at preſent ſubject to the *Numidian*, and he marched his Troops thither. But notwithſtanding all his Caution to keep his Deſign ſecret, the King was informed of it by ſome *Roman* Deſerters; and upon this Intelligence, immediately haſtened thither, came before the *Pro-Conſul*, put a Garriſon of Deſerters on whom he could depend, into the Place, and promiſed the Inhabitants that he would himſelf immediately come to their Relief. After this, upon Advice that the *Pro-Conſul* had detached *Marius* for Proviſions to *Sicca*, the City which had firſt ſurrendered to the *Romans* after the Battle of the *Muthullus*, *Jugurtha* immediately flew thither. He was very deſirous of entering the Liſts for the firſt Time, with the Lieutenant General who had formerly been his Friend, and his Fellow-Diſciple under *Scipio*, before *Numantia*; and advanced by great Marches towards [38] *Sicca*. The *Roman* was juſt marching out with his Convoy, when he arrived; and after he had given the *Siccæans* notice to fall on the Rear of the *Roman* Detachment, *Jugurtha* at the ſame Time attacked it in Front. But *Marius* made the King ſenſible of what he was able to do, when he commanded in chief. He repulſed the *Numidians*, and ſtruck ſuch Terror into the Inhabitants of *Sicca*, that notwithſtanding their natural Levity, they durſt not change Sides: And from that

37 See Vol. 4, where we have mentioned two Cities of *Zama*, one five Days Journey from *Carthage* in *Africa Propria*; and the other in *Numidia*, near the Banks of the *Rubricat*. *Ptolomy* reckons this laſt City to have been eight Degrees, that is 160 great Leagues, from *Old Carthage*; which make at leaſt fifteen Days Journey.

38 *Sicca* was an inland City of *Numidia*, at a little diſtance from the River *Tuſca*, and three Days Journey from *Carthage*. *Ptolomy* and *Antoninus* give it the Surname of *Venerea*, which it took from a famous Temple which the Inhabitants had dedicated to *Venus*. *Valerius Maximus* tells us, *L.* 2. *c.* 6, That poor Girls who had no Money, uſed to proſtitute themſelves for Hire in this Temple, to every one that came, and thereby raiſed themſelves a Fortune to marry themſelves. *Selden*, in his Book *De Diis Syriis*, and *Gerard Voſſius*, *L.* 2. *Of Idolatry*, trace the Terms *Sicca Venerea* in the *Aſſyrian* Words, *Succoth*, or *Succoth-Benoth*, that is, *The Habitation*, or *The Sanctuary of Venus*. They found their Conjecture on the Affinity between the *Aſſyrian* Language and the *Phœnician*, which was ſpoken in part of *Africa*. There are no Footſteps left of this City.

Time

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Time the *Numidian* learnt to dread the Conqueror, who was one Day to compleat his Ruin.

As ſoon as the Proviſions were arrived before *Zama*, *Metellus* inveſted it. It was a Place of no great Strength, but well provided with Arms and Ammunition, and as the Garriſon conſiſted of Deſerters, it was thought invincible; not ſo much on account of their true Valour, as their Fear of falling into the Hands of the *Romans*. Nevertheleſs, the *Pro-Conſul* made his Approaches with great Shouts as uſual; the *Legions* played their *Rams*, and advanced with their Scaling-Ladders; and ſhowers of Stones and Darts were thrown by the Slingers, and the *Balliſtæ*. The beſieged, on the other hand repulſed the Aggreſſors, and threw ſuch ſhowers of Stones, and Darts, and burning Firebrands from their Walls, that the moſt diſtant *Manipuli* were wounded, and the moſt cowardly ſuffered as much as the moſt brave. During the Heat of the Battle, *Jugurtha* appeared on a ſudden, and beſieged the *Roman* Camp, which was almoſt totally deſerted. The Guard had marched out of it to ſee the Attacks made on the City; and when they would have returned, *Jugurtha*, who was already Maſter of one of the Gates, repulſed them. Then, ſome of the few Soldiers that were left to guard the Tents, ran to their Arms, others took to flight; and a ſmall Body of 40 Men only, poſted themſelves on an Eminence within the Camp, and defended it with a Valour more than human. Tho' ſurrounded by their Enemies, they bravely returned them the Darts which had been thrown at them, and returned none without doing execution.

Metellus, who was wholly intent on the Attack, as ſoon as informed by thoſe who fled from his Camp, that *Jugurtha* had forced his Way into it, inſtantly detached *Marius* with all his Cavalry, to drive out the Enemy. The *Pro-Conſul* intreated him, with Tears in his Eyes, not to leave the *Numidian* room to boaſt, that he had gained more by his Surprize, than they by their Attack on *Zama*; and *Marius* had regard to his own Glory. He flew with Joy to a ſecond Engagement with the *Numidian* King; and he made him ſenſible, that it was not for his Intereſt to ſtand a Battle, even behind Ramparts. He was forced to ſacrifice ſome of his Soldiers to his eſcape, and then flee out of one of the Gates and hide himſelf in his Rocks. Whilſt on the other hand, *Metellus*, after a vain Attempt upon the Town, retired to paſs the Night in his Camp.

The next Day, after he had poſted his Cavalry with ſome *Manipuli* on the Road *Jugurtha* had taken the Day before, and ordered the *Tribunes* whom he left there with a Detachment of Infantry, not to ſtir from the Gates of the Camp; the *Pro-Conſul* led on his *Legions* to a ſecond Attack. But ſcarce were he and *Marius* got to the Walls, when *Jugurtha* appeared again near the *Roman* Camp, as if he had ſtarted out of the Earth. There he fought what might properly enough be called, an Engagement of Horſe; but by interſperſing ſome light Infantry among his Squadrons, he made it a new kind of Battle. The *Romans* were ſurprized at this unuſual way of Fighting, and ſoon put into Diſorder. Tho' in many Places Horſe engaged with Horſe, yet in the intervals, there were Cavalry againſt Infantry, each fighting their own Way: And the *Numidian* Squadrons when thus intermixed with Foot, could not retire, and return again to the Charge, as uſual, but kept continually advancing forwards, and gaining Ground. In ſhort, they would have had all the Advantages of the Battle, if the *Roman Tribunes* had not brought up their *Manipuli* to the Relief of their diſordered Cavalry.

Whilſt the King was thus engaged in the Plain, *Metellus* made a general Aſſault upon the City: And never was a warmer Battle fought, between Beſiegers and Beſieged. The latter continued it without interruption; till their Attention became engaged with the Sight they ſaw from the tops of their Ramparts. But when they diſcovered the Motions of the *Roman* Cavalry againſt that of *Jugurtha*, they heſitated; and you might have read in their Eyes and Faces, the Succeſſes and Diſadvantages of the two Parties. *Marius* therefore, in order to take Advantage of this Circumſtance, reſtrained, for ſome Minutes, the Ardour of the Troops he commanded, thereby to make the beſieged ſtill leſs active; and when he thought them moſt intent on the Battle in the Plain, immediately applied his Ladders, and his *Romans* mounted the Walls with incredible Activity. But when they were got to the top of them, the Garriſon ſacrificed their Curioſity to their Defence, threw down the Ladders, tumbled the *Romans* from the top to the bottom, and moſt of them were killed by the Fall. This was all the Succeſs of an Enterprize, which the Valour of the *Numidians* rendered abortive. Night came on, and the *Pro-Conſul* returned to his Camp; and as the Seaſon was far advanced, and the Garriſon made a reſolute Defence, the *Romans* raiſed the Siege. After *Metellus* had left

Garriſons in the Cities which he had conquered in the Country, he returned to *The African Province*, and there put his Troops into winter Quarters.

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§. XXVI. But the *Conſul* did not there idly waſte away his Leiſure in Indolence. As he depended on obtaining at *Rome* the Continuance of his Command, till all *Numidia* ſhould be reduced; he employed himſelf in Preparations for the next Campaign. He thought *Bomilcar* one of thoſe Men whoſe Fidelity is not proof againſt Temptation. Tho' much attached to *Jugurtha*, he was a *Numidian*, and conſequently inconſtant, and capable of Treachery. Beſides, as he was already convicted of having aſſaſſinated Prince *Maſſiva*, he could not poſſibly eſcape the Vengeance of the *Romans*, in caſe they ſhould get the better, but by ſome important Piece of Service. The *Pro-Conſul* therefore, in private Converſation with him, promiſed him Impunity, and aſſured him of the Protection of the Republick, in caſe he would either diſpatch *Jugurtha*, or deliver him up alive into his Hands: And Intereſt and Fear had their effect on the Heart of *Bomilcar*. He did not indeed make uſe of Poiſon or the Sword to deſtroy his King; he had already imbrued his Hands too much in the Blood of his Maſters: But, he treacherouſly perſuaded *Jugurtha*, That it was abſolutely neceſſary for him, to ſurrender himſelf up to the *Romans*, without reſerve. *Your Dominions*, ſaid he, *are become a Prey to Foreigners. Tho' you are ſo great a General, none of your Battles have turned to our Advantage. The* Numidians *are quite diſcouraged with this long War. Your Artifices are exhauſted; and* Rome *has now found Generals and Officers which are not to be moved by your Bounties. Prevent therefore the fatal Deſigns, which your own Subjects themſelves may have on your Life, or Liberty. Have recourſe to the* Roman *Clemency, and depend on the Sincerity of their Offers.* Metellus *has even more Honour than Bravery.*

This Diſcourſe had its Effect on *Jugurtha*; and he immediately diſpatched an Embaſſy to the *Pro-Conſul*, with Aſſurances, that he would entirely comply with the firſt Propoſal of the Republick. Upon this, *Metellus* aſſembled, from all the Places where his Army quartered, all thoſe of his Officers and *Legionaries* who were of *Senatorial* Families; and with them and others whom he eſteemed as Men of Prudence, he held a great Council of War. In this Council it was agreed, That the King of *Numidia* ſhould, by way of Preliminary, ſend the *Romans* 200000 pound Weight of Silver, with all his Elephants, and a certain Number of Arms and Horſes; and ſhould deliver up to them all the *Roman* Deſerters who had gone over to the Enemy. And accordingly, all thoſe Deſerters who could not flee for Refuge to King *Bocchus* in *Mauritania*, were brought to the *Roman* General; and were all, to the Number of about 3000, moſt *Thracians* or *Ligures* by Birth, very ſeverely puniſhed. The greateſt Part had their Hands cut off; others were ſet in the Ground up to their Waiſts, and ſhot to Death by the *Roman* Archers; and the reſt were burnt alive. *Oroſ. B. 5. c. 3.*

Thus *Jugurtha* ſtripped himſelf of his Money, his Elephants, his Horſes, and his Deſerters, in whom conſiſted all the Strength of his Army; and nothing remained but to ſurrender up himſelf. Accordingly, the *Pro-Conſul* had already ſent for him to [39] *Tiſidium* or *Thyodrum*, there to receive his laſt Orders: And then, he ſtarted at this laſt Step. The Remembrance of his enormous Crimes ſtung him with freſh Remorſe; and he dreaded the ſevere Puniſhments which his Imagination repreſented to him in a very ſtrong Light, as his juſt Deſerts. This made him ſenſible, that it was better to periſh at the Head of an Army, than to fall at once from Empire to Slavery; and he cried out, *A Scepter is not ſo heavy as Chains. To Arms! to Arms! Let us renew the War!* And from this Time his Inconſtancy was fixed. He never after ſhewed the leaſt Inclination to Peace. *Salluſt. de Bello Jugurth.*

§. XXVII. He was now wholly intent on raiſing a new Army; and in *Numidia*, it was as eaſy to raiſe freſh Troops, as it was difficult to keep them long in the Service. The King likewiſe took all other proper Steps to ſtrengthen and increaſe his Party; by ſolliciting the Cities which had ſurrendered to the *Romans*; by fortifying the Places which continued faithful to him; by providing great Quantities of Arms and Proviſions; and by drawing off many of their Allies from the Enemy.

Vacca was an important Poſt, of which *Metellus* had taken Poſſeſſion, in the beginning of the War; and *Jugurtha* made ſuch ſtrong Application to the Magiſtrates by his Emiſſaries, that he brought them over to his Intereſt. The *Vaccæi* had received a *Ro-*

39 We know nothing more of *Tiſidium*, than that it was a City of *Numidia*.

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man Garriſon with a Governour named *Titus Turpilius* [40] *Silanus*; and they now entered into a Plot to maſſacre them. For this Purpoſe, the Traitors pitched on a Feſtival, when there were to be great Rejoycings all over the City, and invited the *Romans* to a great Entertainment. The latter, having no Suſpicions, came without Arms; and when they had eaten and drunk plentifully, the Populace cut them in pieces. Such as got into the Streets were killed with Stones from the tops of the Houſes; and *Turpilius* was the only Man who eſcaped the Fury of the Multitude. He was a Citizen of [41] *Collatia*, a Man of known Equity and Moderation, and alſo an intimate Friend of *Metellus*; and they gave him his Life.

This Revolution in *Vacca*, gave the *Pro-Conſul* great Uneaſineſs; and after ſome hours Retirement and Reflection, he reſolved to march thither in Perſon, and inſtantly avenge the Blood of his *Romans*. To this end, he ordered the *Legion* which was in Quarters near him to Arms; and joined with them a great Body of thoſe *Numidians* who had ſubmitted to his Authority. Theſe made the advanced Guard; and the *Legion* followed with extreme Diligence. The Hope of Plunder animated the former in their March, and the Deſire of Revenge the latter. The *Vaccæi* had ſhut their Gates for fear of a Surprize; but when they ſaw from their Ramparts a Body of *Numidian* Cavalry advancing towards their City without committing any Devaſtations, they immediately concluded that *Jugurtha* muſt be at the Head of them. Upon this Preſumption, they marched out to meet them; and their Miſtake proved fatal to them. The Cavalry of the advanced Guard immediately fell on the Multitude that came out of the City; the *Legionary* Infantry having Time to come up, ſeized the Gates and Towers of *Vacca*; and it was immediately ſacked, and given up to be plundered. Thus *Metellus* recovered Poſſeſſion of this Key of *Numidia*, after the *Vaccæi* had had but two Days, to enjoy the Pleaſure of having recovered their Liberty. And then, he was obliged, by the Clamours of his Army, and contrary to his own Inclinations, to proſecute his Friend *Turpilius*. *Marius* was his moſt inveterate Enemy; and as he was one of his Judges in the Council of War, he greatly exaggerated the Reaſons offered for ſuſpecting the Governour of *Vacca* of having ſold his Garriſon to the Magiſtrates. He much inſiſted on the Diſtinction ſhewn him, in having his Life only ſpared; and at laſt, got him convicted of neglect of Duty in his Government. In ſhort, the ſevere *Marius* ſucceeded; and *Turpilius* was firſt beaten with Rods, and then beheaded. If he had been a *Roman Citizen*, he could only have been baniſhed, according to the *Porcian* Law. Soon after, his Innocence clearly appeared; and the other Judges of the Court-Martial made their Apologies to the *Pro-Conſul* for that Judgment. But *Marius* triumphed at it; and boaſted, that he had forced *Metellus* to condemn his Friend, for which Vengeance would ſoon overtake him.

Plut in Mario. Salluſt. de Bell. Jugurth.

Sall ſt. Ibid. Plut. in Mario.

§. XXVIII. And indeed, his own perſonal Diſputes with *Metellus* broke out in a ſcandalous manner about this Time. He had long harboured a ſecret Animoſity againſt him in his own Breaſt; and when News was brought to the Army, that the Senate were inclined to continue *Metellus* there, till the *Jugurthan* War was ended, it broke out. *Marius* could no longer conceal his violent Deſire of being choſen *Conſul* at the next Election, and conſequently taking the Place of his General; and his Ambition was therefore the more blameable, becauſe he could not gratify it, without trampling his Benefactor under his Feet, and making uſe of many baſe Artifices to ſupplant him.

He was indeed a Man of a bad Heart, and great Cunning; and was encouraged to ſcruple nothing, in order to raiſe himſelf upon the Ruin of his General, by the Anſwer of an *Aruſpex*, who had perhaps penetrated into his Deſires. As the Lieutenant General was, one Day, offering Sacrifice at *Utica*, the Prieſt who examined the Entrails of the Victim, foretold, That the Deſigns he had then in view ſhould ſucceed according to his Deſire; and from that Time, *Marius* took all poſſible Means, lawful or unlawful, to verify the Prediction. He began with endeavouring to decry, and calumniate his General. He repreſented him as an ambitious Man, who deſignedly protracted the Conqueſt of *Numidia*, only to keep himſelf the longer in the Command. He accuſed him of Sloth and Timorouſneſs, for not carrying on the Siege of *Zama* longer; and pretended,

Sall. de Bell. Jugurth.

40 *Titus Turpilius*, according to *Plutarch*, had the Inſpection of the Workmen employed in building Machines of War, and other manual Labours in the Army of *Metellus*.

41 See Vol. 1. p. : Note : concerning the Situation of *Collatia*, an ancient City of *Latium*, or *Sabinia*; for the Geographers are not agreed in this Particular.

that with half his Troops, he would have made himſelf Maſter of *Jugurtha* and his Dominions, before this Time.

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Theſe ſeditious Diſcourſes the ambitious *Marius* ſpread among the common Soldiers; and, according to the Cuſtom of Men of a mean Birth, made himſelf very familiar with them, and gave them freer acceſs to him than the *Conſul* did. He would often relax Diſcipline a little, to favour them; and at length, made uſe of them as his Inſtruments to pave the Way for his getting the *Conſulate*. He was continually adviſing them to write to their Families at *Rome*, and inform them, That *Metellus* was a weak General, and That no Man could reduce *Jugurtha* but *Marius*. Theſe Letters were communicated from Houſe to Houſe, and prejudiced the People againſt *Metellus*, at the ſame time that they raiſed the Reputation of his Lieutenant General. Whilſt *Marius* did not overlook even the *Roman* Merchants at *Utica*, who were very numerous, and whoſe Suffrages he openly ſollicited.

But the moſt ſucceſsful Advocate he found in *Africa*, was a *Numidian* Prince, who followed the Standards and Fortune of the *Romans*. This was [42] *Gauda*, whom we have already mentioned, the Son of *Manaſtabal*, and the Brother of *Jugurtha*, but of a different Mother. The Underſtanding of this Prince had been weakened by Sickneſs; and the *Pro-Conſul* had not treated him with that Honour and Reſpect, which he expected. *Gauda* had deſired two Marks of Diſtinction, firſt, That in the publick Aſ- *Salluſt. de Bell. Jugurth.*
ſemblies, his Seat ſhould be placed in the firſt Rank, at the General's Right-hand; and 2*dly*, That a Troop of *Roman* Horſe ſhould be aſſigned him for his Guard: And *Metellus* had refuſed him both. The firſt, Becauſe that was a Mark of Diſtinction, which *Ibid.*
the *Romans* ſhewed only to thoſe whom they acknowledged to be Kings; and the ſecond, *Ibid.*
becauſe he thought it an Affront to the *Roman Knights*, to make them *Numidian* Guards. *Marius* therefore applied himſelf to the young Prince, in the heat of his Reſentment; and found no difficulty in turning ſo weak a Mind to his own Purpoſes. He exaggerated to him, the Indignity of *Metellus*'s not diſtinguiſhing the Son of a King, and the Grandſon of *Maſſiniſſa*, from the Crowd in a Camp; and endeavoured to exaſperate him againſt the proud *Pro-Conſul*, whom he repreſented as delighting to ſee the Sons of Kings groveling at his Feet. He likewiſe aſſured him, That if he was General, he would treat him with all the Reſpect due to his Character, would immediately rid him of *Jugurtha*, and place him on the Throne of his Anceſtors, as the next Heir to the Crown. By theſe Diſcourſes *Marius* eaſily attached *Gauda* to him; and the *Numidian* wrote to the Republick in Terms of great Bitterneſs againſt the *Pro-Conſul*, and as greatly to the Advantage of his Lieutenant General. And it may be doubted, whether theſe Sollicitations did not do *Marius* more Service, than his own Preſence at *Rome*. But the crafty Politician would not truſt to them alone. He knew how well diſpoſed the *Roman* People were, to revive two Laws, which the Ambition of the Great had of late made of no uſe. The firſt was, *That one of the* Conſuls *ſhould be a* Patrician, *and the other a* Plebeian; whereas the Nobility had of late conſtantly choſen two *Patricians*, and left the *Plebeians* only the inferior Offices: Aud the other was, *That whenever a* Patrician *ſhould be guilty of Male-Adminiſtration in his Office, a* Plebeian *ſhould be choſen in his room.* He hoped that if he went to *Rome* himſelf, his Revival of theſe Laws, together with the Reproaches he had caſt on *Metellus*, and his own perſonal Sollicitations, would make the Way eaſy for his Promotion; and upon theſe Preſumptions, he pub- *Plut. in Mario.*
lickly deſired leave of the *Pro-Conſul* to return to make his Intereſt.

§. XXIX. *Metellus*, tho' a very honeſt Man, had a Fault not uncommon among *Salluſt.*
thoſe, whoſe Birth and Station have raiſed them above the Level of Mankind. He was proud, and contemptuous in his Carriage, eſpecially to *Marius*, whom he looked on as a Soldier of Fortune; and when the latter firſt mentioned his Deſign of offering himſelf as a Candidate for the *Conſulate*, the former, with the Air and Freedom of a Friend, ſaid, *Think no more of it*, Marius. *Don't throw away your Labour in ſuch chimerical Projects. It is not every brave Man that can obtain the* Conſulſhip. *The Candidates for it, muſt have Birth to qualify, as well as Merit to recommend, them.* To this inſulting Freedom, *Marius* only anſwered, *That the Buſineſs was in ſuch Forwardneſs, that he would run the hazard of a Voyage for it*; and then *Metellus* replied, *Be not ſo much in haſte to receive the Mortification of a Denial; but give the Affection of the* Romans *time to ripen. It*

42 We have above obſerved, That *Gauda* had been declared, by his Uncle's Will, lawful Succeſſor to the Crown of *Numidia*, in caſe *Hiempſal*, *Adherbal*, and *Jugurtha*, ſhould die without Iſſue.

will

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will be ſoon enough for you to ſtand for the Conſulate, *when this Son of mine ſhall be old enough to ſtand with you.* Young *Metellus* was then ſcarce twenty Years of Age, whereas it was neceſſary a Man ſhould be at leaſt forty, before he could be *Conſul:* And in ſhort, the *Pro-Conſul* told his Lieutenant General in terms, that he would not let him go, as long as he ſhould have any occaſion for his Service, in a Country, where the War was going to be renewed.

At the ſame time, *Metellus*, being ardently deſirous of finiſhing the *Numidian* Affair, before his two Years expired; as the moſt effectual way of recovering his Reputation, which *Marius* had blemiſhed, made freſh Applications to *Bomilcar* to perform his Promiſe of delivering up *Jugurtha* to him, dead or alive. But *Bomilcar* had been ſuſpected by his King, ever ſince he had adviſed him, to deliver up himſelf, his Children, and his Dominions, to the Mercy of the *Romans*; and this made it neceſſary for him to make uſe of other Inſtruments, to draw *Jugurtha* into a ſecond Snare.

Bomilcar therefore caſt his Eyes on *Nabdalſa*, a great *Numidian* Lord; and communicated to him his Deſign, of ſacrificing the King to the Welfare of his Country. He was one of the moſt conſiderable Officers in the *Numidian* Army; and one of the greateſt Favourites the King had. When *Jugurtha* had been obliged to be abſent from his Troops, he had often left him Commander in chief; and he now commanded a ſeparate Body of Troops which were in Winter-Quarters, not far from thoſe of the *Roman* Army. *Bomilcar* repreſented to him, That it was not worth their while to loſe their Eſtates and Liberty for an Uſurper; and *Nabdalſa* who was rich and powerful in his own Country, made no difficulty of entering into a Plot, which would ſecure his great Eſtate, and his own Life, and thoſe of his Children. He promiſed to aſſiſt in ſurprizing *Jugurtha*, and carrying him to the *Pro-Conſul*; and they fixed the Time for the Execution of the Deſign. The Ambuſcade was prepared on the Day, and *Bomilcar* came to the Place, appointed; and if *Nabdalſa* had performed his Part, an end had been put at once to the *Numidian* War, and the *Pro-Conſul* would have returned to *Rome*, with great Glory, and with *Jugurtha* in Chains. But the Irreſolution and Remorſe of *Nabdalſa* rendered the Deſign abortive.

Bomilcar, therefore, was very uneaſy and impatient at the Delays and Irreſolution of one, whom he thought a Man of his Word; and for fear he ſhould enter into other Meaſures, wrote him this Letter. *How can you be ſo ſlothful as to retard the Deliverance of your Country, by your Delays? Have you forgot your Oaths? Or, have you thrown off all fear of the Vengeance of the Gods? If nothing elſe, ſurely if you conſider the Misfortunes that will inevitably fall on your ſelf and all* Numidia, *it muſt make you tremble. Beſides,* Jugurtha, *at all Adventures, muſt be near his End. He muſt periſh, either by our Hands, or by thoſe of the* Romans. *Is it not then our wiſeſt way to make a Merit of ſaving the People of* Numidia, *by ſecuring the Favour of the powerful Republick?*

This Letter was delivered ſafe into *Nabdalſa*'s Hands, who received it laying on a Couch, where he was refreſhing himſelf after a violent Exerciſe: and when he had read it, he laid it on his Pillow. After ſome little Reflection, Sleep overtook him; and whilſt he was ſleeping, his Secretary came into the Room, and finding a Letter open read it, in order to anſwer it. But he was ſhocked at the Diſcovery of a Plot; and before his Maſter awoke, he ſet out for *Jugurtha*'s Court, to acquaint the King with it. After a ſhort ſleep *Nabdalſa* was ſurprized at the Theft; and found, upon enquiry, that his Secretary only had been in his Room, and as ſoon as he came out of it had diſappeared. Meſſengers were ſent in purſuit of him; but he had got the ſtart, and the Letter was already in the King's Hands. Nevertheleſs, as *Nabdalſa* had never before been guilty of any open Act of Sedition, he did not deſpair of being able to juſtify himſelf: And he went to Court, and informed the King, that he was ready to have diſcovered *Bomilcar*, if his treacherous Servant had not prevented him. The King, for fear of raiſing a Sedition, appeared to be ſatisfied with this Excuſe; but he condemned *Bomilcar*, and moſt of his Accomplices, to die.

§. XXX. The Loſs of *Bomilcar* fruſtrated the Hopes of *Metellus*; and there was now no probability that he ſhould be able to ſurprize *Jugurtha*. The King was grown more ſuſpicious, and conſequently more upon his Guard, than ever; and prepared for War. The *Pro-Conſul* therefore reſolved to take the Field: and beginning to be tired with *Marius*'s Importunities for leave to be gone and his continual Murmurs; and believing that a Malecontent General-Officer would prove more dangerous than uſeful to him, he conſented. But he took care not to do this, till twelve Days before the *Comitia* for electing the new *Conſuls*. However,

Plut. Vell. Paterc. Salluſt.

Ambition gave *Marius* Wings. He came to *Utica* in two Days and a Night, after he left the Camp; embarked immediately; and in ſix Days from his firſt ſetting out, reached *Rome*. There he made the beſt uſe of the little Time he had left to canvaſs. He found the *Citizens* pre-diſpoſed to ſerve him, by the Letters he had got written from *Africa* in his own Favour, and in derogation of *Metellus*; and omitted nothing to confirm by his own Mouth, the Relations which he had ſent from abroad. He calumniated the *Pro-Conſul*, accuſed him of Timorouſneſs, and aſſured the People, that with an Army equal to that of *Metellus*, he would in a few Months, either entirely reduce *Jugurtha* by Force, or at leaſt compel him voluntarily to ſubmit. The *Tribunes of the People* joined the ambitious *Plebeian*; and nothing was heard in the *Comitium*, but the Praiſes of *Marius*, and Invectives againſt *Metellus*. The People were ſo diſpleaſed with the Nobility in general, that they were wholly bent on promoting none but *New Men* to the *Conſulate*; and all the Mob of *Rome* crouded about *Marius*'s Houſe, and the Tradeſmen left their Shops and Work to attend him. In ſhort, he was nominated for one of the new *Conſuls*; and *L. Caſſius* [44] *Longinus* was choſen with him. But ſtill, this was only half the Work which had brought him to *Rome*. His next buſineſs was, to get himſelf nominated to ſucceed *Metellus*, which indeed he conducted in a very Maſterly manner; and whilſt he is thus employed, we muſt return a little to the domeſtick Affairs of *Rome*.

Year of *ROME* DCXLV. SERV. SULPICIUS GALBA, & M. AURELIUS SCAURUS, Conſuls. *Plutarch. Salluſt. Cic. de Offic. L. 3.*

That *Q. Fabius*, who had merited the Name of [45] *Allobrogicus*, by his Victory over the *Allobroges*, was now *Cenſor*, with *Caius Licinius* ſurnamed *Geta*; and the Senate had given them a Commiſſion, which generally belonged to the *Ædiles*, to diſtribute and ſell the Water of the Aqueducts, to the Houſekeepers. *Fabius* likewiſe erected a triumphal Arch in *The Sacred* [46] *Way*, during his *Cenſorſhip*, and gave it his own Name; moſt probably in Memory of his own *Triumph*, ſince he placed his Statue in it. In the Liſt of Senators which the *Cenſors* ſettled, they continued *Marcus Æmilius Scaurus* at the Head of it, notwithſtanding his Iniquities; and they cloſed their Office with a *Cenſus*, and a *Luſtrum*, which was reckoned to be the 63d. As to the Prodigies with which ſome Authors fill this Year, we ſhall omit them; and ſhall only obſerve further concerning it, That if it may be called fortunate, on account of the Succeſs of *Metellus* in *Africa*, it may as well deſerve a contrary Appellation, from the Defeat of *Aurelius*, whom the *Cimbri* had overcome in *Gallia Narbonenſis*. At the ſame time that Heaven was pleaſed to exalt *Rome* in the South, it humbled her in the Weſt.

Front. de Aquæduct. *Pædianus in Verrin. 2.* *Faſt. Capit.*

§. XXXI. At length, the new *Conſuls* entered upon their Office; and then it appeared with what Artifice *Marius* had procured *Numidia* for his Province. He ſeemed to have had nothing in view, but the ill-natured Pleaſure of ſupplanting his Benefactor. It was uſual for the Senate to ſettle the Provinces between the two Collegues; and the *Conſcript Fathers* had already by Decree appointed *Metellus* to be *Pro-Conſul* in *Numidia* for the third Year. But *Marius* deſpiſing the Decree of the Senate, applied to the People by their *Tribune Manilius Mancinus*; and at his Requeſt, they determined by a plurality of Suffrages, that *Marius* alone ſhould continue the War with *Jugurtha*. This was indeed a notorious Act of Injuſtice; but *Rome* was not now ſo much governed by Principles of Equity and Honour, as by Factions and Intrigues. The new *Conſul Caſſius Longinus* then, could have no other Province but *Gallia Narbonenſis*; in which he might have ſhone to great advantage, if he had been at all ſucceſsful in Battle. A Commiſſion to ſubdue the *Cimbri*, to deliver *Tranſalpine Gaul* from its Fears, and to drive off an Army of Vagabonds from the Frontiers of *Italy*, afforded Matter enough to have immortalized a General, whoſe Courage had been tempered by Prudence. But *Caſſius*, who

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44 We think the *Conſul Lucius Caſſius* was Nephew to the famous *Caſſius*, who had made himſelf formidable by the Severity of his Decrees.

45 It is certain, from the Authority of the Ancients, That *Quintus Fabius* ſurnamed *Allobrogicus*, and *Caius Licinius Geta*, were promoted to the *Cenſorſhip*. And it were to be wiſhed, that the ſame Writers had preciſely told us the Year of their Election. But we are left to ſupply their Silence with Conjectures; and we place their *Cenſorſhip* in the Year 645. *Marcus Æmilius Scaurus* had abdicated the laſt Year, after the Death of his Collegue *Marcus Livius Druſus*. They muſt therefore have been ſucceeded by two others, and theſe we have made to be *Fabius* and *Licinius*. This is the only Time the *Faſti Conſulares* leave us to put them both in their Office together.

46 *The Sacred Way*, began at the Quarter of the *Carinæ*, and led to the *Capitol*. It was ſo called, according to *Varro* and *Feſtus*, either becauſe *Romulus* King of the *Romans*, and *Tatius* the King of the *Sabines*, there ratified upon the Altars the Treaty of Union between the two Nations; or becauſe the Prieſts went this Way to the Place appointed for the Sacrificing a white Sheep to *Jupiter*, on *The firſt of the Ides* of every Month; or laſtly, becauſe the *Augurs* went this Way, when they walked in form, to the Place appointed for obſerving the *Auſpices*.

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did not want Valour, was rather raſh than circumſpect, and he fell into an Ambuſcade and there periſhed.

As ſoon as he had accepted of his Commiſſion, he paſſed the *Alpes*, and in the eaſtern Parts of *Gaul* took Poſſeſſion of the Army, which *Aurelius* had left much diſcouraged after its Defeat. His firſt Attempt was in favour of the *Allobroges*, who began to be infeſted with a ſwarm of new Robbers, from the *Helvetick* Countries. Theſe were originally [47] *Tigurini*, and the Love of Plunder had induced them to join the *Cimbri*, in order to increaſe their Army in *Narbonne-Gaul*. *Caſſius* therefore paſſed the *Rhone*, and haſtened to meet them. His Deſign was to divert this new Inundation, which was going to overflow the *Roman Provinces* on this ſide the *Alpes*; and the Scheme was not a bad one, if it had been happily put in Execution. His two Lieutenant Generals were *L. Calpurnius Piſo*, a Man of Reſolution, Prudence, and Courage, who had been *Conſul* a few Years before; and one *C. Popillius*, an Officer of no Valour, and very little Merit of any other kind.

Tacit. Lib. de Germanorum Moribus.

The *Roman Legions* came up with the *Tigurini*, in the Country of the *Allobroges*, and diſputed their Paſſage. The Enemy retired gradually, and inſenſibly led on the *Romans* to the Sea-ſide, where they had prepared an Ambuſh for them. *Caſſius* raſhly fell into it; and *Piſo* endeavouring to reſcue the *Pro-Conſul*, periſhed with him in the Fray. Then the *Roman* Army, being deprived of its General, and of the only Perſon in whom they could confide after him, was left wholly to the Conduct of the cowardly *Popillius*; and his Heart and Head both failed him at once. He thought the Danger great, and upon the Clamours of his *Legionaries*, offered to capitulate, on the moſt ſhameful Terms. To ſave his own Life, and thoſe of his Soldiers, he ſurrendered up half his Baggage, and gave Hoſtages to the Barbarians; and in a Word, underwent the Shame of *paſſing under the Yoke*, with all his Troops. A ſtrange faintheartedneſs, very unworthy of the Conſtancy of *Romans!* And *Rome* reſolved to puniſh it with great Severity.

C. Cæſar. L. 1. de Bello Gallico.

As ſoon as *Popillius* returned thither, where his Name was become odious, he was accuſed before the People. *Caius Cælius Caldus*, the *Tribune* who accuſed him, was his perſonal Enemy; and his Hatred led him to take one very uncommon Step in order to his Trial, which was to extend the *Caſſian Law*. By this Law it had been enacted, That the People ſhould vote by *Tablets* in all criminal Caſes, except ſuch as related to the State. In theſe latter, they were ſtill confined to vote *viva voce*; and this Method of proceeding was much more favourable to the accuſed than the other. For in this Way, no *Citizen* could conceal his Vote, and the Fear of being thought too ſevere, hindered many Voters from carrying Things to great Extremities. *Cælius* therefore being reſolved to deſtroy *Popillius*, firſt took care that the [48] *Caſſian Law* ſhould be extended, and the People allowed to vote by *Tablets* in State-Crimes likewiſe. This ſufficiently ſhewed *Popillius*, that the *Tribune* was bent on ruining him, by a Decree of the People; and he therefore did Juſtice on himſelf, and to ſave his Honour, went into a voluntary Baniſhment. But the *Tribune* ever after very ſeverely repented of having extended the Uſe of *Tablets* to Capital Caſes, and Trials of high Crimes and Miſdemeanors. Their being introduced at all in voting, was a great Wound to the Republick; and the Liberty now given by the *Cælian* [49] *Law*, of voting that way in State-Crimes, introduced, and in a manner authorized, many notorious Acts of Injuſtice.

Rhet. ad Heren. L. 1. Oroſ. L. 5.

Cic. L. 3. de Legib.

§. XXXII.

47 The Country of the *Tigurini*, which the Ancients call *Pagus Tigurinus*, formerly contained, the Cantons of *Zurich*, *Schaffhauſen*, *Appenzel*, *Rhintal*, &c.

48 We have obſerved above, p. 60, what *Cicero's* Opinion was of the Invention of Ballotting. He thought that the Laws which ſettled it, had produced many Diſorders in the Republick; and ſays, in the Perſon of his Brother *Quintus*, one of the Speakers in his *Third Book of Laws*, c. 16. *Edit. Verburg*, *Our Grandfather, a Man of uncommon Merit, oppoſed* Gratidius, *when he, our Great Uncle by the Mother's ſide, contended for aboliſhing the Cuſtom of Voting* viva voce, *and endeavoured to introduce the new Law concerning Ballotting, in this* Municipium. Gratidius *raiſed thoſe Confuſions in this little Town, which his Son* Marius *afterwards raiſed in a much larger Province. The* Conſul Marcus Scaurus, *when informed of the Diſputes that divided the* Arpinates, *expreſſed great Eſteem for our Grandfather. Would to the Gods, cried he, a Man of your Fortitude and Virtue had been ſettled with us in the Great Republick, inſtead of confining your ſelf to the little Commonwealth in your own Country!* Add to this, that *The Cælian Law* is repreſented by the *Tablet*, or *Ticket*, on the Face of the Medal No. 9, Plate 4, Page 60, on which *Ticket* are the two initial Letters L. D. Which ſignify, Libero, Damno; that is, *I acquit, I condemn.*

49 The *Cælian* Family carried up their Origin to one

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§. XXXII. And now, it is ſaid, that *Æmilius Scaurus, The Prince of the Senate*, who, under the appearance of great Modeſty, was very greedy of publick Honours, and yet more induſtrious to enrich himſelf by private Artifices, had Intereſt enough to procure a ſecond Promotion to the *Conſulate*, which *Caſſius* had loſt in *Gaul*, with his Life. It is ſaid, That he got himſelf nominated in his Room, and ſupplied his Place to the End of the Year. He is likewiſe ſaid to have had one *P.* [50] *Rutilius*, a Man very ambitious of the *Conſulſhip* for his Competitor; and to have got the better of him by a piece of Chicanery. He accuſed *Rutilius* [51] of Bribery, in canvaſſing for the *Conſulſhip*; and in Proof of it produced a Note under his Hand, whereby the accuſer pretended, that he had promiſed a *Citizen* Money for his Vote. The Note contained only theſe four Letters, *A. F. P. R*; which *Scaurus* interpreted to ſignify *Actum fide P. Rutilii*, that is, *Rutilius ſolemnly promiſes to perform the Obligation.* The accuſed, on the other hand, defended himſelf as well as he could, and pleaded that the Note was prior to his appearing for the *Conſulate:* And *C. Cannius*, a *Roman Knight*, who was preſent at the Trial, archly gave a very different Interpretation to the four Letters. He ſaid they ſtood for *Æmilius fecit, plectitur Rutilius*; that is, *Æmilius made the Note, and Rutilius will be puniſhed for it.* This was both accuſing *Scaurus* of Forgery in producing a Note of his own making againſt his Competitor, and ſhewing the Folly of laying ſtreſs on the Interpretation of initial Letters, which are capable of many Senſes. Nevertheleſs,

one *Cælius Vibenna*, who came from *Hetruria* to *Rome*, with a Company of *Hetrurians*, in the Reign of *Romulus*. He ſettled upon a neighbouring Hill, which he obtained of the Founder of his new City, for himſelf and his Colony: And from that Time it was called Mount *Cælius*. The *Caldus's*, *Rufus's*, and *Sabinus's*, were three different Branches of this Family. Nevertheleſs *Cicero*, *Lib. De Petitione Conſulatus*, ſpeaks of *Cælius Caldus*, who was *Conſul* in the Year 660, as *a new Man.* But by that he only means, that his Anceſtors had lived in Obſcurity, without being concerned in the Offices of the Republick. It was probably from the ſame Family, that *Lucius Cælius Antipater* deſcended, who wrote the Hiſtory of the Wars of *Hannibal* with the *Romans*, and dedicated it to *Ælius Stilo*, *Varro's* Maſter. He was Cotemporary with the *Gracchi*, as we may infer from a Paſſage in *Val. Maximus*, *L.* 1, *c.* 7. *Cicero* ſays, in his *Brutus*, That this Writer had the Honour to have the Orator *Lucius Craſſus*, for his Diſciple; and in his 2d Book *De Oratore*, after he has given *Cælius* the Preference to the Annaliſts, he gives this Account of him. *Cælius Antipater*, who was an intimate Friend of *Craſſus*, and valuable for his Probity, was the firſt Man that roſe above the common Hiſtorians, and wrote in a loftier manner. Nevertheleſs, we don't find in his Writings, either any Variety of Figures, or Correctneſs of Expreſſion, or Sweetneſs and Evenneſs of Stile. And in his firſt Book *Of Laws*, he ſays, That the pompous Elocution of this Hiſtorian, did not correct the Roughneſs and Unpoliteneſs which appear in his Writings. And laſtly, he gives him but a very moderate Share of Learning, and does not think he was to be ranked among the famous Orators of his Time. Nevertheleſs, his Hiſtory was thought the leaſt defective of all the *Latin* Hiſtories that had appeared at *Rome*. *Cicero* thought it worth his while to abridge it for his own uſe; as he had done that of *Polybius* in *Greek*, and the *Annals of Fannius*. But it may be obſerved, to the Honour of *Greece*, that, even in *Cicero's* Time, it produced better Hiſtorians than *Italy*. *Atticus* is forced to confeſs as much, when he ſpeaks of this, in the *Firſt Book of Laws*, as a Motive to induce the *Roman* Orator to write an Hiſtory. We want a good one, ſays he to *Cicero*, and you only can ſupply this Want. The *Clodius's*, the *Aſellio's*, and our lateſt Authors, who have endeavoured to imitate the Simplicity of the Ancients, have only increaſed the Number of our languid Writers: You allow, that the Hiſtorical manner, requires moſt of any, the Hand of an Orator. *Pomponius* ranks *Cælius* the Hiſtorian among the *Civilians*.

50 It appears by ſeveral Paſſages in *Cicero's* Works, that *Publius Rutilius Rufus* had been Competitor with *Marcus Æmilius Scaurus* for the *Conſulate*, and that the latter ſucceeded by a majority of Votes. But we can't ſay, that this Conteſt was carried on in the Year 638, which was the Time when his Rival was firſt promoted. There was but ſix Years difference, between the Year 638, and 632, which was the firſt *Quæſtorſhip* of *Publius Rutilius*. Whereas the *Annal Laws* required that there ſhould be at leaſt twelve Years ſpace between the *Quæſtorſhip* and the *Conſulate*, as we have obſerved in ſeveral Parts of this Hiſtory; and it is not probable, that a Man of *Rutilius's* Character, ſhould appear for the firſt Dignity in the Republick before he was of a competent Age. This impatient Thirſt after Honours, does not ſuit the Character which the Hiſtorians have given us of this great Man. He is ſaid to have united all the Virtues of the firſt *Romans* in himſelf. His Innocence, and Regularity of Life, his Diſintereſtedneſs, Modeſty, Probity, and his Zeal for maintaining the Laws and Cuſtoms, convinced all the People in *Rome*, that he was a perfect Pattern of a good Citizen. This does not ſhew him to have been an ambitious Man, who was too precipitate in ſtanding for the firſt Dignities, in contempt of the ancient Uſages, which would not ſuffer him to appear. We muſt therefore, in order to make *Rutilius* a Competitor with *Æmilius Scaurus*, neceſſarily ſay, That this latter ſtood for the *Conſulate* a ſecond Time, in the Year 646. There was then a Vacancy by the Death of *Lucius Caſſius Longinus*, and *Rutilius* had now attained to the Age preſcribed by the Laws. We cannot find any other Year which will agree to both. All the others are full, and leave no Vacancy for the ſecond *Conſulſhip* of *Æmilius*. Beſides, if it was true, That *Rutilius* had been refuſed, in the Year 638, we muſt ſuppoſe that he continued in obſcurity ten Years, ſince he was not elected *Conſul* till the Year 648. But it is difficult to conceive, that a Man, who was ſo much reſpected by the Citizens for his extraordinary Qualities, ſhould be ſo long forgotten.

51 The *Rutilian* Family was divided into two Branches, one *Patrician* the other *Plebeian*; and theſe two Branches produced ſeveral others, as the *Craſſus's*, the *Calvus's*, the *Rufus's*, the *Cenſorinus's*, and the *Lupus's*. Their Memory has been preſerved by the ancient *Roman* Hiſtorians, and the Medals.

Cic. in Brute.

vertheleſs,

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App. L. 1. de Bell. Civ.

vertheleſs, the falſe Wiſdom of *Scaurus* prevailed. *Rutilius* was for the preſent refuſed, and *Scaurus* promoted. But we ſhall ſoon ſee the former brought again upon the Stage, and with Succeſs.

At the ſame time, a *Tribune of the People* named *Spurius*[52] *Thorius Balbus*, made an Innovation, tho' well intended, which did not prove to be of any Service to the publick Treaſury. We have before obſerved, that by the fatal Law, which *Sempronius Gracchus* had got paſſed in his *Tribuneſhip*, and which cauſed his Ruin, it was enacted, That the Lands which the rich enjoyed, contrary to the old Laws, ſhould be divided among the poor *Citizens*. This Law had cauſed many Troubles; and the Deſign of *Thorius* was to have put an end to thoſe Diſputes which the Diſtribution of the Lands occaſioned. But the Method he took, to pacify both the Poſſeſſors and the Claimants, was inſufficient for that Purpoſe. He got it enacted by the *Comitia*, That the rich ſhould for the future, continue to hold the Lands they were poſſeſſed of without a juſt Title, upon paying certain Rents for them to the Uſe of the Publick; and That the *Quæſtors* ſhould diſtribute theſe Rents to the pooreſt *Citizens*. But the defect of this Scheme was; That it neither reſtored to the rich the whole of their old Revenues, nor gave the neceſſitous Populace, whom *Sempronius Gracchus* intended to relieve, any Lands for their own Property. But to return to *Marius*.

Cic. de Orat. L. 2. & Brut.

§. XXXIII. The Care of civil Affairs, and particularly his being obliged to preſide in the *Comitia* for the Election of the new *Conſul Scaurus*, kept him longer at *Rome* than he deſired. His Heart was wholly ſet on the *Numidian* Affair. It was a double Joy to him, to think of marching againſt *Jugurtha*, and of diſplacing *Metellus*; and he longed to be in his Province. His Pride broke out in an uncommon manner, upon the People's adjudging him the Province of *Africa*, which the Senate had given to *Metellus*; and he declared, That he had already gained a Conqueſt before he had faced an Enemy. He gloried in this, as a happy Preſage of the Succeſs of his Campaign; and ſaid, it was Matter of greater Glory and Triumph to him, to have humbled the *Conſcript Fathers*, than it would be to ſubdue *Numidia*, and lead *Jugurtha* in Chains. And his Conduct was ſuitable to theſe Declarations. Wherever he met any *Patricians* he inſulted them. All his Speeches in Publick were groſly ſtuffed with his own Praiſes, and with bitter Invectives againſt the Senate. Tho' he was nothing leſs than an Orator, yet every thing was well taken from a Man who was become the Idol of the People; and this encouraged him to demand with Inſolence a greater Number of Troops than had uſually been allowed the *Conſuls*. Beſides the Recruits he required for his *Legions*, he ſent, of his own Authority, to demand Auxiliaries of the Nations and Kings, who were in Friendſhip with the Republick. And in the Choice he made of his Soldiers at *Rome*,

Salluſt. de Bell. Jugurth. Plut. in Mario.

52 We know nothing more of the *Thorii*, than that they were of *Plebeian* Extraction. From this Family probably deſcended one *Lucius Thorius Balbus*, whoſe Character *Cicero* has given us in his ſecond Book *De Finibus*. He was, ſays he, an artfully voluptuous Man; he knew how to heighten his Pleaſures by the refined Arts of Senſuality, without carrying them to exceſs. He made it his whole ſtudy to find out what would be moſt grateful to his nice Taſte, and ſpared no Coſt to obtain it. In his purſuit of Pleaſure, he did not ſo much follow the *Epicurean* Philoſophy, as his own Temper and Inclination. Nature pointed out to him a Method of indulging himſelf in Senſuality, agreeably to his Diſpoſition. His firſt Concern was to preſerve Life; and he accounted none to be true Pleaſures, but ſuch as were not prejudicial to his Health. The only Advantage he propoſed by his bodily Exerciſes, was the Appetite they gave him, to reliſh with the more Pleaſure, thoſe exquiſite and tender Meats which he ordered to be brought to his Table. He underſtood Wines well, choſe only the moſt excellent for his own Uſe, and never drank them till they had been perfumed with Roſes. But nevertheleſs, he had command enough of himſelf, to deny himſelf ſenſual Pleaſures, when Duty and Honour called him to the Defence of his Country. He was intrepid at the ſight of Danger, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his Valour, and had the Honour to die fighting for his Republick. The Ancients have conveyed down to us a Medal*, which bears, on the reverſe, the Name of *Lucius Thorius*, and the Figure of a capering Bull; alluding perhaps to the Name of *Thorius*. For, *Varro* obſerves, That the ancient *Romans* took ſome of their Names from Animals; as the *Porcius's*, the *Caprilius's*, the *Ovilius's*, the *Equitius's*, &c. But it is more probable, that the Bull on the Medal is deſigned as a proper Symbol of another Law, which *Cicero* aſcribes to *Spurius Thorius*. He ſays, *De Orat. L. 2*, That the *Tribune* by this ſecond Law, had ſet a Fine on all that ſuffered their Cattle to do any damage; and he tells us a Jeſt of one *Appius Claudius* upon one *Lucilius*, who was accuſed of breaking the *Thorian Law*, by ſuffering his Cattle to feed in the Meadows that belonged to the Republick. *It is a miſtake*, ſaid *Appius*; *theſe are not* Lucilius's *Cattle: I think they belong to no body*; *for they feed wherever they pleaſe* The Head of this Medal, is a Queen *Juno*, whom the People of *Lanuvium* worſhipped in a particular manner, under the Title of *Soſpita*, as we have obſerved, Vol. 3. *Lucius Thorius* intended to point out the Place of his Birth, by this Symbolical Figure. *Cicero* ſays, he came originally from that City.

* *See Plate* 4. No. 10. Page 60.

there was ſomething ſtill more abſolute. He forced all who were famed for Valour in all Parts of *Italy*, to come to *Rome*, whether they would or no; and compelled them to take the military Oaths. Tho' they had already ſerved the Republick all the Years required of them, he would not allow that to be an Excuſe.

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Plut. in Mario. Salluſt.

Theſe were notorious Acts of Violence; but the Senate durſt not oppoſe the Tyranny of a Man, whom Fortune ſo highly favoured. Beſides, *The Conſcript Fathers* might, in pure Malice to him, acquieſce in the Levies he was raiſing in *Rome*; in expectation that the Vexations and Hardſhips which he made the People ſuffer thereby, might alienate from him the Affections of the Populace, who adored him. But it appeared, that when once the Multitude have ſuffered themſelves to be captivated, they cannot feel the Weight, even of their own Chains. The Severities of *Marius* were taken in good part; and the People were ſo very zealous to follow him into *Africa*, that it looked like Enchantment: Whilſt he ſeemed to be afraid of having any Soldiers in his Troops, who were of better Condition than himſelf. He ſcarce enrolled any, but Men of the loweſt *Claſſes*, whoſe Names only were mentioned in the *Cenſus* of the People, and whoſe Poverty exempted them from the Service. Theſe he preferred to any others; and the Nobility put this Conſtruction upon it, That his Reaſon for chooſing the Mob only, was becauſe Men of better Familes had refuſed to ſerve under him. But *Marius* took no notice of their Reflections. He ſteadily proſecuted his Point in view; and that he might make his Levies according to his own Mind, he aſſembled the People in the *Comitium*, and addreſſed himſelf to them in this manner.

It is not uſual for your Conſuls *to keep up the ſame Reputation for Virtue after their Election, which they had acquired, in order to pave the way for it. When they are once arrived at the top of their Ambition, Idleneſs uſually ſucceeds Labour, and from having been active and bold, they become effeminate. But I,* Romans, *regulate my Conduct by very different Maxims. I did not ſeek the* Conſulate *as an honourable Eaſe from Buſineſs. I conſider it as the beginning of a more laborious Courſe, than that which I have been forced to run through, in order to obtain it. The Weight of the Burden you have laid upon me is already very great. The being forced to oblige thoſe* Citizens *to take Arms, whom I love and would willingly treat with Reſpect; the raiſing the neceſſary Sums for carrying on an important War, and yet ſparing as much as poſſible the publick Revenues; and the providing for the Wants of a great Army, in a diſtant Country; theſe Difficulties are only the preludes to thoſe Fatigues and Dangers which threaten me in* Africa. *Indeed I ſhould not be ſo much diſtreſſed with this Burden, if my Preparations at* Rome *were not oppoſed by jealous Men. I am ſet up as a Mark for the Nobility, who watch all my Steps, and put ill Conſtructions on my moſt innocent Actions. And I have nothing to ſupport me but the Protection of an equitable People, the Remembrance of my paſt Services, and the Hopes* Rome *has founded upon me for the future. It is very true; I am not one of thoſe Generals who carry nothing with them to the Command of Armies, but the Prejudice of their Birth and the Exploits of their Anceſtors. Such Men, being without Abilities or Experience, are directed in the Conduct of their Expeditions by the Counſels of a* Plebeian *Subaltern; and contribute nothing but their Names, towards the moſt glorious Victories. I know ſome, who did not begin to ſtudy the Art of War, in the* Greek *Books, till the Republick had intruſted them with her Troops, and the Care of her Glory. Whereas it is not by reading, but by Experience, that I have learned to encamp, range the Manipuli, give Battle; and to inveſt, beſiege, and aſſault Towns. But the Nobility who are brought up in Eaſe and Pleaſure, deſpiſe your* Plebeians, *who have nothing but their Valour and Experience to recommend them. They will prefer a* Poſtumius Albinus, *or* Calpurnius Beſtia, *purely on account of their Names, to* New Men, *whoſe perſonal Merit alone has raiſed them to the higheſt Poſts in the Army. As if the firſt of their own Anceſtors, from whom they derive ſo much Honour, had not themſelves been Soldiers of Fortune. Military Virtue has ever been the Way to Nobility. It comes indeed later into my Family, but perhaps in order to continue the longer in it. I therefore ſhall not pretend to boaſt of the great Names of my Forefathers, I will leave that to the haughty* Patricians. *Let them diſhonour themſelves as much as they pleaſe, by reviving the Memory of the Heroes of their Families whom they ſo little imitate; and enjoy thoſe Pleaſures, with which their Riches ſupply them. I received nothing from my Parents but a wiſe Education, and a love of Labour and Duty; and I leave to my Rivals a pompous ſhew of deluſive Words, which they want to diſguiſe their ſhameful Conduct. I know nothing of that* Greek *babbling, which they call Eloquence; but my Actions ſpeak for me, and my Wounds are my beſt Rhetorick. I con-*

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feſs I don't underſtand how to ſpread a Table elegantly, or entertain my Friends with the Jeſts of a Buffoon, or do my ſelf honour by the Art of a Cook. I don't value my ſelf, either for Politeneſs of Behaviour, or Elegance of Dreſs. My Concern is about well dreſſed Horſes, ſtrong and well-managed Mules, ſhining Arms, and ſharp Weapons. I leave the reſt to thoſe, who ſtudy more how to pleaſe, than how to conquer. But then let theſe effeminate Men, on the other hand, leave the Command of Troops to true Soldiers, who are inured to Fatigues, and able to bear all Seaſons and all Climates. Numidia *will never be reduced, but by Labour and Conſtancy. At firſt, the Avarice of your Generals prevented the Conqueſts of it. Then the Dilatorineſs and Inaction of thoſe who ſucceeded them retarded it. By the former, Diſcipline was enervated; by the latter, but imperfectly reſtored. Follow then with Zeal, brave* Roman *Youth, a* Conſul, *who is ambitious of no other Superiority over you, than that of having a greater Share in the Danger! Victory and rich Spoils await you, on the Banks of the* Ampſaga; *and I would enlarge more fully upon them, if Words were either neceſſary to animate the brave, or ſufficient to encourage the cowardly.* In ſhort, *Marius* compleated his Recruits, according to his own Wiſhes, and made all poſſible haſte to embark them.

§. XXXIV. In the mean time, *Metellus*, who was at the farther end of *Numidia*, was ignorant of what paſſed at *Rome*. He ſo much depended on being continued *Pro-Conſul*, till *Jugurtha* ſhould be entirely reduced, that he took the Field in the beginning of the Spring. His difficulty was to find the Enemy. The King of *Numidia* being abandoned by almoſt all the Lords of his Court, and his beſt Officers, was rambling croſs Rocks and Foreſts. His Diſquietudes and Suſpicions had driven his moſt faithful Servants from him, and the greateſt part of them were retired to *Bocchus* King of *Mauritania*. Nevertheleſs it was neceſſary for him to continue the War; tho' he had little dependance on new Favourites, and was ſuſpicious of Friends whoſe Friendſhip he had never put to the Proof. Hence his Inſtability, and Irreſolutions. The *Pro-Conſul*, who was long ſeeking him, found him at laſt poſted in Places which he thought inacceſſible. The *Numidian*, to his great ſurprize, ſaw the *Legions* advance with Colours flying, in the ſight of his Camp; and all he could do was to draw up his Troops in Battalia. It was uſual for the *Numidians*, not to ſtand long before a *Roman* Army, in the open Field; and now, tho' *Jugurtha* kept his Ground for ſome time in the Center, his Troops at laſt diſperſed themſelves; and the greateſt part eſcaped by flight. But ſome were made Priſoners, and a good Number of Standards taken. As for *Jugurtha* himſelf, ſome vaſt Deſerts, the Roads of which he only was acquainted with, ſcreened him from the purſuit of the *Romans*; and not being able to ſubſiſt there, he retired to his Fort of *Thala*.[53]

Salluſt. Bell. Jugurth.

This Place was, properly ſpeaking, only a great Town; but rich, and well fortified. Here the King had depoſited his Treaſures, and Jewels; and this was the Place he had choſen for the Reſidence and Education of his Children. Theſe were Motives ſufficient to induce *Metellus* to undertake the Siege of it; tho' it was even more difficult to get to it, than to ſtorm it. Between the *Roman* Army, and the River that watered the Place, there was a vaſt Deſert, of about 50 Miles in extent, which was deſtitute of Water, and covered with a barren Sand. But the Impatience of *Metellus* to conquer *Thala*, and thereby finiſh the War, excited him to ſurmount theſe Difficulties. He ordered his Army to march thither, and took his Meaſures like a great General. In the firſt place, he ordered all the Mules in the Army inſtead of their uſual Burdens, to be loaded, ſome with Corn for a ten Days march, and the reſt with Skins and Barrels of Water. Then he obliged the Inhabitants in the Neighbourhood of his Camp, to attend his Army with Waggons of Proviſions, and appointed the Time and Place for the general Rendezvous. And though the *Pro-Conſul* was ſcarce arrived there, with his Carriages with him, before there fell ſuch Plenty of Rain, as made the Water he had provided, uſeleſs, and the Soldiers choſe rather to make uſe of the Preſent Heaven made them; yet they could not but applaud the Foreſight of their General. They commended the one, and made uſe of the other; and this Circumſtance ſo much raiſed the Confidence of the *Romans*, that they no longer deſpaired of taking a Citadel, which they had before thought impregnable.

53 *Strabo, Florus, Salluſt,* and *Tacitus* mention the City of *Thala* in *Africa*; and *Ptolomy* ſpeaks of a Mountain of this Name in *Inner Lybia*.

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The Inhabitants of *Thala* were ſtruck with Terror at the Approach of the *Roman* Army. They had thought their City inacceſſible, croſs a dry Deſert. Whereas *Metellus* had found Means to ſurmount this Obſtacle; and his *Legions* were already filing round the Place, in order to beſiege it. And then, *Jugurtha*, fearing to be ſurrounded in a Citadel which tho' ſtrong, was not impregnable, ſince the *Romans* had broke through the Barrier with which Nature had defended it, left the Town and Garriſon to the Mercy of the *Pro-Conſul*. He pretended to have Affairs to negotiate, and leaving the Fort before it was inveſted, rambled from Deſert to Deſert. His Diſtruſts followed him to all Places, and his Fear of being betrayed, kept him from fixing any where. Nevertheleſs, the Garriſon appeared on the Ramparts after he was gone, and prepared to ſuſtain the Attacks. It almoſt wholly conſiſted of Deſerters from the *Roman* Army. On the other hand, *Metellus* formed his Contravallation, advanced his *Covered Galleries* to the Foot of the Wall, raiſed *Cavaliers* at proper diſtances, and erected wooden Towers upon them higher than the Walls. The Beſiegers being numerous were ſufficient for all theſe Works; and the Beſieged made all the Reſiſtance that could be expected from brave Men, driven to deſpair. But at length, when the *Ram* had made a large Breach in the *Courtine*, the Deſerters, deſpairing of being able to ſave the Place, left the Breach undefended; and finding it impoſſible for them to avoid Deſtruction, they choſe rather to periſh by the Flames, than by the Swords of the *Romans*. In ſhort, they made a Sally from the Town, carried all the valuable Things they could find to the King's Palace, then ſet it on fire, and burnt themſelves with it. Thus theſe deſperate Men ſaved the *Romans* the Trouble of executing them, by inflicting a more cruel Death on themſelves, than they would have ſuffered by their Countrymen; and *Thala* was taken after a Siege of 40 Days.

Then the *Pro-Conſul*, as ſoon as Maſter of it, was forced to ſend away a Detachment of his Troops, to prevent the Troubles that were ready to break out, at the other End of *Africa*. The Inhabitants of *Great* [54] *Leptis*, a City which ſtood between the two [55] *Syrtes*, had made an Alliance with *Rome*, which had been confirmed by the [56] Senate; and had never yet caſt any Blemiſh on their Fidelity, by any Inſurrection. But now, an Incendiary of the Country, named *Hamilcar*, was labouring under hand to draw over his Countrymen to *Jugurtha*, and likely to ſucceed. The Magiſtrates therefore diſcovered the Plot, and ſent Meſſengers to *Metellus* to inform him of their Danger. Upon which the *Roman* General, immediately detached four *Ligurian Cohorts* from his Army, under the Command of *Caius Anicius*; and by that means preſerved the Country between the two *Syrtes* in Tranquillity.

§. XXXV. As for the King of *Numidia*, he was ever irreſolute, and ever upon the Wing. At length, he determined to go and treat in Perſon with a People, unknown to the *Romans*, and who had never yet heard of the *Roman* Name. Theſe were the [57] *Gætuli*, a barbarous Nation, who roved rather than dwelt, in the inner Part of *Africa*, at the bottom of *Lybia*, and led their Flocks from Paſture to Paſture, always living in Tents without any fixed Habitation: And *Jugurtha* found Means to induce them to follow his Standards. He aſſembled theſe ſcattered Shepherds together, and taught them to keep their Ranks and obey the Officers he ſet over them. From *Gætulia* the *Numidian* King proceeded to the Confines of *Mauritania*. *Bocchus* reigned there, over an *African* People, who were ſomewhat leſs barbarous, and better diſciplined than the *Gætuli*, and was full of Reſentments againſt the *Roman* Republick. He had, in the beginning of the *African* War, applied himſelf to the Generals *Rome* then ſent into *Africa*, deſiring her Friendſhip and Favour. But the covetous *Calpurnius* and *Beſtia* had ſcornfully repulſed his Ambaſſadors, who came to them empty-handed: And this Affront had ſunk deep into the Heart of the *Mauritanian*. Beſides, *Bocchus* had married one of *Jugurtha*'s Daughters. Indeed theſe Alliances among the *African* Kings, were of very little Weight. Thoſe Princes kept ſo many Women in their Seraglio's, that it was not eaſy for one, to gain an aſcendant over them: And the *Numidian* therefore depended

54 *Great Leptis*, was near the *Great Syrtis*; and there was another City of this Name, between *Thapſa* and *Adrumet*, to the Weſt of the *Little Syrtis*. See Vol. 4.

55 The two *Syrtes* which were known by the Name of *The Sounds of Barbary*, lay between the Kingdoms of *Tunis* and *Barca*. See Vol. 4.

56 According to *Salluſt*, the Inhabitants of *Great Leptis* had ſurrendered to the *Conſul Beſtia*, and ſhaken off the *Numidian* Yoke.

57 *Gætulia* formerly reached from *The Deſert of Lempta* to the Ocean. It had the two *Mauritania*'s to the North; the *Garamantes*, to the Eaſt; *Negroeland*, to the South; and the *Atlantick* Ocean to the Weſt. Some pretend, That old *Gætulia* contained the weſtern Part of *Zara*, and *Biledulgerid*.

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more on his Bounties and Promiſes, than on the Mediation of his Daughter. He made liberal Preſents to all the King of *Mauritania*'s Friends; and by that Means, procured an Alliance Offenſive and Defenſive with him. The Motives he uſed, were in general the ſame that were urged by all other crowned Heads. He inſiſted on the Avarice and Ambition of the *Romans*; and particularly on the Scheme theſe Republicans had formed, for ſucceſſively deſtroying all the Monarchies in the World.

At length *Bocchus* complied; and agreed with *Jugurtha*, to lead all the Forces in his Kingdom to *Cyrtha*, and join in the Siege of that Capital, of which the *Romans* had made themſelves Maſters. *Metellus* had ſent thither all the Booty he had taken in *Numidia*, and made it a Magazine both of Arms, and Proviſions, for his Army. So that to take it was in effect to drive the *Romans* out of *Numidia*. Beſides, the crafty *Numidian* had this further Reaſon to engage *Bocchus* at firſt in ſome ſignal Attempt; that ſuch a Blow would fix him to his Intereſt for the future. It was not without great Difficulty that he had brought him to a Determination in his Favour.

And now, *Metellus*, ſince the *Gætuli* and *Mauritanians* had joined the *Numidians*, began to alter his Conduct. He no longer offered to give Battle, or bid Defiance to the Enemy. On the contrary, he continued quiet in his Entrenchments, watched the Motions of the two Kings, and reſolved to hazard nothing, for fear of loſing all.

§. XXXVI. But while the Hero was enjoying a little Tranquillity in the Heart of *Numidia*, he received Advice, That the *Roman People* had, in ſpight of the Senate, appointed *Marius* to ſucceed him. He was thunderſtruck at the News; and in his Surprize and Dejection could not help expreſſing his Aſtoniſhment, That a mean *Plebeian* ſhould find more Credit and Favour, than himſelf, notwithſtanding his Nobility and his Exploits. Nay, the *Pro-Conſul*, tho' a great Man, was ſo much affected, that he could not keep up the Dignity of his Character on this Occaſion. He wept for Rage. And indeed, what could be more mortifying, than to have a Conqueſt ſo far advanced, raviſhed out of his Hands, by one of the meaneſt of the People, who had been drawn out of Obſcurity, by his Favours? Tho' after all, he was not ſo much grieved at the Glory he loſt, as at the Advancement of *Marius*. He looked with Abhorrence on that perfidious Man, who could no otherwiſe ſupplant him, than by Calumnies. But whether this Abhorrence proceeded from a real Greatneſs of Mind, or from Jealouſy, every one was at liberty to judge, as he thought proper.

However, this at leaſt is certain, the Intereſt of his Country prevailed more with him than his private Reſentment; and he took pains to draw off *Bocchus* from *Jugurtha*. Tho' this would greatly facilitate the Reduction of *Numidia* for *Marius*; yet, as in great Minds, the publick Good ever prevails over perſonal, the *Pro-Conſul* ſpent the few Days he had to ſtay in *Africa*, in Negotiations with the King of *Mauritania*. He privately repreſented to him by his Agents, That the King of *Numidia*'s Crown tottered on his Head; and That it would be dangerous for him to attempt to ſupport it, at his own peril: That it was eaſy to declare War, which the moſt imprudent might do as well as the moſt wiſe; but that the difficulty was, to end it honourably and without Loſs: That if the *Roman* Republick was as powerful and as ambitious as was repreſented, it muſt be the ſafeſt way to keep Meaſures with her: and That conſequently, it could anſwer no good Purpoſe to him, to declare himſelf her Enemy, eſpecially ſince he could merit her Favour at ſo cheap a rate, as the giving up a Neighbour, who was already on the brink of Ruin.

Bocchus ſaw the Force of this Reaſoning, and urged nothing in reply, but his Compaſſion for the unfortunate *Jugurtha*. A ſhameful Weakneſs in a Sovereign, who ought to be more concerned for the Welfare of his own People, than for the Misfortunes of others! All the Time *Metellus* tarried in *Numidia* was ſpent in theſe Negotiations, and they made the *Mauritanian* leſs preſſing to give Battle; which was partly what the *Pro-Conſul* had had in view.

§. XXXVII. At length Advice came, that *Marius* was landed at *Utica* with a more conſiderable Reinforcement both of *Romans* and Allies, than the Republick had ordered for him. *Aulus Manlius*, one of his Lieutenant Generals, brought the News of his ſpeedy Arrival; and then *Metellus* openly diſcovered his Reſentment. He inſtantly left the Camp which he had pitched near *Cyrtha*, and returned for *Italy*. He was too proud, as is ſaid, to vouchſafe to pay his Homage to the new General *Rome* had ſent to ſucceed him; and therefore left Orders with *Publius Rutilius*, to deliver up the Command to *Marius*.

When he came to *Rome*, the Preſence of this great Man, and the genuine Accounts he gave of his Conduct, ſoon effaced the ill Impreſſions which had been made, and the Calumnies which had been caſt upon him. The People ſoon ſeemed to forget *Marius*, whom they had protected, and promoted to the Prejudice of *Metellus*; and made the latter ſome amends by their Acclamations, for the Injuſtice they had done him. He demanded a *Triumph*, in a Speech to the aſſembled Commons; and the little Remains we ſtill have of that Speech, ſhew us both his eaſy Eloquence, and his Indignation againſt *Marius*. *Were the Reports*, Romans, ſaid he, *that were made to you of my Conduct in* Numidia, *deſigned moſt to diſhonour me, or You? The greater your Body is, the more unpardonable is the Crime, of endeavouring to impoſe on your Credulity. The greateſt Man may be expoſed to the Calumnies of an ambitious Competitor. There is nothing more common. But to ſport with the Majeſty of the* Roman People, *to dare to tell You bareſaced Lies, and thereby to ſurprize You into a Reſolution to tie up the Hands of a General who was ready to finiſh an important War; this was inſulting his Governors, expoſing them to Reproach, and involving them in the Shame of being deceived and miſled. By taking ſuch Meaſures to rob me of my Character,* Marius *has effectually caſt a blemiſh upon Yours. But now, the Clouds are diſperſed, and ſufficient Juſtice will this Day be done to my injured Reputation. A whole Army are my Witneſſes, That I have been victorious in pitched Battles, have taken Cities by Force which were deemed impregnable, have reduced almoſt all* Numidia *to your Obedience, and have forced* Jugurtha *to leave his Dominions, and retire to the furtheſt Part of* Lybia, *there to get the Aſſiſtance of ſome Barbarians. And the Complacency, which I now ſee in your Looks, convinces me that you are undeceived. If then,* Marius *has only an expiring Enemy to contend with, and all the Glory he can gain will be that of gleaning in the Field which I have reaped, what ſhould hinder you from granting me a* Triumph? *The Senate have already declared me worthy of it by a Decree. Shall then the Malice of* Marius *influence you even at this diſtance? Shall he have Intereſt enough, in his Abſence, to induce you to deny me this Honour, after he has robbed me of the* Pro-Conſulate *in mine? I freely leave it to your Determination.*

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Then the People, at laſt, did him Juſtice, and unanimouſly decreed him the Honour deſired. They alſo, to make him ſome amends, for the Glory of which they had robbed him, gave him the glorious Title of *Numidicus*; tho' theſe Appellations taken from the Provinces, were very rarely granted to Conquerors, till thoſe Provinces had been entirely reduced by them. But nevertheleſs, a *Tribune of the People* had the boldneſs to accuſe him, tho' thus crowned with publick Honours, of having plundered the Province from which he came. He was brought before the Tribunal of the *Roman Knights*, the Judges in theſe civil Caſes, and there produced his Books in his Defence; and then he reaped the Fruits of that Probity with which he had always acted. His Judges refuſed to examine his Accompts; and declared, That they thought the whole Courſe of his Life a ſtronger Proof of his Innocence, than the Wax on which he had ſet down his Diſburſements and Receipts. A Juſtification, which he might well eſteem a much more glorious *Triumph*, than that which the People had before decreed him!

Val. Max. L. 2. *c.* 18. *Cic. Ep.* 16. *ad Attic. L.* 1.

§. XXXVIII. In the mean time, *Marius*, on the other hand, was preparing to keep up the Reputation his Predeceſſor had acquired. He put himſelf at the Head of the *Roman* Army; but did not think it adviſable, to run the Hazard of a general Action immediately. Half his Troops were new Levies and Auxiliaries; and as they had yet had no Experience in the Art of War, he could not wholly rely either on their Skill or Conſtancy. He therefore led them into a fertile Plain, made them beſiege Caſtles and weak Cities, ſuffered them to engage in ſmall Actions, and diſtributed among them all the Spoils of the Cities they took and the Fields they ravaged. When they were convinced by Experience, that Soldiers could not ſo well ſecure their Lives by Flight, as by ſtanding their Ground againſt the Enemy, he then thought them qualified for pitched Battles; and he led them before *Cirtha*, where he hoped to find the united Armies of *Bocchus* and *Jugurtha*. But the two Kings were decamped. They had reſolved to ſeparate, and poſt themſelves in different Deſerts, thereby to induce the *Conſul* to divide his Army, and by dividing, to weaken it. The whole Aim of the two *African* Generals was to lay Ambuſcades, in order to ſurprize the *Roman* Parties, and deſtroy their Army by piecemeal; and this made *Marius* the more cautious. He ran no Hazard; was very vigilant in watching the Motions of the Enemy; often engaged the *Gætuli* in their Incurſions; attacked the *Numidians* in their Ambuſcades; and in one Action, forced *Jugurtha* himſelf to throw down his Arms, that he might be the more ready for Flight.

Salluſt. de Bell. Jugurth.

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But after all, this ſlow Way of making War was not ſuitable to *Marius*'s Taſte. The Time of his *Conſulate* was ſlipping away inſenſibly, in a kind of Inaction; and his Reputation ſuffered at *Rome* by theſe Delays. He therefore made it his Buſineſs to draw the two Kings into the open Field; and to that End, beſieged ſeveral Cities at once, in the flat Country. By this Means, he took Garriſons at leaſt, and ruined the *Numidian* Army by degrees. As for that of *Bocchus*, it continued quiet in his Camp. The King of *Mauritania* often repreſented to the *Conſul*, by his Meſſengers, That when he joined *Jugurtha*, he had nothing in view but to gain the good Will of the Republick; and That ſhe ſhould never have any Reaſon to complain of his Hoſtilities. And whether or no, this was only a Snare to deceive the *Conſul*, or he then had a real Deſign of betraying *Jugurtha*, and making a Merit of his Treachery; this at leaſt is certain, that *Marius* purſued the War with Vigour againſt *Jugurtha*, but was not ſo active againſt the *Mauritanian*.

§. XXXIX. In this manner the *Roman* proceeded, without any conſiderable Exploit, till Autumn was at hand; and then his Troops began to think *Metellus* a much better General than his Succeſſor. They remembered with Admiration, the taking of *Thela*, which was a Maſter-piece of Valour and Conduct, much ſuperior to any thing which *Marius* had attempted: And it nearly concerned him, to efface the Glory of that *Metellus* whom he had decried. He therefore reſolved on an Enterprize, which would be ſufficient to raiſe his Reputation, and remove the Prejudices which began to prevail. *Capſa* [58] was a conſiderable City, which ſtood in the middle of the burning Sands of *Africa*, in a charming Situation, but in a terrible Neighbourhood. It was ſaid to have been founded by that [59] *Hercules*, whom the Ancients called *The Lybian*, on an agreeable Hill, where there roſe a plentiful Spring of freſh Water, which he incloſed within the

58 *Strabo*, *Ptolomy*, *Victor of Utica*, *St. Cyprian*, and *St. Auſtin*, all ſpeak of a City of *Capſa* in *Africa*, which ſtood in *The Byſacene Province*, 50 Miles from *The Little Syrtis*. The *Arabians* call it *Caſſa*. It now belongs to the Kingdom of *Tunis*. If it be true, as *Strabo* relates, That it was entirely deſtroyed, when *Julius Cæſar* carried his victorious Arms into *Africa*; it is paſt doubt, that it was rebuilt, ſince it was in Being in the Time of *St. Auſtin*. But it is plain, that this is a different City from that *Capſa* which *Marius* reduced. Whatever ſome Moderns may ſay, who make both but one City, we adhere to the Opinion of *Bochart*. He obſerves, after *Salluſt*, *Geog. Sac. c.* 24, That the *Capſa* here ſpoken of was ſubject to *Jugurtha*, and conſequently muſt have belonged to *Numidia*; and the Deſcription which *Salluſt* and *Florus* give us of it, afford us a convincing Proof of this Opinion. *Capſa*, according to them, ſtood in a dry ſandy Deſert, and no River watered this uncultivated Country. And therefore, *Marius* took the Precaution to carry Water thither in Skins for the Beſiegers. But this Situation cannot agree with *Capſa*, in the *Byſacene Province*. This City had the River of *Capſa* near it, from which it took its Name, as *Cellarius* obſerves, upon the Authority of the *Arabian* Geographers. This River falls into *The Gulph of Capes*.

59 We will not ſay, with Mr. *Le Clerc*, in his *Bibliotheque Univerſelle*, That the Name of *Hercules* was originally derived from the Term *Harokel*, which formerly ſignified a *Merchant*, in the old *Phœnician* Language. He ſays, the famous *Traders* in *Phœnicia* were ſo called, who in their Voyages diſcovered new Countries, and took Care to ſettle Colonies in them. The Vanity of ſuch Conjectures, as have nothing to ſupport them but arbitrary and forced Etymologies, is very apparent; and this has no better Foundation. It is very difficult to find the Character of *Hercules*, as the Ancients deſcribe him, in that of a Trader, whoſe Deſire of Riches carries him into foreign Countries. There is a pretty deal of difference, between a Trader, and a formidable Warrior, cloathed with a Lion's Skin, armed with a Club, employed in fighting Tyrants, and purging the Earth of Monſters; who marches wherever Glory calls him, and aſtoniſhes the World with the Prodigies wrought by his Strength and Valour. This is the Deſcription fabulous Hiſtory gives us of the *Alcides* of the *Greeks*, and the Men famous in their Generations, who followed his Way of Life. And therefore we ſhall perſiſt in our Opinion mentioned Vol. 2. p. 2. Note 4. That the Name of *Hercules*, was a Title of Honour, common to the Heroes of all Nations. *Egypt*, *Lybia*, *Phœnicia*, *Crete*, and *The Indies*, boaſted of their *Hercules's*, as well as the *Greeks*. *Diodorus of Sicily* reduces them to three. *Arnobius* and *Cicero* reckon up ſix. *Varro* makes thoſe who were famous for their Exploits amount to forty four. The *Greek* Hiſtory gives the Right of Seniority to the *Egyptian Hercules*, and ranks him among the twelve principal Gods, who formed the Monarchy of *Egypt*. He, if we believe ſome Writers of the firſt Ages, invented the *Phrygian* Letters. He ſubdued one Quarter of the World, according to *Diodorus of Sicily*, and ended his Conqueſts at the *Streights of Gibraltar*, where he erected the famous Columns, which were called from him, *Hercules's Pillars*. The *Egyptians* conſecrated a Temple to him, which was an *Aſylum* for Slaves. For this Reaſon, they who groaned under a rigorous Slavery invoked him as their tutelar God. *Solinus*, *Iſidorus*, and *Salluſt*, mention a *Lybian Hercules*; who, they ſay, was the Father of one *Sardus*, who at the Head of a numerous Colony, paſſed from *Lybia*, into the Iſland of *Sardinia*. The *Hercules of Tyre*, or, *The Phœnician Hercules*, was famous, ſays *Sanchoniatho*, for his heroic Acts; and the Nation erected Altars to his Honour, in gratitude for his beneficent Virtues. In the Time of *Solomon*, King *Hiram* had built Temples to him, according to *Menander of Epheſus*, who is quoted by *Joſephus*. The *Tyrians* and *Carthaginians* who were originally *Phœnicians*, worſhipped him in a particular manner. The Inhabitants of *Carthage* annually ſent a Ship richly equipped with their Offerings to *Hercules of Tyre*, their *Metropolis*, according to *Juſtin*. Some Authors have robbed the *Greek Hercules*, and the *Egyptian Hercules*, of part of their Conqueſts, to give the Glory of them to the *Phœnician Hercules*. They make the latter land in *Spain*, after he had ſettled Colonies

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the City: And it was ſurrounded on all ſides, by a vaſt Deſert, which made it in a manner inacceſſible, eſpecially by great Armies. Nevertheleſs *Marius* reſolved to lead his *Legions* thither, and made that *Metellus* whom he had ſo much deſpiſed, his Model; ſo that his firſt ſignal Attempt was only an Imitation. After his Predeceſſor's Example, he provided Corn and Water which he was in danger of wanting in a Deſert, and Cattle for the Subſiſtence of his Troops during their March. At the ſame time, he concealed his Deſign with ſuch Care, as not to communicate it even to *Manlius* his Lieutenant General. The better to diſguiſe it, he ſent *Manlius* with a Detachment to cover the City of [60] *Laris*, where he kept his military Cheſt; and the Lieutenant took it for granted, that the General was only going on ſome Incurſion, from which he would return to *Laris* in a few Days.

In the mean time, *Marius* marched to the River [61] *Tana*, halted on the Banks of it, and ordered part of the Cattle to be killed, which had been brought thither by the auxiliary Horſe. Then of the Ox-hides he made Skin-Veſſels which he filled with Water, and as ſoon as the Mules were loaded with them, ordered them to enter the Deſert under the ſame Guard as before. The *Legions* followed the Baggage and Proviſions, but marched only by Night. The Rays of the Sun were ſo ſtrongly reflected by the Sand, that the Heat would greatly have incommoded them by Day; and beſides, the *Conſul* deſired to keep his March ſecret.

In this manner, (and with what Danger and Fatigue the Reader may judge) the *Romans* croſſed that uncultivated Country, which was inhabited only by Serpents of an enormous Size, whom Heat and Hunger made very ravenous. The firſt Night's March was extremely laborious; and the next Day they refreſhed themſelves in Tents. At Sun-ſet they renewed their March; and after another Day's Reſt, they came within two Miles of *Capſa*, long before Day-break. There they halted among ſome little Hills, which covered the City, and intercepted the ſight of the *Legions*; and *Marius* ordered them to continue there in a profound Silence, as in an Ambuſh, till the Sun appeared.

Early in the Morning, the *Capſæi*, who had no ſuſpicion of an Enemy at their Gates, came out of the City as uſual to diſperſe themſelves in their Fields; and at that inſtant the *Conſul* ſhewed himſelf before the Place. The *Roman* Cavalry ſurrounded thoſe who were come out of the City, to cultivate their Lands; the light-armed Infantry made all haſte to ſeize the Gates; and *Marius* followed ſlowly with the main Body of

Colonies in different Parts of *Africa*. *Bochart* carries up the Time of his Removal to *Joſhua*'s Days; in proof of which, he quotes two Pillars, upon the Authority of *Procopius*, which continued in Being near *Tangier*, for many Ages.

The Inſcription engraven on the Baſe of them in *Phœnician* Characters imported, That this ancient Monument was erected in this Place, by the *Canaanites*, who were forced to leave their Country by the Fury of JOSHUA THE ROBBER, THE SON OF NAVE. *Appian* thought that the Worſhip of the *Tyrian Hercules* was carried to *Cadiz*. *Philoſtratus*, on the contrary ſays, in his *Life of Apollonius*, That the Inhabitants of that City worſhipped the *Egyptian Hercules*. *Diodorus of Sicily*, makes the *Cretan Hercules* to have been one of thoſe *Idæi Dactyli*, otherwiſe called *Telchines*, whom the fabulous Traditions make to have been the firſt Black-ſmiths; and he ſuppoſes, that this *Hercules* was the Founder of the *Olympick Games*. The *Indians* alſo had their Hero, or *Hercules*, whom they worſhipped under the Name of *Belus*, and the Figure of a Giant. The *Hercules* of the *Arabians* who inhabited the Coaſts of the *Red-Sea*, is not ſo much known as thoſe of *Egypt*, *Phœnicia*, and *Greece*. Nor ſhall we ſay any thing of the *Hercules of Gaul*, or him of *Germany*; we have made them the Subject of our Enquiry in another Place. But it ought to be obſerved, That the Poets, to give the greater Luſtre to the *Hercules of Thebes*, ſo much boaſted of among the *Greeks*, have aſcribed to him only, all the Adventures of the different Heroes, whoſe Virtues have been celebrated in *Egypt*, *Phœnicia*, *The Indies*, and *Lybia*. They ſeem to have taken pleaſure in filling his Hiſtory with every thing that was marvellous. Whereas in truth, theſe wonder-working Men, were either merely chimerical Heroes, or at leaſt, owe great part of their Glory, to the pompous Fictions of their Poets. *Diagoras*, tho' a Pagan, was not drawn away with the popular Prejudices. He got the better of vulgar Errors, and did not think a Phantom of a God deſerved to be worſhipped by him. One ſingle Paſſage, which the old *Scholiaſt of Ariſtophanes*, *Clemens of Alexandria*, and *St. Jerom* have preſerved, will ſhew us his Opinion of the *Grecian Hercules*. Coming one Day to a bad Inn, he could get nothing to eat but *Lentiles*, and had no Wood to boil them; but accidentally ſpying in the Corner of the Houſe, an old Statue of *Hercules*, he ſeized the Idol, and in a ſneer, prayed this tutelar God of the Houſe, to help him in his Diſtreſs. *Come*, ſaid he, *and compleat your Glory. Add a thirteenth Labour, to the twelve which have immortalized your Name. I have Lentiles to boil, and without your Aſſiſtance, am like to loſe my Dinner.* This ſaid, he broke the wooden Statue in pieces, and lighted a Fire with it. In which Action there was nothing blameable, but the irreligious Principles of which it ſavoured. We know this impious Philoſopher openly profeſſed Atheiſm. Thoſe who would know more of the Pagan *Hercules's*, may have recourſe to our former Volumes.

60 *Laris* was formerly a City of *Numidia*, ſeveral Miles to the South of *Cirtha*. *Marmol* thinks it ſtood in the Place where *Migana* now ſtands.

61 *Marius*'s March as deſcribed by *Salluſt*, leads us to judge, that the River *Tana* ran between the Cities of *Laris* and *Capſa*. But neither the Springs nor the Mouth of it are known.

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the Army, and drew out his *Manipuli* in ſight of the Inhabitants. At this unexpected Sight, the unfortunate *Capſæi* offered to ſurrender at Diſcretion, only demanding their Lives, which they had a Right to demand, by the Laws of Arms. But *Marius* was naturally cruel; and he reſolved to fill all *Numidia* with Terror. That he might not be obliged to leave a large Garriſon at *Capſa*, to keep this inconſtant People to their Duty; he plundered it, and gave all the Plunder to his Soldiers; diſmantled it, and demoliſhed the very Houſes; and put all the *Citizens* who were able to bear Arms, to the Sword, and made all the reſt Slaves. This Inſtance of a barbarous Severity, ſpread Terror far; and the Cities ſurrendered to the Conqueror, often without waiting for his Preſence. Whilſt the *Legionaries*, on the other hand, were ſo affected with this Succeſs, that *Marius* became a greater Favourite with them than *Metellus* had been. They imputed it to the favour of Heaven; and credulouſly imagined, that their General's Foreſight had been the Effect of the Inſpiration of the Gods.

§. XL. And now, the *Conſul*, who was equally revered by his Troops and dreaded by his Enemies, thought no Enterprize too great for him. He marched to the utmoſt Confines of *Numidia*, and to the Borders of *Bocchus*'s Kingdom. The People wherever he came ſubmitted to him, and the Cities of the Plain ran to meet their Chains. There was only one ſingle Caſtle ſituated on the Summit of a Rock, and called *Mulucha*, (as well as the River [62] which ſeparated *Numidia* from *Mauritania*) which refuſed to ſubmit to the Conqueror. But it was perhaps the ſtrongeſt Fortreſs then in the World. It was of no larger extent than the top of the Rock, which had been levelled, in order to build the Walls of the Stones which had been cut from it. The Rock it ſelf was one entire Body of Flint, ſtanding entirely by it ſelf, and naturally ſo very ſmooth, that there was not the leaſt Hold for the Hands, or Projection for the Feet to reſt on, in order to aſcend it. The only Way up to it, was what the Inhabitants had cut in the Rock; and was ſo narrow, that two Men could not without difficulty walk a-breaſt in it. Nevertheleſs, *Marius* undertook to reduce this ſteep Fort. In hopes of finding the Treaſures which *Jugurtha* had brought thither, he, without heſitation, led his Troops to the Foot of the Rock, which was watered by the River that ran cloſe to it. The *Roman* Army were ſurprized to ſee a Fortreſs, planted like a Bird's Neſt, on the inacceſſible Summit of a Rock, whoſe declivity would not admit of raiſing *Cavaliers*, or building wooden Towers. But the Aſtoniſhment of the Soldiers did not lead their General to deſpair. He made his Preparations, and reſolved immediately to begin his Attacks on *Mulucha*.

The *Covered Galleries* which the *Romans* generally uſed in Sieges, being too wide to paſs in the ſingle Way that led up to the Foot of the Walls and Towers, he made them narrower; and he ordered them to be puſhed up that Way, by mere Strength of Arm. Then the Beſieged threw ſuch a quantity of burning Arrows from the tops of their Ramparts, and tumbled ſo many Stones down the Rock, that the Machines were burnt, and thoſe who managed them grievouſly wounded. Nevertheleſs, the Attempt was often repeated, but ſtill proved fruitleſs. Beſides, the Caſtle was well ſtored with Ammunition and Proviſions; the Seaſon far advanced; and the firſt coming of the Colds would hinder the *Conſul* from tarrying long enough at the Foot of the Rock, to reduce it by Famine. Yet ſtill *Marius* perſiſted, waiting for the lucky Minute; and at length his Stars, or Chance, did more than all his Efforts, or any human Wiſdom could have effected. A *Ligurian* Soldier accidentally went for Water to a Fountain which ran by the Foot of the Rock; and as he was filling his Pitcher, he ſaw ſome Snails creeping along the Rocks, and filling the Cracks of it which were moiſter on this ſide than any other. While he was there, the Attack was made on the hollow Way, on the oppoſite ſide to him and the Fountain; and this encouraged him to climb up after the Snails, which he found to increaſe the higher he came, till at laſt he got up to the top of the Rock. When he was come, contrary to his Expectation, to the Foot of the Wall, he found this part of it quite deſerted by the Garriſon, who were all gone to the ſide of the Part that was to be defended; and finding himſelf at Liberty to do as he pleaſed with-

Front. Strat. L. 3. c. 9. Salluſt.

62 The *Mulucha* of *Salluſt* and *Pliny*, is the ſame Place, as the *Molochath* of *Strabo*, the *Chylemath* of *Ptolomy*, and the *Milycath* of *Pomponius Mela*. This River riſes in the Mountains near the Country of the *Gætuli*, runs from South to North, and falls into the *Mediterranean* Sea. But we muſt take care not to confound it with another River, which *Ptolomy* calls *Molochat*. The latter is more to the Weſt; and after it has run from South to North, to the moſt eaſtern Frontiers of *Mauritania Tingitana*, falls into the Sea near the Promontory of *Metagonium*, now called *Il Capo de Tres Forcas*.

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ut oppoſition, his Curioſity led him to get up, even upon the Parapet of the Wall itſelf. An old Oak, whoſe Roots were ſhot into the Wall, ſerved him for a Ladder, and by the help of its Branches which grew very high, he leaped upon the Ramparts. There he took a view of the Citadel at his Leiſure, and examined it ſo well, as to carry in his Head a very exact Plan of it. When he had obſerved every thing he thought proper, he hung by the Branches of the Tree, and got down from the Rampart, ſlid down the Rock, and returned to the Camp. Afterwards, he did the ſame thing a ſecond time; and then particulary examined, whether it were poſſible to introduce a Company of active and intrepid Men into the Place, that way.

In the mean while, *Marius* grown more uneaſy than ever, at the ill Succeſs of his Attacks, and his Loſſes, almoſt deſpaired of forcing his Way up the Path; and was thinking to raiſe the Siege, and put an end to the Campaign. But the *Ligurian* Soldier was very ſeaſonably introduced to him, related his Adventure, and repreſented, That on the ſide of the Fountain, the Rock might be mounted by a Body of choſen Men. The *Conſul* immediately ſent ſome experienced Officers to view the Place, and report their Sentiments of the Soldier's Story; and they differed in Opinion. They who had leaſt Valour, piqued themſelves upon being prudent, and declared the Thing impracticable. Whereas the more brave and enterprizing, declared, That the Enterprize was not difficult; and That, at all Adventures the Loſs could not be great: And their Opinion prevailed. The Author of this Diſcovery was put at the Head of four *Centuries*, who filed off round the Rock in the Night, and were ordered to lay down flat by the Fountain, and not make the Attempt till the Heat of the Attack on the ſide of the Path. With this choſen Company, *Marius* ſent five or ſix Trumpets, nimble Fellows, who were to ſound the Alarm, as ſoon as they got on the Rampart. All were provided with Hooks, Cramping-Irons, Nails, and Hammers; and all ſpent the reſt of the Night by the Fountain. As ſoon as it was Day, the main Body of the Army made a more furious Attack than ordinary, on the Side of the Path; and all the *Numidian* Garriſon ran to that ſide. The *Romans* in Ambuſh pulled off their Shoes, to make themſelves lighter; and with the help of their Irons, climbed up all in a Line; ſo that the hindermoſt ſupported the foremoſt with their Shields; till at length, they came to the Foot of the Wall, and even upon the Rampart; and then the Trumpets and Horns ſounded. The beſieged concluded from this great Noiſe, that half the *Roman* Army had already entered the Fort; and they gave way, retreated, abandoned the Attack on the oppoſite Side, and as faſt as they entered the City were cut in pieces by the four *Centuries*. The *Legionaries*, on the other hand, gained Ground, and being at length arrived at one of the Gates, broke it down, and put all, both Garriſon and Inhabitants, to the Sword, without diſtinction. In ſhort, they took the Place; ſeized the King's Treaſure; and by this very unexpected piece of good Fortune, equalled the Glory of *Marius* to that of *Metellus*. Nor will he ſtop there; we ſhall ſoon ſee him riſe to a Superiority in Reputation, to which no General of his Time could attain. It may be affirmed, That if his Probity and the Diſpoſitions of his Heart had been as extraordinary as his military Virtues, he would have eclipſed, if not effaced, the Memory, even of the *Fabii* and the *Scipio's*.

§. XLI. All theſe Conqueſts had been made by the *Conſul*, during the Abſence of *L. Cornelius Sylla*, a *Patrician* by Birth, whom the People had choſen to be *Quæſtor* in their Army in *Numidia*. *Marius* then deſpiſed *Sylla*, and had no Reaſon to imagine, that this new Officer would one Day become his Rival for Glory, and prove his moſt fatal Enemy. In their Birth, Education, and Manners, they were a perfect Contraſt to each other. *Marius* who was meanly born, had raiſed himſelf from Obſcurity by his Induſtry and Labour. *Sylla*, who was deſcended [63] from a Houſe ennobled by *Conſulates*, and the

Plut. in Sylla & in Mario. Salluſt. de Bell. Jugurth.

63 *Plutarch* tells us, that *Lucius Cornelius Sylla* reckoned among his Anceſtors, in a direct Line, *Publius Cornelius Runſius*, who after he had been raiſed to the *Dictatorſhip*, and had been twice *Conſul*, in the Years 463, and 476, was degraded from being a Senator, by the *Cenſors Quintus Æmilius Papus* and *Caius Fabricius*. The Crime laid to his Charge was his keeping in his Houſe, contrary to Law, ten Pounds Weight of Silver in Plate for his Table. This Diſgrace of *Rufinus* deſcended to his Poſterity. They continued long in Obſcurity, according to *Plutarch*; and were excluded from Honours and publick Offices, to the ſixth Generation. *Velleius Paterculus* alſo obſerves, That the Splendor of this Branch of the *Cornelii*, was long eclipſed. *Sylla* himſelf, in his youngeſt Days, felt the Inconveniencies of the Decay of his Family. His Education was ſuitable to the Meanneſs of his Fortune. When Maſter of himſelf, after the Death of his Parents, he was forced to live in a hired Houſe, for which he gave a very low Price. And this Meanneſs gave occaſion to the Reproach often thrown upon him, of having enriched himſelf by unlawful Means.

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the *Dictatorſhip*, had hitherto confined himſelf to a private Life, in a ſupine Negligence and utter Diſregard of Grandeur. The former had laid the Foundation of his Riſe, in laborious Services, and a painful and auſtere Life. The latter had wholly dedicated his beſt Years to Pleaſure [64] and Debauchery. The one was wild and rough, and his whole Conduct ſavoured of the Ruſticity of the Cottage in which he had been bred. The other, educated in a noble, tho' through the Negligence of his Anceſtors not a rich, Family, had fallen in with the Cuſtoms of the young *Patricians* of his Time, and given himſelf up to Softneſs and Effeminacy. There was ſomething inexpreſſibly uncouth and ſavage in the Air and Deportment of *Marius*. *Sylla*, who had a delicate Complection, fine large blew Eyes, Hair of a moſt beautiful white, and the Mien and Stature of a God, inſpired nothing but Tenderneſs and Love. The latter had poliſhed [65] himſelf not only by his Converſation with the *Roman* Ladies and People in higher Life, but likewiſe by the Study of the *Greek* Authors. The former, without Learning or Eloquence, had a Genius only for Arms, but indeed a ſuperior one. The Paſſions and Views of both were the ſame; though they ſhewed themſelves differently, according to their different Characters. Ambition made *Marius* turbulent and audacious in the purſuit of Honours. He canvaſſed for them barefaced; and as it were raviſhed them from his Competitors, by Force and Violence. *Sylla*, who had no Thoughts of Grandeur, till late in Life; and did not enter into the purſuit of it, till he had been ſatiated with Pleaſure; made his court only by Liberalities and Careſſes. He choſe to inſinuate himſelf into the Hearts of the People by gentle and engaging Artifices, rather than to bully them into his Meaſures by Rage and Dread. It was by theſe ſoft and moderate Methods, that he obtained the *Quæſtorſhip*, in the ſame Year that *Marius* was raiſed to the *Conſulate*. The *Conſul* therefore, who judged of others only by their Likeneſs to himſelf, was diſpleaſed with the *Quæſtor* that was allotted him. He could not perſuade himſelf, that a [66] Man of Pleaſure could ever make a good Soldier, or a Body enervated by Vice bear the Fatigues of War. And therefore, inſtead of carrying *Sylla* with him, he left him behind in *Italy*, under pretence of raiſing a Reinforcement of auxiliary Cavalry, and bringing it with him into *Numidia*. The *Quæſtor*, tho' not inſenſible of the Contempt ſhewn him, obeyed; and came not to the Army, till after the taking of *Mulluchа*. But now, we ſhall ſoon ſee him diſcover his true Character. We ſhall ſee, that the Seeds of Heroiſm which Nature has ſown in ſome Minds, tho' buried for ſome time in Sloth and Idleneſs, will yet ſhoot forth, and appear with the greateſt Luſtre. In ſhort, to uſe the Words of one of the Ancients, Sylla *in his Youth, and* Sylla *in the Vigour of*

A *Roman*, who was remarkable for his Probity, caſt this Reflection on him, ſoon after his Return from the War in *Africa*. *Sylla* was then elated with his Succeſs, publickly boaſted of his Virtues, and ſet up for a rich Man. *Pardon me*, ſaid the virtuous Citizen, *if I don't ſee thoſe Virtues. You inherited nothing from your Anceſtors, and yet poſſeſs great Riches. People don't paſs ſo ſuddenly from a poor Condition to a very rich one, without tranſgreſſing the Rules of Juſtice and Honour.* And when he had uſurped the ſovereign Power in *Rome*, he had the Mortification to hear the like Reproach from the Mouth of a *Freed-Man*, whom he had condemned to die, for having ſaved a *Roman* whom he had proſcribed. The unfortunate Man, when he was ready to be thrown from *The Tarpeian Rock*, put *Sylla* in mind of the Time when they had lived together in the ſame Houſe; and ſaid, *You hired the firſt Floor, for* 3000 Seſterces; *and I the ſecond, for* 2000. *So that there was then only* 1000 Seſterces *difference between your Fortune and mine.*

64 According to *Plutarch*, *Sylla* ſpent the greateſt Part of his Youth in Drunkenneſs, among Farce-Players, Comedians, and a ſort of People who had no Shame. And in his higheſt Exaltation, he relaxed after the Fatigues of the Day in nocturnal Entertainments, to which he admitted none but Beggars and Buffoons, whoſe Buſineſs was to drink and divert him with very bad Jeſts. Nay, he even degraded himſelf, notwithſtanding his Dignity and Age, ſo far as to play the Buffoon himſelf. He made no ſcruple of uttering the moſt filthy Things in theſe licentious Aſſemblies; and to the Diſgrace of his Rank, he contended with his Gueſts who could be moſt ſaucy and impudent, and boaſted of exceeding them all, in this Conteſt. The ſcandalous Diſcourſes they had in this debauched Company, paſſed for Wit; the Vapours of the Wine, which was drank without ſtint, heightened their Obſcenities; and he that was moſt beaſtly in his Expreſſions, was thought to ſay the moſt good Things. Once, when he was engaged with this drunken Society, he forgot the Cares of Government; and nothing could draw him, for ſome time, from the baſe Pleaſure he took, in Company ſo much beneath a Man of his Rank and Birth. But when he came to himſelf, he doubled his Application and Vigilance. He was then abſolute Maſter, and appeared with all the Pomp of a Sovereign.

65 *Sylla*, according to *Plutarch*, had given Proofs of his Wit and Capacity, in ſome Memoirs which he wrote of his own Life; but Death prevented his putting the laſt Hand to them. He addreſſed this Work to *Lucullus*, deſiring him to retouch it, that it might appear with Credit. *Suetonius*, in his Book *Of the famous Grammarians*, ſays, That *Cornelius Epicadus* had got theſe Memoirs, which the Author had left rough as a ſketch, had reduced them to order, and completed them. This *Epicadus*, *Sylla's Freedman*, had the greateſt ſhare of his Confidence, and of that of his Son *Fauſtus*.

66 *Sylla* carried his Debauchery ſo far, that he contracted a ſhameful Diſeaſe, which appeared by the red Pimples and white Tetters in his Face. Hence the ſevere Jeſt of the *Athenian*, who ſaid, repreſent to yourſelf a Wall powdered with Meal, and you will ſee the exact Picture of *Sylla*.

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his Age, ſeemed to be two different Men. The beginning of his Life was ſpent in Luxury and Debauchery among Players and [67] Buffoons; but as ſoon as Age had ripened his Judgment, he became as much devoted to the purſuit of Honour, as he had been to that of Pleaſure. And indeed, he ſucceſſively carried both theſe Paſſions to Extremes.

As ſoon as he had landed his Reinforcement at *Utica*, he haſted to the *Roman* Army, encamped in the furtheſt Part of *Numidia*; and found it victorious, and ready to go into Winter-Quarters, in the maritime Cities. This was the *Conſul*'s Scheme, that by means of the Sea, he might be the more eaſily furniſhed with Proviſions for his Troops. And now, *Sylla* was ſenſible of the Injury that the *Conſul* had done him, by having detained him in *Italy*. This Delay had robbed him of all the Opportunities he might have had of acquiring Glory, in a whole Campaign. But, the good Fortune which began from this Time conſtantly to attend him, ſoon furniſhed him with Incidents, which gave him room to diſplay his Talents to advantage. And it muſt be allowed, that from henceforward he left no Opportunity unimproved by his own Conduct. Being inveſted with a military Employment in a Camp, he at once threw off the Man of Pleaſure he had formerly been; and a Love of Idleneſs and Delicacy was ſucceeded by a Love of Labour and Fatigue. He was one of the readieſt to undertake any painful or laborious Duty. He took the Spade, and dug, was upon Guard all Night, and was content with the common Food. He was ſo far from being ſhocked at the Rudeneſs of common Soldiers, that he condeſcended to intermix familiarly, and exchange Jeſts, with them. He retained nothing of his former Politeneſs, but great Circumſpection, that not a Word ſhould eſcape him, to the Diſadvantage of the General, or Officers of the Army. He was always humane, always ready to oblige, and profuſely liberal on all Occaſions. Inſomuch that if he had been as ready to ſatisfy his Creditors as he was to give away his Money, his Liberality could only have been blameable for its Exceſs. By theſe amiable Qualities, he ſoon gained the Affections of all Men; and *Marius* himſelf, whom he affected to imitate, in order to make his Court, took him into his Friendſhip. So that, all the *Quæſtor* now wanted, was to give Proofs of his Valour; and tho' his Office was much the ſame as that of an *Intendant* in the *French* Armies, yet among the *Romans* it did not exempt him from partaking of the Dangers, and of the Command of Troops. In an Action, the *Quæſtor* performed the Office of the firſt Lieutenant General of the Army, immediately under the chief Commander: And *Sylla* ſoon found Means, to recover the Time he had loſt.

§. XLII. We have already obſerved, That before the taking of *Capſa*, *Bocchus* and *Jugurtha*, who had till that Time encamped together, had ſeparated by mutual Conſent; and That afterwards, the King of *Mauritania* had ſeemed leſs forward to ſupport the *Numidian* againſt a Republick, which would ſwallow him up, as ſoon as he had deſtroyed *Jugurtha*. Hence the Delays and Unwillingneſs of *Bocchus*, to join his Troops to thoſe of *Numidia*, a ſecond time. *Jugurtha* preſſed him not to defer coming to a general Battle with the *Conſul* in his Retreat, but in vain. *Bocchus* ſtill found ſome Pretence to excuſe himſelf. As his laſt Effort therefore on the *Mauritanian* King, *Jugurtha* promiſed him the third Part of his Kingdom, if he would immediately come and encamp with him; and this great Promiſe overcame him. *Bocchus* left the Deſert, where he had continued unactive, and marched to *Jugurtha* with his great Army. Then Preparations were immediately made for a Battle, the two Kings reſolving to fall on the *Romans* in their March; and they choſe the Time for Action very wiſely. They did not begin it, till towards the cloſe of the Day. If they ſhould be routed, they, who were acquainted with the Country, could eaſily recover their Camp, even in the dark, by winding Roads; and if they ſhould have the Advantage, they could as eaſily conti-

67 According to *Plutarch*, an infamous Paſſion began the firſt Friendſhip he had for *Metrobius* a young Comedian, who was ſcandalous for his Debauchery. Afterwards, Intereſt more than Love, knit the Friendſhip he entered into with a young Courteſan named *Nicopolis*. This Woman complied with the importunities of a Lover, who ſtrived to pleaſe her, and whoſe graceful Perſon gave her a Liking to him as ſoon as ſhe ſaw him. The great Wealth ſhe poſſeſſed, was the Fruit of her Debaucheries; and they were the Bait that kept the young *Roman* conſtant to her, till her Death, when ſhe left him ſole Legatee. *Sylla* had likewiſe been amply ſupplied with Money for his Wants and Exceſſes out of his Mother-in-Law's Eſtate; and had, by his Diligence and Complaiſance procured her Friendſhip. So that ſhe left him a plentiful Eſtate when ſhe died; and from that Time, he became weary of a private Life. The Riches he had got, roufed his Ambition, and paved the Way for publick Honours.

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nue the Action, till the Night ſhould be far advanced. They therefore marched up to the *Roman* Army when the Sun was declining, and ſurprized it.

The *Romans* were neither upon their Guard, nor armed for fighting, nor drawn up in Battalia. The *Mauritanian* and *Gætulian* Cavalry came up with the *Legionaries*, before they had laid down their Baggage and the Incumbrances they had about them; and attacked them with great Intrepidity. They fell on the *Roman Manipuli*, without any manner of Order; before the *Conſul* had given any Command, or a Charge been ſounded. Then the braveſt of the Soldiers inſtantly put themſelves into a Poſture of Defence, ſuſtained the firſt Effort of the Enemy, and covered thoſe who were more ſlow in preparing for the Battle. Till at length, the *Roman* Cavalry arrived, and made a Stand againſt them; upon which, a tumultuary Battle, or rather a great Fray, enſued. None of the Soldiers repaired to their Colours. Horſe and Foot were mixed together, and fought as they could, without any Rule or Order. The *Numidians* had the Advantage in point of Numbers, the *Romans* in point of Skill; and when the latter were ſuddenly ſurrounded by the Multitudes of the *Africans*, the *Legionaries*, as their only reſource in ſuch extreme Danger, drew themſelves up into round Plattoons, and faced every way. Neither were *Marius* and *Sylla* forgetful of their Duty in the Heat of the Action. The General, attended by his Guards, haſted to thoſe Places where his Troops were moſt preſſed; and tho' his Voice could not be heard for the Noiſe, he made them very ſenſible of his Preſence, wherever he came. Here he repulſed a Party of the Enemy who were ready to break one of his *Manipuli*; there fell, like a Lion, on a Troop of the Barbarians, and routed them.

Such was the Succeſs of the Battle, while it was light; and *Jugurtha* deſired to continue it, a great while, in the dark. But *Marius*, being wholly intent on finding out a proper Place to ſecure his Troops, very fortunately perceived two Hills pretty near one another, where he might conveniently firſt rally, and then encamp them. He therefore ſeized the two Eminencies; fortified in all haſte that which was leaſt ſteep; guarded the other with ſlight Entrenchments; aſſembled his ſcattered Army as faſt as poſſible; and then poſted them on the Declivity of the two Hills and in the Valley between them. It happened likewiſe, that there was at the Foot of one of the Hills, a plentiful Spring of freſh Water, which was a great Refreſhment to Troops fatigued with a long March and a hard Battle. *Sylla*, who was more concerned than any other, to efface the Prejudices entertained of his Effeminacy, undertook to guard the Fountain all Night, at the Head of the Cavalry; that is, he took upon himſelf the moſt dangerous Poſt, and the moſt fatiguing Office.

As ſoon as the *Legions* were drawn up in Battalia in this advantageous Place, the two Kings deſpaired of being able to attack them with Succeſs, during the Night; but did not abandon the Enterprize. They reſerved themſelves for renewing the Action at break of Day, and ſurrounded the two Hills with the numberleſs Multitudes of their *Numidians*, *Gætuli*, and *Mauritanians*. They all looked on this Action as the beginning of a certain Victory which they ſhould compleat at the riſing of the Sun. *Jugurtha* depended on extinguiſhing the *Roman* Name in *Numidia*; *Bocchus* on driving away theſe dangerous Neighbours from his Dominions for ever: And the *African* Soldiers had divided among them in Imagination, the Spoils of the *Conſular* Army which they ſurrounded. Hence the Feaſtings and Rejoycings which they made all Night. They lighted great Fires, danced round them, and made great Shouts.

In the mean time, the *Romans* ſaw all that paſſed, from the tops of their Hills. Guard was exactly kept in their Camp, and with ſo great ſilence, that the General would not ſuffer the Watches of the Night to be proclaimed by ſound of Trumpet. *Marius* conſidered well the Danger that threatened him; and his greateſt Hope was from the little Diſcipline the two Kings kept, both in the Action, and in the Night. In ſhort, their People, being fatigued with Dancing and uſeleſs Howlings, were at laſt quite tired, and at break of Day fell aſleep. And then the *Conſul* ſeized the happy Minute. He drew his *Legions* out of his Camp, before Day-break, in order of Battle, and poſted all the Trumpets in his Army in the firſt Line. Then he advanced in ſilence and good order towards the Enemy, and when he was within reach of them, the Trumpets ſounded a Charge, and made ſo terrible a din, that it filled the ſleepy Barbarians with Terror. The *Gætuli* eſpecially, who were not uſed to be ſo awakened, were ſo affected, that they continued motionleſs, and without having the Courage to take up their Arms, thought of nothing but flight. So that the *Romans* made a moſt terrible Slaughter of them. Theſe

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Africans, who were uſually ſo ſwift, were now ſo retarded by their heavineſs to ſleep, that Death was inevitable; and it is ſaid, that *Jugurtha* and *Bocchus* loſt more Men, in this Surprize, than in any other Battle.

§. XLIII. The Victory which *Marius* gained, contrary to Cuſtom, only made him the more cautious. He returned to the Road which led to the maritime Cities; and ever after, marched in order of Battle. In his Right, he poſted all his Cavalry, under the Command of *Sylla*; In the Left, his Lieutenant General *Manlius*, with all the Slingers and Archers of the Army, and one *Ligurian Cohort*; in the Front and Rear, the light armed Troops, under the Command of their *Tribunes*; and in the Center, the *Legions*. But the *Conſul* confined himſelf to no particular Poſt; he was always in motion. His chief Care was to ſend out the Deſerters from the *Numidian* Army for Scouts, and to watch the Roads. Every Evening the *Roman* Army encamped; and that with as much Regularity, as if the Enemy had been in ſight. The auxiliary Cavalry kept Guard all Night, without the Trenches; the *Legionaries* guarded the Gates of the Camp; and the auxiliary Foot kept Guard on the Ramparts. The General himſelf took the Rounds regularly; not ſo much for fear of any neglect of Duty, as to encourage the Troops by his Vigilance; and as he was generally eſteemed by his Army, the Soldiers were very punctual in their Duty, more out of Affection than Conſtraint.

The Obſervance of this exact Order, filled them with Confidence. It was not at all probable, that the vanquiſhed Kings ſhould have the Boldneſs to appear again, and venture on a new Engagement. Nevertheleſs, after four Days march, when they were in the Neighbourhood of *Cyrtha*, ſome Scouts from the *African* Army came very near, to obſerve the Order and Appearance of the *Romans*. The *Conſul* concluding that the Enemy was not far off, ſent out ſome light Horſe, different Ways, for Intelligence; and received repeated Accounts, that they were at hand. And then he found the Benefit of the Precautions which he had taken. He had no alteration to make in the Order in which he had diſpoſed his Troops. They were already formed in a ſquare Body, and ſupported each other in ſuch a manner, that it was impoſſible to break them; which was what *Jugurtha* did not expect. As his Army was ſtill numerous, notwithſtanding his Loſſes, he had divided it into four Parts, in hopes, that one of them would attack the Enemy in the Rear. But the *Romans* faced every way, and waited for the Enemy, without ſtirring. The firſt Effort the *Africans* made was upon the *Roman* Cavalry, which *Sylla* commanded; this gave him an Opportunity, for the firſt time, to ſhew that he was brave, and underſtood Command. He cloſed his Squadrons, and brought them upon the *Mauritanians* with a rapidity that ſurprized them. The latter in vain threw their Darts on the *Roman* Infantry from a diſtance; they covered themſelves with their Bucklers, and did not ſtir: And whoever drew too near to them was killed. During this Battle between the Cavalry, *Bocchus* came with many Battalions which his Son *Volux* had lately brought him, and attacked the *Romans* in the Rear; whilſt *Jugurtha*, with his *Numidians*, attacked them in Front. But the *Roman* Army were prepared to receive them in one Place as well as the other. As for *Marius*, he was in the Center, and ſent his Orders from thence to all Parts.

It muſt be owned, that *Jugurtha* did Wonders on the Side where he commanded. He vigorouſly broke into the firſt *Manipuli*, and had like to have routed them; but it was as much by the help of a Lye which he invented on the Spot, as by his Courage. He could ſpeak *Latin*, which he had learned in his Youth at the Siege of *Numantia*; and he cried out aloud to the *Romans*, Marius *is dead. This Sword is ſtained with his Blood.* He had indeed juſt ſtabbed a private Soldier with it; and this Declaration, both ſurprized and diſcouraged thoſe who heard it. Then the *Numidians* made an Onſet with more Fury than ever; and the firſt Line of the *Romans* was ready to be routed, when *Sylla* came up at the Head of his Cavalry. He had already defeated the *African* Squadrons, which had firſt attacked him; and diſperſed *Bocchus* and *Volux*, who had fallen on the Rear-guard; and now arrived very ſeaſonably to revive the Courage of the *Romans*, and rob *Jugurtha* of a Victory, which he thought certain. He fell on the Enemy in Flank, both to the Right and Left, made a terrible Slaughter among them, forced them to retire, and the King who retired with them, narrowly eſcaped his Hands. *Marius* alſo came himſelf to the Relief of his firſt Line, which had begun to give way; and this compleated the Victory. It was paſt all doubt as ſoon the *Conſul* appeared. *Sylla* had made the *African* Cavalry, *Bocchus*'s Infantry, and *Jugurtha* himſelf,

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himſelf, turn their Backs: And now, all the formidable Army of the Enemy fled in diſorder over the Plain. The *Romans* had nothing more to do, but purſue the Fugitives; and when the Cavalry came up with them, the Sight was very ſhocking. The Ground was ſtrewed with dead Men, Darts, Javelins, and Bucklers; the Blood ran in Streams, and you could tread on nothing but dead Bodies. In ſhort, ſo few were left of this great Army of 90000 Men, that it was very probable, the War was ended. But to whom was *Rome* indebted for this prodigious Succeſs? The General and the *Quæſtor* ſhared the Glory of it between them. *Marius* had the Honour of having wiſely conducted it; and *Sylla* that, of having executed it with Valour. In ſhort, the *Roman* Army entered *Cyrtha*, where one Part of it continued under the Command of the *Conſul*; and the other went into Winter-Quarters near *Utica*, under the Command of *Sylla*.

§. XLIV. After the Labours of the Campaign, Negotiations and Conferences ſucceeded without intermiſſion. *Bocchus* had long been inclined to Peace. It was purely the Sollicitations and Offers of *Jugurtha*, that had engaged him a ſecond time in an unfortunate War, which had only exhauſted him of his Men and Money: And the Loſs of this laſt Battle brought him to Reaſon. He ſent an Embaſſy to the *Conſul*, deſiring him to ſend him ſome Officers in whom he could confide, and to whom he might ſafely communicate his Thoughts, concerning ſome Deſigns he had in view. *Marius* accepted of the Propoſal, and ſent to him the *Quæſtor Sylla*, and the Lieutenant General *Manlius*; two Illuſtrious *Romans*, whoſe Deputation did the greateſt Honour to the King of *Mauritania*. *Manlius* was the elder, and had ſerved longer than *Sylla*; but nevertheleſs he gave him the Honour of being the Speaker; *Sylla* having been endowed by Nature with the Art of Perſuaſion. They came together to the King's Camp; and in their firſt Audience, *Sylla* addreſſed himſelf to him in this manner. *You have great Reaſon to be very thankful to the Gods, for inſpiring you with a Reſolution to prefer Peace to War. If you had continued to join Intereſts with the moſt wicked of Men, it could not but have reflected the greateſt Diſhonour on your ſelf.* Jugurtha *has drawn our Reſentments and our Arms upon him, by the moſt enormous Crimes: And it has been Neceſſity only, that has obliged us, againſt our Inclinations, to extend our Hoſtilities to you. As it has been a Pleaſure to us to puniſh his Iniquities; ſo we have been no leſs grieved at the Errors which ſeduced you. The* Roman People *had much rather have you for their Friend, than ſee you their Slave. If they dethrone Kings, it is with Reluctance; but they enter into Alliances with them, with pleaſure. And the Advantages of your recovering their Friendſhip are very obvious. They are at too great a diſtance from you to be troubleſome to you, and yet will always be near enough to aſſiſt you in Time of need. If you had from the beginning looked on us as your faithful Friends; you would have ſaved your ſelf many Troubles, and we ſhould have had the Satisfaction of doing you much Service. But the Gods may perhaps have ſuffered you to fall into this Miſtake, only to extricate you out of it, with the more Glory. Follow then the Dictates with which they inſpire you, and conſider how to teſtify your Regard for us, by ſome ſignal Act of Service. Be aſſured, that* Rome *knows how to Reward, even better than how to Conquer.*

Sylla's Aim in this Diſcourſe, was not ſo much to draw off *Bocchus* from *Jugurtha*, as to incline him to betray the *Numidian* King, and deliver him up alive into the *Conſul*'s Hands. But whether *Bocchus* ſaw through the Artifice, is not certain. At leaſt, his Anſwer was ſhort, and full of Temper. *My Heart*, ſaid he, *has borne no Part in the War I have made. I only defended my Frontiers againſt an Invaſion which I had Reaſon to fear. I took ſome Steps in order to obtain your Friendſhip, and you refuſed it me. And now that the new* Conſul *appears more favourable to my Deſires than his Predeceſſors, I joyfully accept the Peace he offers me. Nothing remains to confirm me in my Reſolutions, but his Leave for me to ſend to* Rome, *to deſire an Alliance with the* Roman *Senate and People.*

At theſe Words, *Sylla* put on that gracious Air which was natural to him, and aſſured the King, on the Part of the *Conſul*, that he was at full Liberty to ſend his Ambaſſadors to *Italy*. All this paſſed in a private Conference between the King and the two *Roman* Officers; but nevertheleſs, it ſoon took Air. *Jugurtha* had his Friends and Spies even in *Bocchus*'s Council. Theſe informed him of this new Correſpondence between the King and the *Romans*, and *Jugurtha* endeavoured to prevent the Embaſſy. But notwithſtanding all the Means that either the *Numidian* himſelf, or his Agents, could uſe to the contrary, the *Mauritanian* ſent five of his moſt faithful Subjects to the *Conſul* at *Cyrtha*;

Cyrtha; with Orders to go from thence to *Rome*, in caſe *Marius* ſhould be of Opinion, that they might obtain a Peace, and the Friendſhip of the Republick.

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The five Ambaſſadors, all Men of great Reſolution, well affected to their Maſter, and furniſhed with full Powers, ſoon began their Journey, and advanced towards the Place to which they were ordered. But by ſome unknown Accident, they fell in with a Party of *Gætuli*, who ſtripped them, and left them not the leaſt Proof of their Embaſſy. When thus reduced to extream Want, they had nothing to do, but to throw themſelves on the Honour of the *Romans*; and they went on to *Cyrtha*, where the Body of their Army was in Winter-Quarters. But they found not *Marius* in the Capital, tho' he had choſen it for his uſual Place of Reſidence. He was gone with ſome auxiliary *Cohorts*, and a part of his Cavalry, into the middle of a Deſert, to ſurprize a Caſtle, which was ſaid to be full of *Roman* Deſerters. And as this Expedition would take up much Time, the Ambaſſadors proceeded to *Utica*, where *Sylla* commanded the whole Army, in the *interim*, with the Title of *Pro-Prætor*. This Circumſtance was much in their favour, and they willingly put themſelves into the Hands of a Man, who was always affable, humane, and liberal.

He received them in a much more diſtinguiſhing manner, than they could have expected; Did not treat them as inconſtant and contemptible Enemies, whom he had room to look on as Impoſtors, and whoſe publick Character he was at liberty to diſown; but paid them great Honours, and was very liberal to them, and that privately, and without Affectation. By this means, he cleared the *Romans*, from that Reproach of Avarice with which they were charged in *Africa*; and gained both their Affections, and their Confidence. They opened themſelves to him without reſerve; diſcovered the Riches and Strength of their Maſter; and ſhewed him of what Advantage it would be to the Republick, to enter into an Alliance with him. On the other hand, *Sylla* inſtructed the Ambaſſadors, what Means to uſe, firſt to ingratiate themſelves with *Marius*, and afterwards to get their Propoſals accepted at *Rome*. In all which, the *Quæſtor*'s ſole Aim, was to induce the *Mauritanians* to ſacrifice *Jugurtha*; whoſe laſt reſource was in them.

At length *Marius* returned to *Cyrtha*, after he had failed of taking the Caſtle he went to ſurprize; and immediately ordered *Sylla* to bring the *Mauritanian* Ambaſſadors to him. He alſo aſſembled all the Officers and *Legionaries* of Senatorial Families, in his Army, to be preſent at their Audience; and among them were, the *Prætor* of the *African Province*, *Lucius Annius Bellienus*; and the ſecond *Quæſtor Cneius Octavius Ruſus*, who was lately come from *Rome* with large Sums of Money, for the Payment of the Troops and other Expences of the War.

Before this noble Audience, the five Ambaſſadors declared their Orders, for deſiring of *Marius* a Peace, and an Alliance with *Rome*; and for immediately embarking for *Rome*, there to get the Treaty ratified which the *Conſul* ſhould make with them: And their Requeſt was unanimouſly complied with. But they found more difficulty in procuring the Suſpenſion of Arms, which they demanded, till their Return from *Italy*. However, by the interpoſition of *Sylla*, the Aſſembly at laſt determined in their Favour, and came to the following Reſolutions. That two of the five Ambaſſadors ſhould be ſent back to *Bocchus*, to carry him the News of the Truce, and to ſignify to him, that the *Conſul* expected, he would immediately deliver up *Jugurtha* into his Hands; and That the other three ſhould embark for *Rome*, with the *Quæſtor Octavius*, and there negotiate their Reconciliation with the People and Senate.

§. XLV. When theſe Ambaſſadors arrived, they found in the *Conſulſhip C. Atilius Serranus*, and *Q. Servilius Cæpio*; who had been in Poſſeſſion of it, ever ſince the firſt of *January*. *Narbonne-Gaul*, where the *Cimbri* ſtill continued to commit Ravages, had been allotted to *Cæpio*, and the Government of *Italy* to *Serranus*. The Senate, unwilling to recall the victorious *Marius* from *Africa*, where he had by his Prudence and Skill made ſo great a Progreſs in reducing *Numidia*, had continued him there in quality of *Pro-Conſul*, and *Sylla*, in quality of *Pro-Quæſtor*. In the mean time, *Bocchus* waited with impatience for the Return of his Ambaſſadors, becauſe he was doubtful of their Succeſs with the Senate. But when the *Conſcript Fathers* had heard from them the Requeſt of their Maſter, they, with the Loftineſs which their Superiority and Succeſs gave them, returned them this Anſwer. *The Senate and People of* Rome *are not eaſily to be reconciled to thoſe who have dared to declare themſelves againſt their Republick, without any Offence on her part. Nevertheleſs, the Repentance of* Bocchus *diſarms us. Let him enjoy*

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Salluſt. Bell. Jugurth.

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enjoy the Truce with which Marius *has favoured him, and afterwards a Peace, which we now grant him. But as for an Alliance with* Rome, *it is incumbent upon him firſt to merit it, by ſome important Services.* The *Mauritanians* taking no offence at theſe laſt Words, thought themſelves very happy to be no longer expoſed to the Vengeance of the *Romans*, who pardoned what was paſt; and returned home well ſatisfied.

The King of *Mauritania* was wholly indebted to *Sylla*, for the Tranquillity he enjoyed. Whilſt, on the other hand, *Sylla* had gained the Confidence and the Friendſhip of *Bocchus*, by his obliging Reception of the robbed Ambaſſadors, by the wiſe Inſtructions which he had given them, and by his kind Interpoſition with *Marius* and the Senate, in order to procure a Peace: And as ſoon as *Bocchus* had received certain Advice of his Reconciliation with *Rome*, he reſolved to merit her Alliance. He was ſenſible, that *Rome* expected he ſhould ſacrifice *Jugurtha*; and knew at the ſame time, it would be no eaſy matter to ſurprize and deliver him up. With this View therefore, he deſired *Marius* to ſend *Sylla* to him, to facilitate the Execution of his Deſigns in favour of the *Romans*: And *Sylla* was ready to run any Hazards, in order to negotiate an Affair which would put an end to the War, by the taking of *Jugurtha*.

The *Numidian* King, tho' ſo often beaten, tho' deſerted by the beſt part of his Forces, and tho' in want of every thing, yet ſtill ſupported himſelf by his Courage. He was retired to an inacceſſible Solitude, there waited for ſome happy turn of Fortune, ſtill depending on the Conſtancy of his Son-in-Law *Bocchus*. Even the News of the Treaty *Mauritania* had juſt concluded with *Rome* did not diſcourage him. He did not doubt, but he ſhould be able, by well-conducted Negotiations, and by the Mediation of *Bocchus*, to get himſelf included in the Treaty; and ſave his Perſon, and at leaſt a Part of his Dominions. As ſoon therefore as Advice was brought him into his Deſert, that *Sylla* was coming into *Mauritania* to put the laſt Hand to the Peace; he immediately diſpatched to *Bocchus*, an intelligent and faithful Agent, who was well qualified to maintain his Intereſts, in the Conferences between *Sylla* and the King of *Mauritania*. This Agent was a *Numidian* named *Aſpar*, whoſe Prudence and Skill in Buſineſs *Jugurtha* had experienced; and he arriving at the *Mauritanian* Court before *Sylla*, inſinuated himſelf ſo much into the King's Affections, that he had very like to have gained him over entirely to his Maſter's Intereſt. Nay, he would certainly have ſucceeded in plunging *Mauritania* again into the Dangers of a War, if there had not then been at the Court likewiſe, a *Numidian* Prince, named *Dabar*, who was of the Race of the ancient *Numidian* Kings. He was the Grandſon of *Maſſiniſſa*, by a Concubine; and therefore had not ſhared the Throne with his Brothers. But he had the ſame inviolable Attachment to the *Romans*, which his Grandfather had retained to the Day of his Death; and by exerting all his Intereſt in her Favour, he kept *Bocchus* wavering between *Rome* and *Jugurtha*. It was indeed doing a great deal, to keep the Balance even, till the *Roman* Ambaſſador arrived.

Sylla was already upon the Road to *Mauritania*, with a pretty numerous Guard, of Cavalry and light-armed Infantry, together with ſome Archers, and Slingers, and a whole *Cohort* of *Peligni*; and every Evening, the little Army encamped as regularly, as if all the *Legions* had been in the Field. After five Days march, *Sylla* ſaw a Body of *Africans* advancing towards him, which proved to be *Volux*, a young Prince, the Son of *Bocchus*, with only 1000 Men. But theſe when diſperſed abroad, deceived the Sight, and gave room for an Apprehenſion, that *Jugurtha* was coming in Perſon with all the Troops he had left. The *Romans* therefore inſtantly drew up in Battalia, and were under ſome Apprehenſions, tho' not diſcouraged. They comforted themſelves with this, that they had only a vanquiſhed Enemy to contend with; and upon ſending out Scouts to *reconnoitre* the Enemy, News was ſoon brought from *Volux* himſelf, That he came from his Father, to do honour to *Sylla*. This Diſcovery diſpelled their Fears; the *Pro-Quæſtor* received the King's Son with all the Politeneſs and Addreſs that was natural to him; and they marched together to their firſt Encampment, without the leaſt appearance of diſtruſt. But after the Sun was down, and the little Army had pitched their Tents, *Volux* precipitately entered the *Roman* General's Pavilion, and told him, he was informed by his Couriers, That *Jugurtha* was near; and That his Troops, even now, were abundantly ſuperior to theirs when joined together.

This gave the *Roman* juſt Grounds to ſuſpect the Prince of a Treachery concerted with his Father; and the raſh Advice the *Mauritanian* gave *Sylla*, increaſed the Suſpicion. *Let us flee*, ſaid he, *and leave our Camp and Men to the Mercy of the Enemy. I can conduct you*

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you to a Place of Safety in the Dark. The brave *Pro-Quæſtor* was ſhocked with this Freedom, and replied; *Shall I fear an Enemy which has been ſo often vanquiſhed? Or ſhall I be Coward enough to leave my faithful Men, in the midſt of Danger, without a Leader? I know the Valour of my Troops; and either they ſhall conquer with me, or I will periſh with them.* Nevertheleſs, *Volux* ſo far prevailed on *Sylla*, as to induce him to decamp inſtantly, and by favour of the Night to continue his March in ſilence: And in order to deceive *Jugurtha*, and tempt him to attack the deſerted Camp, the *Romans* left great Fires burning in it. But the *Numidian* purſued his Point. Being informed, probably by his Scouts, or by ſome other unknown Way, of what had happened, he continued his March, and poſted himſelf in the Road through which the *Romans* were to paſs, in order to intercept them. *Sylla* was utterly ignorant of his Deſign, and when the *Roman* Detachment had marched all Night, and were much haraſſed by Sun-riſing, he encamped, in order to give them a little Reſt. But they were ſcarce laid down, when ſome *Mauritanian* Horſe brought Intelligence, That they had ſeen *Jugurtha*'s Army, about two Miles from the Camp, and That they barred the Way. At this News, the *Roman* Soldiers were tranſported with Rage, and cried out, *We are betrayed*; Volux *has ſold us to* Jugurtha. *Let us kill the Traytor!* Nay, *Sylla* himſelf was of the ſame Opinion; but he thought it neceſſary to diſſemble. A General ought to conceal his Fear, and put on an Air of Security, in the moſt ſudden Alarms: And he ſaid to his *Manipuli*, *The King of* Numidia *is not a formidable Enemy: And he has had Time enough now to know you, and to be convinced by Experience, that you are not to be intimidated by Numbers. Beſides, theſe unforeſeen Accidents are the beſt Opportunities for Men to ſhew their Courage. The greater the Danger is, the more will true Valour exert it ſelf.* By this appearance of Unconcern he inſpired his Soldiers with Confidence; but at the ſame time took *Volux* aſide, and addreſſed himſelf to him thus. *I call* Jupiter, *the Avenger of violated Hoſpitality, to witneſs, That I abhor the Treachery of which I think you guilty; and that I may not be as wicked as your ſelf, I will do all I can for you, which is to ſave your Life. Be gone from the Camp this Moment; and go and augment the Army* Jugurtha *has brought againſt us.*

The young Prince appeared aſtoniſhed at theſe Words, and replied; *Is it poſſible that you can ſuſpect me of the moſt infamous Cowardice? Or ought I to be reſponſible for* Jugurtha's *Diligence in intercepting a March, which was as well known to him as to us? I am indeed of Opinion, that the* Numidian *is not ſo formidable an Enemy to us at preſent, as you imagine. His ſole dependance now is upon the King my Father. Will he then be ſo mad, as to inſult an Ambaſſador who is under the Conduct of the Son of the only Friend which he has in the World? If he ſtops the Way into* Mauritania, *he does it not as an Enemy, with a Deſign to deſtroy us; but in Policy, to make a Merit of giving* Sylla *a free Paſſage through the midſt of his Troops. His ſole Aim is to ſhare with* Bocchus *the Happineſs of the Peace, which you are going to ratify; and you will ſee him embrace with pleaſure, the Opportunity that now offers, of making his Court to you. Let us two go together, without any Attendants, into the Enemy's Army; and you will ſee, that we ſhall paſs through it, without any Danger.*

Sylla indeed thought this a dangerous Experiment, but Neceſſity forced him to run the Hazard of it. However, he took what Precautions he could, and inſiſted that the 1000 *Mauritanians* ſhould continue in the *Roman* Camp, as Hoſtages for the Fidelity of the Prince their Leader. Then, accompanied only with the neceſſary Train of Domeſticks, which attended him as Ambaſſador, he continued his March with *Volux*, and when he came to *Jugurtha*'s Army, paſſed through it without oppoſition. The *Numidian* King, whether out of Reſpect for a Man of that Conſequence which *Sylla* was, or in a Surprize at ſo unexpected an Event, ſuffered the Son of *Bocchus*, and the *Roman* Ambaſſador, to go on without any moleſtation. And as for the *Roman* Detachment, it in all probability returned ſafe to *Cyrtha*; and the *Mauritanian* Horſe, to their own Country. The moſt ſurprizing part of all theſe Tranſactions, is the ſignal good Fortune of *Sylla*. He was famous for nothing more than that conſtant flow of Proſperity, from which he was ever after called *The fortunate Sylla*: Tho' it muſt be confeſſed, that he continually merited his Succeſs more and more, by his great Courage.

§. XLVII. After they had thus happily eſcaped the Hands of *Jugurtha*, *Sylla* and *Volux* ſoon drew near to the Place, where the King of *Mauritania* reſided. It may perhaps be doubted, whether *Bocchus* had not concerted the detaining the *Roman* Ambaſſador, with the King of *Numidia*, and his Agent *Aſpar*; and it is certain, that there

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is no Treachery, of which thoſe Kings of *Africa* were not capable. It may likewiſe be conjectured, that *Sylla*'s Caution, in keeping *Volux*'s Guard, by way of Hoſtage, among his *Romans*, was what ſaved him from the Snare, that *Jugurtha* had laid for him. But then it muſt likewiſe be allowed, on the other hand, That if the *Mauritanian* had theſe pernicious Deſigns, he concealed them with great Art. As ſoon as he knew that *Sylla* drew near, he ſent Prince *Dabar*, *Maſſiniſſa*'s Grandſon, to meet him; with Orders to tell him, That he would find every thing ready for receiving him in the moſt reſpectful manner, at the *Mauritanian* Court. *Bocchus*, ſaid *Dabar* to the *Roman* Ambaſſador, *is reſolved to accept the Peace which* Rome *offers him, on her own Terms. You have nothing to fear from the Negotiations of* Aſpar, *or the Plots of* Jugurtha. *The King of* Mauritania *keeps the* Numidian *Envoy with him, only in order to the more effectual Determination of Affairs to the Advantage of* Rome. *Appoint your own Time and Place for the Conference, and* Bocchus *and* Aſpar *will meet you.* And there is no doubt, that *Dabar* himſelf was ſincere, and thought the Offers real which were ſent by him. But *Bocchus* was ſtill wavering; and it was a great Pleaſure to him in this Uncertainty, to have the two Ambaſſadors in his Hands, who were both Men of Conſequence in their Countries, and might be of great Service to him againſt the Enemy which he ſhould chooſe. His Inclinations were to favour *Jugurtha*; but his Fear of the *Romans* ballanced them. He made it his Buſineſs to deceive both Ambaſſadors; but appeared to have moſt Deference for *Sylla*. He promiſed the *Roman*, that his publick Conferences with him and *Aſpar* ſhould be ſhort; but with him alone, long and private. After this, he ordered both Ambaſſadors to be brought to him; and then *Sylla* delivered his Meſſage with all the Pride of a *Roman*, in theſe Words; *I only come to know, whether you will have War or Peace. Take your Choice, and I am gone.* This ſtopped the Mouth of the *Numidian* Ambaſſador; and *Bocchus* only made this ſhort Reply. *I am not yet determined. I will take ten Days to conſider of it, and then declare my Reſolution.*

In the mean time, *Sylla* was brought the next Night into the King's Apartment, with whom *Dabar* only was preſent; and he being their only Witneſs and Interpreter, was ſworn to keep the Secret, and interpret faithfully, between both. And then *Bocchus* began thus.

I could never have believed, that ſo great a King as my ſelf, could have lain under Obligations to any private Man. But I muſt confeſs, Sylla, that you have exceedingly obliged me. Your repeated Services demand a grateful Return; and therefore an abſolute Monarch, with Pleaſure acknowledges, that he is indebted to you, for the great Civilities ſhewn to his Ambaſſadors, and for the Peace you have procured him with Rome. *His Power is entirely at your Service. Arms, Auxiliaries, Money, in ſhort, whatever you deſire, he is ready to grant, from a Senſe that he can never do enough for you. And for your Republick, be aſſured, that I made War with her, entirely againſt my own Inclinations. I took up Arms, only to defend my own Frontiers; and now that a Peace has ſecured them, I give up* Jugurtha *to your Reſentments. The River* Mulluchа *ſhall be my Barrier; and I will never paſs it, to aſſiſt a Prince who has incurred your Diſpleaſure. What more can you deſire?*

Sylla, on the other hand, gave the King the ſtrongeſt Aſſurances of his perſonal Regards; juſtified the Proceedings of *Rome* againſt *Jugurtha*; magnified the Favour ſhewn to the *Mauritanian* by the Peace; and then, with regard to the moſt material part of his Commiſſion, went on thus. *The only Deſign of my Republick in putting an end to Hoſtilities, was to draw you into an Alliance with her; which ſhe has ſufficiently ſhewn you, the moſt powerful Kings cannot obtain, but by ſome important Services. Seize then the Opportunity which Fortune offers you. Nothing can more effectually procure you the Friendſhip of the* Romans, *than the Sacrifice of* Jugurtha; *and it is now in your Power to ſurprize and deliver him up to us, with eaſe. Be not too fondly attached to an Uſurper, and you will eſtabliſh your ſelf on the Throne of your Anceſtors for ever. Nor is this all. The beſt Part of* Numidia *will be the Reward of the juſt Puniſhment to which you will have brought a Villain, whoſe Hands are yet ſtained with the Blood of his Brothers. Aſſiſt then in executing the Vengeance of the Gods, deliver up* Jugurtha *into my Hands before my Departure, and depend on the perpetual Protection and Friendſhip of the* Romans.

Bocchus pretended to be ſurprized, and aſtoniſhed at the Propoſal; and cried out, *What! betray a Father-in-Law, a neighbouring King, a Friend, and an Ally! What would all* Africa *think of ſuch a Proceeding! What juſt Cauſe would this give to my own Subjects to rebel! Or what Authority could I expect to have over the* Numidians *you promiſe me?*

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me? They love Jugurtha, *and hate the* Romans? But nevertheleſs, *Sylla*, who could not but expect to meet with ſuch Objections, found Means, by conſidering each ſingly, to remove them all; and at laſt, obtained an expreſs Promiſe from *Bocchus*, that he would deliver up the King of *Numidia*. The reſt of the Night was ſpent in finding out Expedients to enſnare him. But the only Particular in which they at preſent agreed, was, That the moſt likely Bait, to draw *Jugurtha* thither, was his Deſire of being included in the Treaty of Peace with *Rome*. As his Loſſes had made him weary and ſick of the War, the King and the *Roman* were both of Opinion, That the leaſt Appearance of Hope of putting an end to it, would ſtrike him, and he would come himſelf to make his Advantage of it. The reſt they left to Accident; and the Ambaſſador retired well ſatisfied with his Negotiation.

§. XLVIII. The next Morning, *Bocchus* in order to put the concerted Deſign in execution, ſent for *Aſpar*, *Jugurtha*'s faithful Agent, to an Audience; and with an unuſual Air of Gaiety in his Looks, addreſſed himſelf to him thus. *We have at length brought* Jugurtha's *Affairs to take an happy turn. I am informed by* Dabar, *that the* Roman *Ambaſſador ſeems inclined to admit the King your Maſter into the Treaty of Peace which I have obtained of* Rome. *Inform him therefore that the critical Time for making himſelf happy, is now come; and adviſe him to come hither without delay, and finiſh the Negotiation in Perſon.*

With this good News, *Aſpar* immediately ſet out for *Jugurtha*'s Camp; and it filled the *Numidian* both with Hope, and Diſtruſt. He deſired nothing more than a ſolid Peace, but was afraid of the Artifices of *Marius*: And when he had given *Aſpar* full Inſtructions concerning his Pretenſions, he ſent him back without delay.

The Envoy was but eight Days abſent from the Court of *Bocchus*; and, as ſoon as returned, he laid open his Maſter's Views and Intentions to the King of *Mauritania* in this manner. Jugurtha *is very deſirous of putting an End to a troubleſome War upon reaſonable Terms; but how can he depend on the Peace propoſed to him? He has already entered into two Treaties of Peace, one with the* Conſul Calpurnius Beſtia, *and the other with the* Conſul Poſtumius Albinus, *and yet the Senate rejected both. Muſt he always treat with the* Romans *upon an Uncertainty, and run the Hazard of ſeeing what is concluded in* Africa, *diſannulled at* Rome? *He ſees but one thing that can ſecure to him the Peace which* Marius's *Ambaſſador is come to negotiate, and that is, the delivering the* Roman *into his Hands.* Sylla *is a Man of Conſequence in his Republick; and if he be detained, this will be a powerful Motive to the Senate to confirm a Treaty, which they cannot break, but at the Expence of ſo illuſtrious a* Patrician. *She will very probably ratify our Agreements; rather than give up to the Mercy of his Enemies, a generous* Citizen *who will be kept in Captivity, only for having ſerved his Country.*

The *Mauritanian* was immediately ſtruck with the Propoſal; and whether the Deſign really pleaſed him at firſt ſight, or he only affected to come into it, in order the more effectually to deceive the King of *Numidia*, he promiſed to betray *Sylla*, and cauſe him to fall into the Hands of the *Numidian* Army. So that whatever his firſt Intentions were, he now brought himſelf into a ſtrange Situation. On one Hand, he had promiſed the *Roman* to ſacrifice *Jugurtha*; and on the other, had promiſed *Jugurtha* to deliver up the *Roman*: And in all probability, the Levity and Inconſtancy natural to a *Numidian*, kept him yet in ſuſpence, between Affection and Fear. His Heart was with *Jugurtha*; but when he came to reflect, his Intereſt inclined him to favour *Sylla*. However, during this Uncertainty, he drew the King of *Numidia* out of the Deſert in which he had been poſted; tho' he yet knew not himſelf, whether he ſhould betray *Jugurtha*, or *Sylla*. As he had ſolemnly given his Word to both, the two Ambaſſadors equally expreſſed their Satisfaction; and *Bocchus* equally careſſed both. There was no Diſtruſt, or Jealouſy between them; each depended on the Promiſes given him; and each looked on his Rival as enſnared and ſacrificed by *Bocchus*. But this Uncertainty could not laſt long; he muſt ſoon unravel the Plot; ſince *Jugurtha* was making long marches towards him. The Night therefore before he was obliged to declare, *Bocchus* was obſerved to ſay little, retired in private, and ſunk into deep Reflection. He ſent for his Friends; diſcourſed with them about the Peace, without explaining to them the true Cauſe of his Anxiety; diſmiſſed them; and fell again into his former Thoughtfulneſs and Perplexity. The few Officers that were left with him, obſerved him to walk very faſt, with unuſual Agitations of Body, and to change colour every Moment. After this dumb Scene, he ſent for *Sylla* privately to his Apartment; and then came at laſt

Plut. in Syll. & Mario. Sallſt. Ibid.

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to a final Determination. He entered into Meaſures with *Rome* for drawing *Jugurtha* into her Snares, and from that Time conſulted with none but him; and when all Things were ſettled, *Sylla* withdrew to his repoſe.

As ſoon as this Reſolution was taken, *Bocchus* ordered ſome Troops to march towards a very high Hill, which was appointed for the Place of the Conference, and which was eaſily ſeen at a great diſtance; with Orders to conceal themſelves in the covered Places near it, and to inveſt the Hill, as ſoon as the King of *Numidia* came upon it. The next Day *Bocchus* received Advice, that *Jugurtha* was encamped within reach of the Court; and then himſelf and *Sylla* ſet out together, to meet *Jugurtha*; and, as was pretended, to do him Honour. After the firſt Civilities, the two Kings and the *Roman* Ambaſſador proceeded together towards the Hill; and *Jugurtha* doubted not, but the King his Son-in-Law was going to deliver into his Hands this illuſtrious *Roman*, as a Pledge of the Peace he was ready to conclude. So ſtrongly was he perſuaded of this, that tho' naturally very ſuſpicious, he neither took his Army with him, nor any other Guard than ſome few Friends; whom he took, not for his Defence, but their Advice. As ſoon as he arrived at the top of the Hill, the *Mauritanians* came out of their Ambuſh, and even this Sight very little affected him; being ſtill perſuaded, That their only Buſineſs was with *Sylla*, and That he was ſure of his Prey. Nor, in ſhort, was he undeceived to the laſt, till the Detachment fell on his Friends and beheaded them, and then ſurrounded and ſeized him. He ſcarce believed his own Eyes, till he was delivered alive into the *Roman* Ambaſſador's Hands; and then he was loaded with Chains, and conducted to *Marius*.

Thus was *Sylla* fortunate to a degree not to be parallelled, and his Embaſſy ſucceſsful in every Particular. The Barbarian had long been in Suſpence about detaining the *Roman* a Priſoner; and he very narrowly eſcaped changing Situations with the preſent unfortunate captive King. His Stars, if I may ſo ſpeak, delivered him out of all Dangers, and bleſſed him with Succeſs, beyond his Hopes. He had the Honour of finiſhing the War, in a manner without loſs of Blood; which *Marius* had not been able to do by many Sieges, and many Victories. Tho' a *Pro-Quæſtor* only, he gained as much Reputation, in this his firſt Campaign, as his General himſelf. At leaſt, he was looked on at *Rome*, as the chief Conqueror of *Numidia*. Indeed, it ſeemed to be with Juſtice, that Heaven was pleaſed to give *Marius* the Mortification of ſeeing the Glory of the Campaign divided between a Subaltern and himſelf. He had ſupplanted his Predeceſſor *Metellus*, by ſecret Artifices, and publick Calumnies; and Providence now raiſed up one to avenge his Quarrel, who firſt in ſome meaſure eclipſed him, and afterwards became his Rival to the end of his Life. The famous Wars between *Marius* and *Sylla* took their riſe, at this Time, from this ſmall beginning; and as the Jealouſy afterwards increaſed with Time, and was at laſt carried to the utmoſt Extremity, it did not end, but with the Deſtruction of the Republick.

When *Jugurtha* entered into *Cirtha*, the Shouts of the *Roman* Army, and the Applauſes they gave the *Pro-Quæſtor Sylla*, are not eaſily to be deſcribed; and this raiſed the Envy of his General. Indeed, *Marius* had given him the Commiſſion, whereby he had acquired ſo much Honour. It was under the Authority of the *Pro-Conſul* that the King of *Numidia* had been put into his Hands. But it is no uncommon thing for Men to be jealous of the Proſperity of thoſe, whom they themſelves have promoted. It is not at all ſtrange, to ſee a General envy his Subaltern the Honour of having glorioufly executed a Deſign on which he himſelf had ſent him. And *Marius* had not Magnanimity enough to raiſe him above theſe Weakneſſes, which are rarely ſurmounted otherwiſe than by the Study of Virtue, or by imbibing early the ſound Principles of a good Education. So that, the *Pro-Conſul* openly diſcovered his Reſentment, of the Praiſes which the Soldiers ſo liberally beſtowed on the *Pro-Quæſtor*. This was the firſt inward Wound he received from his new Rival in Glory; and what nouriſhed the riſing Paſſion, was the little Care *Sylla* took to humour the Weakneſs of his General, which now began to ſhew it ſelf. He was ſo far from aſcribing to *Marius* all the Honour of having taken *Jugurtha* his Priſoner, that he aſſumed it all to himſelf. He engraved the Story of the Tranſaction in *Mauritania* which had done him ſo much Honour, in a *Cornelian*, which he ſet in a Ring. It repreſented *Bocchus* delivering up[68] *Jugurtha*

Plut. in Sylla & in Mario. Plin. L. 37. c. 1.

68 The Antiquaries have ſome of *Sylla*'s Medals to this Day. That which we have here given, Plate 10, Numb. 1, has on one ſide, a God, whoſe Head is ſurmounted with a Creſcent, the Symbol of the Night; and

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BRITISH MUSEUM

Plut. in Sylla & in Mario. Plin. L. 37. c. 1.

graved the Story of the Transaction in *Mauritania* which had done him so much nour, in a *Cornelian*, which he set in a Ring. It represented *Bocchus* delivering

68 The Antiquaries have some of *Sylla*'s Medals to this Day. That which we have here given, Plate 10, Numb. 1, has on one side, a God, whose Head is surmounted with a Crescent, the Symbol of the

Jugurtha into *Sylla*'s Hands; and from that time he never uſed any other Seal for his publick Acts, or private Letters, even after he had aſſumed an unlimited Power, and was declared perpetual *Dictator*. So fond was he to the laſt, of the Remembrance of the firſt conſiderable Advantage which he had ever gained, and which indeed had made his Fortune!

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Plut. in Syll. & Mario. Val. Max. L. 8.

and this ſeems to agree with *Plutarch*'s account. He ſays, That *Sylla* ſaw in a Dream, a Goddeſs putting a Thunderbolt into his Hands; after which he ſeemed to be immediately carried into the middle of the Enemy's Battalions, and there ſpread Slaughter and Death, wherever he came. On the Reverſe, to the Left, ſtands *Jugurtha*, in the Poſture of a Captive, with a Diadem on his Head, the Mark of Royalty; to the Right, *Bocchus*, with a Royal Fillet likewiſe, and with one Knee on the Ground, paying Homage to *Sylla* who is ſeated on a Throne, in his *Toga*; and the *Roman* receives a Laurel Branch from the King of *Mauritania*, in token of his being the Conqueror, and Peace-maker of *Africa*. The Head of the Medal bears the Name of FAUSTUS, who was *Sylla*'s Son. He probably ordered the Medal to be ſtruck in honour to his Father. The *Augural* Staff confirms the Conjecture of *Dio*, who tells us, *B.* 44, That *Fauſtus* was an *Augur*. The Word FEELIX is the Epithet *Sylla* choſe before any other. It is well known he boaſted of having *Fortune* in his pay; and would have no other Title of Honour, but that of *Felix*, or the *Fortunate*; as we are informed by *Pliny*, *Plutarch*, and *Appian*. The Word FEELIX is written with two EE's, according to the Orthography of the Ancients, who uſed to double the Vowels in long Syllables. We find Proofs of this in the ancient Inſcriptions.

THE Roman Hiſtory.

BOOK LIV.

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§. I. NEVER was there more univerſal Joy in *Rome*, than at the Sight of the illuſtrious Priſoner whom *Marius* ſent from *Africa*. The *Roman* Army had in effect gained a more important Conqueſt, in the Winter, by *Sylla's* Addreſs, than *Marius* had been able to obtain, in his whole Campaign. By the taking of *Jugurtha*, the War in *Numidia* was at an end, and that great Kingdom entirely reduced: And the Enemies of the *Pro-Conſul*, that is, the Senate and Nobility, triumphed more at it than the People. They boaſted, That the Conqueſt of *Numidia* had been the Work of two *Patricians*; meaning, that *Metellus* had begun it by his Exploits, and *Sylla* compleated it, by his Prudence. They would ſcarce allow *Marius* the leaſt Share in this glorious Expedition. But the *Tribunes of the People* did Juſtice to the *Plebeian* General, whoſe Merit they highly extolled in their Speeches. They contended, and with Juſtice, That the reducing *Jugurtha* and *Bocchus* ſo very low, had been partly owing to the Arms of *Marius*. It was he, who had made the King of *Mauritania's* Affairs deſperate, and thereby forced him to deſire a Peace, and to purchaſe an Alliance with *Rome*, at the Price of betraying the King his Son-in-Law. It might indeed be affirmed, That if *Metellus* had been continued at the Head of the *Roman* Army in *Africa*, he would have finiſhed the War with the ſame Succeſs. But after all, this was uncertain; and the preſent Concluſion of it was in Juſtice to be aſcribed to the Valour of him, who had been the Commander in chief. Upon theſe ſolid Principles, the *Roman Tribes* ſtill kept up their former Eſteem and Affection for *Marius*; the Commons received the captive *Jugurtha*, as from his Hands; and he was carefully kept in cloſe Confinement, that he might adorn the *Triumph* of his Conqueror, when he ſhould return from *Africa*.

Plut. in Syll. & Mario.

§. II. But *Rome* did not receive, with ſuch Joy and Applauſe, the News of a Victory which had lately been gained in *Tranſalpine Gaul*, by the *Conſul Q. Servilius* [1] *Cæpio*. He had ingratiated himſelf with the Senate, before he ſet out for his Province, by having, through the Aſſiſtance of *Lucius* [2] *Licinius Craſſus*, one of the moſt famous Orators of his Time, got a Law of *C. Gracchus*, which was injurious to the Senators, amended. By this Law, the Cognizance of private Cauſes had been taken from the *Conſcript Fathers*, and given only to the *Roman Knights*; and *Rome* being full of Complaints of the unjuſt Judgments of theſe new Judges, it was become neceſſary to remedy the Abuſes of a Court, where Innocence was no Security againſt falſe Accuſers. This *Cæpio* accompliſhed by a new Law, which reſtored the Senate a part of their ancient Right, and enacted, That theſe Judges ſhould for the future, be half Senators and half *Knights*. And by this Act, *Cæpio* would have gained immortal Honour, if he had not

Jul. Obſeq. Val. Max. L. 6 Cic. in Brut.

1 *Quintus Servilius Cæpio* was the Son of him of the ſame Name, who was *Conſul*, in the Year 613. *Cicero*, in his *Brutus*, ranks him among the Orators, and great Commanders of his Age; and ſeems to acquit him of the Accuſations which were afterwards brought againſt him, when he ſays, That *Cæpio* was more unfortunate than Faulty.

2 *Cicero*, in his *Brutus*, ſpeaks with Admiration of the Speech *Lucius Craſſus* made in defence of *Cæpio's* new Law. He ſays, That it was put in his Hands, when he was very young, and firſt gave him a Taſte for true Eloquence. *Craſſus* was 34 Years Old, when he ſpoke it.

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ſtained it by ſuch a Conduct in his Province, as made him juſtly ſuſpected of Avarice and Rapine. When he arrived in *Narbonne Gaul*, he found the *Cimbri* ſtill Maſters of the flat Country, and waiting for an Opportunity to paſs the *Alpes*, and ſettle themſelves in *Italy*. Theſe Barbarians had extended their Conqueſts in the ſouthern Parts of *Gaul*, and had got Poſſeſſion of *Toulouſe*, the Capital of the *Tectoſages*. They did not underſtand how to carry on Sieges; but gained this important City by Treachery. It was defended by a *Roman* Garriſon; but the *Cimbri*, had ſtruck up a Correſpondence with the *Tectoſages*, got them over to their Intereſt, and prevailed on them to deſtroy the *Roman* Soldiers. So that, when *Cæpio* appeared beyond the *Alpes*, the Enemy were already brought into *Toulouſe* [3]; and all the Country from *Narbonne* to the *Pyrenees* was ſubject to theſe Robbers. His firſt Buſineſs therefore was to drive the *Cimbri* from this fine Part of *Gaul*, and to retake *Toulouſe* by the ſame Artifices, which the Barbarians had uſed, to get Poſſeſſion of it. He entered into a Correſpondence with the Burghers, and they reſtored the City to the *Romans*. And ſo far there was nothing blameable in the *Conſul*'s Conduct; but he ſoon made himſelf odious, by his Avarice and Sacrilege. He perfidiouſly plundered a City, which the Inhabitants themſelves had juſt delivered into his Hands; and it is ſaid, that never was a greater quantity of Wealth amaſſed together, than in the Temples there, and particularly in a famous one built in honour to [4] *Apollo*. But the traditionary Account given by the ancient Hiſtorians, of the manner of bringing thither this vaſt Plenty of Gold and Silver, which *Cæpio* ſtole from the Gods of the *Tectoſages*, has more the Air of a Fable, than of a true Relation.

Diod. Sic. apud Valeſ.

Polyb. Strab. Pauſan.

One of them tells us, That a Swarm of *Tectoſages*, whoſe Capital *Toulouſe* was, ſet out from the Banks of the *Garonne*, with ſome other Clans of *Gauls*, marched as far as [5] *Greece*, and there plundered the famous Temple of *Delphi*, under the Conduct of the ſecond *Brennus*. And ſo far all Antiquity agrees with him. After this, ſays he, the *Tectoſages* divided themſelves, and one Part continued in the *Levant*, penetrated into the Heart of *Aſia*, and there with ſome other *Gauls*, formed the Nation of the *Galatians*, or *Gallo-Greeks*. And this ſecond Article we likewiſe readily come into, it appearing to us indiſputable. But what our Author further adds, has not the leaſt Air of Probability. According to him, the other Part of the *Tectoſages* who had enriched themſelves with the Booty found in the Temple of *Apollo*, returned to their own Country, repeopled *Toulouſe*, and there depoſited the immenſe Treaſures which they had got in *Greece*. A Plague ſuddenly followed, and puniſhed theſe ſacrilegious Prophaners. The Diviners were [6] conſulted concerning it; and they anſwered, That it would continue

Juſtin, L. 32. c. 3. Polyb. Strab. Pauſan.

on

3 *Toulouſe* was a conſiderable City in *Cæpio*'s Time. It was anciently called *Palladia*, either becauſe *Pallas* was worſhipped there in a particular manner, or becauſe its Territory abounded with Olive-Trees, which were conſecrated to that Goddeſs, or laſtly, becauſe there was in this City an Academy for polite Learning, which was under the Protection of *Minerva*, the tutelary Goddeſs of Arts and Sciences. The *Romans* erected there a *Capitol* in honour to *Jupiter*, after the Model of that of *Rome*. Hence the Magiſtrates, who uſed to aſſemble in this Temple, to deliberate of Affairs which concerned the Nation, were called *Capitouls*. In the moſt early Ages, *Toulouſe* was the chief City of the *Volſcæ Tectoſages*, who poſſeſſed *Upper Languedoc*, or the weſtern Part of that Province; that is, all the Country which is now contained in the Dioceſes of *Toulouſe*, *Narbonne*, *Beſiers*, *Carcaſſone*, and *Aleth*.

4 The *Tectoſages* had their *Apollo*, whom they worſhipped under the Name of *Belenus*, according to *Auſonius*, and ſome ancient Inſcriptions. In proof of which, we need only to mention the following one; Apollini Beleno C. Aquilepensis Felix. The *Gauls*, as well as the *Greeks* and *Romans* revered him as the Inventor and God of Phyſick: And *Tertullian* ſays, his Worſhip was carried into *Germany*. Nor was he unknown by that Name, even in *Italy*. *Herodian* and *Julius Capitolinus* ſay, that *Apollo* ſurnamed *Belenus*, was the tutelary God of *Aquileia*, a City of *Ciſalpine Gaul*. But after all, it is not eaſy to prove that the Gods of the *Gauls* were the ſame as thoſe of the *Greeks* and *Romans*. *Lucian* implies as much, in his Dialogue of Jupiter Tragicus, when he repreſents *Mercury*, whoſe Buſineſs he makes it to be to aſſemble the Gods, as ſaying, That he could not diſcharge this Office in every Inſtance, *Becauſe he could not make himſelf underſtood by the Multitude of* Celtic *Gods, who ſpake a ſtrange Language which he did not underſtand.* Which *Lucian* would not have made him ſay, if he had thought that the *Gauls* had borrowed their Religion and their Gods from the *Greeks* and *Romans*. Nevertheleſs, it muſt be allowed, That the Superſtitions of old *Rome* crept inſenſibly into *Gaul*, and were eſteemed there. *Cæſar* ſays, That *Jupiter*, *Apollo*, *Mercury*, *Mars*, *Minerva*, &c. were worſhipped by the *Celtæ*, as well as the Gods of their own Country. Or rather, theſe People, without changing the Objects of their Worſhip, changed the Names of their Gods, to put them upon an Equality with the Gods of *Greece*. But if we conſider the Riſe and Principles of the Religion of the *Gauls*, it muſt be confeſſed, that it had nothing common with that of the *Romans*. At leaſt this is *Strabo*'s Opinion, *B.* 4

5. This Irruption of the *Gauls* into *Greece*, under *Brennus*, was in the Year of *Rome* 475, 278 Years before our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt*, as we have already obſerved.

6 The *Augurs* and *Aruſpices* were in great Veneration among the *Gauls*. *Strabo* and *Juſtin* obſerve, That

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on the Banks of the *Garonne*, till the Spoils taken from the God who preſided over Men's Lives and Health, were thrown into a neighbouring [7] Lake. The Orders of the *Aruſpices* were obeyed, and the Scourge was removed. Afterwards the People of *Toulouſe* fiſhed up by degrees, and at different Times, ſome of the Ingots and Bars of Gold and Silver, to adorn their Temples with them, and eſpecially that magnificent one which was dedicated to *Apollo*. But in this laſt Particular there is not the leaſt Appearance of Truth. If it were allowed, that a handful of *Tectoſages*, loaded with 110000 Pound[8] weight of Gold, and five Millions of Pounds weight of Silver, might poſſibly have paſſed through ſo many Nations without being ſtripped of their Booty; yet who can imagine, that they could have found ſuch immenſe Sums as this Hiſtorian mentions, in the Temple of [9] *Delphi*? It is well known, that the *Phocæans* [10] had plundered it, of all the Preſents the ſuperſtitious People had brought thither, but a little time before the *Gauls* came.

But whatever the Sum was which the *Romans* found at *Toulouſe*, or from whenceſoever it was brought thither, it is at leaſt certain, that it was conſiderable. The ancient Writer who reduces it loweſt, makes it amount to 100000 Pounds weight of

That they made it a Law, never to undertake any Thing of Importance without firſt conſulting the Entrails of Victims, and the flight and ſinging of Birds. The *Gaſcons* in particular, according to *Lampridius* the Hiſtorian, were moſt given to theſe Divinations. They flattered themſelves, that they could diſcover future Events by theſe ſuperſtitious Practices.

7. The ancient *Gauls* conſecrated Gold and Silver to their Gods, from a Principle of Religion. They uſed no Money in Commerce, but Copper and Braſs. At leaſt, *Athenæus* tells us, that the *Scordiſci*, a People who came originally from *Tranſalpine Gaul*, had religiouſly obſerved this Uſage, in the Countries near the Banks of the *Danube*, where they ſettled after the *Delphian* Expedition. Agreeably to this the *Tectoſages* uſed to throw their Gold and Silver into Lakes, where they thought they would be effectually ſecured from the Rapines of the covetous. They indeed deified Rivers, Ponds, Marſhes, and Fountains; or rather, according to *Strabo* and *Auſonius*, the Prieſts of this Nation thought every River and Lake a venerable Temple, the Superintendence of which they aſcribed to ſome God. *Gregory of Tours* tells us, That at the foot of a Mountain in *Gevaudan*, there was a great Lake conſecrated to the Moon, and therefore called *Helanus*; and That the People of the Country came every Year to the Banks of it, and thought it a Matter of Merit, to throw Eatables, and other uſeful Things, into it, as Cloaths, Linen and Woollen, Fleeces of Wool, Cheeſes, Bread, Wax, *&c.* every one according to his Ability. This was an Offering, or Tribute to the tutelary God of the Lake, and the Evening ended with a Sacrifice of Animals.

Thus the *Germans*, a People who came originally from *Gaul*, and were comprehended under the general Name of *Celtæ*, had no other Temple for their Goddeſs *Herta*, but a Lake ſurrounded with a ſacred Wood, where they placed the Idol which they worſhipped: As *Tacitus* obſerves in his Book *Of the Manners of the Germans*. And laſtly, *Gregory of Tours* ſays of the firſt *French*, *B.* 2. That they reckoned among their Gods, the Waters, Foreſts, and ſeveral ſorts of Animals, which they carved in *relievo*.

From theſe Authorities ſome Moderns have concluded, that the *Lake of Toulouſe* was the Sanctuary of the God *Belenus*, whom the *Tectoſages* had enriched with their Preſents. But *Poſſidonius*, whoſe Account *Strabo* follows as moſt probable, expreſly diſtinguiſhes one from the other, when he ſays, that the *Toloſatæ* had depoſited their Treaſures, partly in the conſecrated Lakes, and partly in the Temples of their Gods. Add to this, that there are now no Footſteps remaining of the famous *Lake of Toulouſe*. Moſt conjecture, that it was dried up, either by the *Romans*, or *Goths*, that ſettled in *Languedoc*.

8. This will no doubt be thought an immenſe Quantity of Gold and Silver, if we value the Gold at 500 *Livres* a Pound, and the Silver at 50, which is the loweſt Proportion we can rate them at now. At this rate, the 110000 Pounds of Gold will come to 55 Millions, and the ſix Millions of Pounds of Silver, to 250 Millions of *Livres*. *Strabo* reduces the Treaſure of *Toulouſe* to 15000 *Talents*; which at the rate of 1000 Crowns a *Talent*, make exactly 45 Millions.

9. See Vol. II. p. 120, Note 83, of the Enterprize of the *Phocentes* or *Phocæans* againſt the Temple of *Delphi*, and the date of it.

10. *Strabo* had made the ſame Reflexions, with regard to the Gold of *Toulouſe*. Beſides, adds he, the *Gallic* Troops, commanded by *Brennus*, had been cut to pieces, in the ſight of *Delphi*. And they, whom the Sword of the *Phocæans* ſpared, eſcaped not the Vengeance of Heaven. The greateſt Part of them became Vagabonds and Fugitives, and made a deplorable End. *Pauſanias*, *Polybius*, and *Juſtin*, repreſent both Gods and Men as combined together to extirpate the miſerable Remains of an Army of above 65000 Men. Being purſued without Intermiſſion, and become execrable in the Sight of the People of *Greece* and *Aſia*, they were all, either maſſacred without Mercy, or put to different Kinds of Death. So that not one of them ſurvived the Defeat to carry the News to his Countrymen. Nevertheleſs, it muſt be confeſſed, that *Juſtin* ſeems here to contradict himſelf. He takes it for granted, *B.* 32, That ſeveral of the *Gauls* returned into their own Country after their rout, loaded with the richeſt Spoils of the Eaſt, the Fruits of their Robbery and Sacrilege. But if ſo, he ſhould not have ſaid, *B.* 24, That all *Brennus*'s ſoldiers, not one excepted, periſhed in a miſerable Manner in the ſeveral Countries, in which they were diſperſed. Be that as it will, *Strabo* (as alſo *Poſſidonius*) thinks it more probable, that the Treaſures of the *Tectoſages* came from the Gold-Mines, with which the Country of the *Tectoſages* formerly abounded. According to that ancient Geographer, the prodigious Quantity of Gold which they took out of the Bowels of the Earth, was divided among the Temples and Lakes which the ſuperſtitious People had conſecrated. When the *Romans* were become Maſters of the Country, they according to the ſame Author, *Juſtin*, and *Aulus Gellius*, put theſe Marſhes up to publick Sale; and the Ingots of Gold, and vaſt Quantities of Silver, which were found buried in the Waters, were an inexhauſtible Fund of Riches for the Conquerors.

Gold,

Gold, and 110000 Pounds weight of Silver. And why may it not be allowed poſſible, for the *Gauls* to have enriched *Apollo* with even theſe vaſt Sums from all their Provinces, if it be conſidered that this Temple was viſited by all the Weſt?

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After the Reduction of this ſtately city, *Cæpio*, allured by ſo very plentiful an harveſt, gave it up and the Temples of the Gods, to be plundered by the Soldiers. The General and his Troops enriched themſelves by this Sacrilege; but the Republick received very little benefit from it. The ſmall Share which the *Conſul* ſet apart for the Publick Treaſury, he ſent away for *Marſeilles* under a Guard of the ſame *Legionaries* who had been moſt concerned in the Plunder: And at the ſame time, he ordered others to lay in Ambuſh for them on the Road; and by a freſh Crime robbed the Robbers, and took the Booty to himſelf. In the mean time, the credulous People, aſcribed what proceeded from the Covetouſneſs of the General, to the Anger of the Gods; and from that time, it was commonly ſaid of any Man who was reduced to extream want, *That he had ſtolen ſome of the Gold of Toulouſe*. This Proverb was uſed throughout all *Gaul*, and even in the Capitol of the World. And indeed, we ſhall, in due time, ſee *Cæpio* ſeverely puniſhed for his Avarice, Perfidiouſneſs, and monſtrous Cruelty. The only Thing he did for the Service of the Republick during his *Conſulate*, was the taking of *Toulouſe*. Nevertheleſs, as he had been more ſucceſsful there than his Predeceſſors, he was continued in the Government of *Gallia Narbonenſis* with the Title of *Pro-Conſul*. All Things conſidered, few Years had been more fortunate to the Republick than the preſent. Beſides the taking of *Jugurtha*, and the Reduction of *Toulouſe*, two great Men were born in it, one at *Rome*, and the other in the Territory of [11] *Arpinum*, who will hereafter furniſh us with ample Matter for the Sequel of this Hiſtory. The former was the great *Pompey*, the latter the famous *Cicero*.

Aul. Gell. L. 15. Cicer. in Brut. & Epiſt. ad Attic. Velleius, L. 2. Plut. in Cicer.

§. III. In the mean time, the *Conſulate* was transferred to new Hands. The aſſembled *Tribes* unanimouſly conferred it on [12] *P. Rutilius Rufus*, a noble *Roman* of known Abilities, and an unſpotted Reputation; but there was more difficulty in the Choice of his Collegue. There were two Competitors, one *Q. Catulus*, who had always behaved himſelf like a prudent Man, and one *Cn. Mallius*, a Man of no Birth, or Underſtanding, or Ability for Buſineſs. Nevertheleſs the Majority of the Suffrages were for this contemptible Citizen, and he was proclaimed *Conſul*. Nay, it likewiſe fell to his lot to carry on the War with the *Cimbri* in *Tranſalpine Gaul*, at the Head of a new Army; whilſt his Collegue continued unactive in *Italy*. So imprudent was the Republick in her Choice of her Governours; and ſo odd the Deciſion of the Lots, in aſſigning them their Provinces. As for *Marius*, he continued *Pro-Conſul* of *Numidia*, to determine the Fate of the Kingdom which he had juſt conquered. And notwith-

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[11] *Arpinum*, a City in the Territory of the *Volſci*, now *Terra di Lavoro*, is ſtill called *Arpino*. See Vol. 2. p. 298, *Note* 19.

[12] *Publius Rutilius Rufus* was reckoned one of the famous Orators of his Age. His Orations were vehement, and ſavoured of the Auſterity of *Stoiciſm*, which he profeſſed. He wrote ſeveral, which were publiſhed after his Death, and deſerved the Approbation of the Publick. And having learned the *Roman* Law, under *Marcus Manilius*, and *Publius Scævola*, two eminent *Civilians*, he publiſhed ſome excellent Treatiſes on that Subject. The moſt admired of his Speeches, were, that againſt ſumptuous Buildings, and that which he made in Defence of one *Publius Cæpurius*. *Suetonius* mentions the former in his *Life of Auguſtus*, and *Diomedes* has preſerved ſome Fragments of the latter. He perfected himſelf in the Study of Moral Philoſophy, in the School of the celebrated *Panætius*, who was both his Maſter and his Friend. The *Romans* aſcribe ſeveral hiſtorical Pieces to him, particularly, a Journal of the *Numantian* War, Memoirs of his own Life written in *Latin*, and a *Roman* Hiſtory written in *Greek*; which are mentioned by *Athenæus*, *B.* 4. *Iſidorus*, *B.* 20. of his *Origines*; *Velleius*, *B.* 2; *Aulus Gellius*, *B.* 1; and *Plutarch* in his *Life of Pompey*. *Appian* muſt have read the Works of *Rutilius*, ſince he confeſſes, that he took many important Facts from him, which are mentioned in his *Hiſtory of the* Roman *Wars with* Spain.

Cicero repreſents this great Man, as a Model of a perfect Citizen. He ſays, he had a conſummate Wiſdom, joined with great Innocence and the ſtricteſt Probity. But theſe rare Qualities, which gained him the Eſteem of all Men of Honour, could not guard him againſt the Attacks of the envious and the wicked. His regular and blameleſs Conduct was an open Reproach of the Licentiouſneſs which then prevailed in *Rome*. So many Virtues, in an Age ſo generally corrupted, made him formidable to the Multitude. They dreaded the Severity of a Magiſtrate, whom neither Intereſt, nor any other Conſideration could move, to act contrary to Law and Equity. So that, he had already ſtood twice for the *Conſulate*, and been twice refuſed; and this open Affront put on one of the moſt venerable Men in *Rome*, was, according to *Cicero*, *Tuſculan. L.* 4, the Death of his Brother. He was ill, when he heard of the Injuſtice of the *Centuries*, and the News ſtruck him with ſo much Grief, that he died upon the Spot. *Val. Maximus* ſays of *Rutilius*, that *Rome* was partly indebted to him, for the Military Academies in which the *Roman* Youth were taught the Art of Defence; which was taught, as it is now, by Maſters in that Art.

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ſtanding his Suſpicions, and the cauſe *Sylla* had given him for Jealouſy, he ſtill kept him with him in quality of *Pro-Quæſtor*. Though the Subaltern had acquired much Glory, it was not yet great enough to eclipſe his General. *Marius* had a real Eſteem for him; but it was more in regard to his own Glory, than out of Affection, that he again made him one of his Lieutenant-Generals. *Marius* long concealed his Reſentment under the appearance of Friendſhip: And *Sylla* was not ſoon weary of learning the Art of War under ſo great a Maſter. He did not leave him, till he thought himſelf fully qualified to conquer without him. So that they ſettled the Provinces of *Numidia* together. Nevertheleſs it is probable that *Rome* ſent them ten Commiſſioners, to aſſiſt them with their Advice. As this was now a ſettled Cuſtom, there is no doubt but ſhe acted conformably to it, in the preſent Inſtance. But be that as it will, *Marius* divided his Conqueſt in the following manner. He performed the Promiſe made to *Bocchus*, and aſſigned him that Part of his Son-in-Law's Dominions which lay next to his own, as a Reward for his having delivered him up; and this great Territory which was till now called *Meſſeſilia*, from this time took the Name of *New Mauritania*. *Numidia properly ſo called*, was divided into three Parts. One was given to one *Hiempſal*; another to one *Mondreſtal*, who doubtleſs were the next Heirs of *Maſſiniſſa*; and the Republick reſerved to herſelf the Part which lay next to the *Province* ſhe already had in *Africa*, and ſubjected it to the *Prætor*, which ſhe annually ſent thither.

Plut. in Mario.

App. de Bell. Civ.

Plut. in Mario.

§. IV. And now, the *Roman* Senate, being freed from their Concern for Affairs in *Africa*, haſtened the Departure of the Conſul *Mallius* for *Tranſalpine Gaul*. The *Pro-Conſul Cæpio*, with his victorious Army, were not ſufficient alone to ſtop the Inundation of *Gauls*, who were coming from all Parts to join the *Cimbri*, with a Deſign to croſs the *Alpes* with them, invade *Italy*, and utterly aboliſh the hated Power of the *Romans*. The Plunder of the famous Temple of *Apollo* at *Toulouſe*, had exaſperated all the ſouthern *Gauls*, and they breathed nothing but Vengeance, under the Protection of their injured Gods. They were all in Motion, as far as to the Banks of the *Rhine*, and the Country of the *Bavarians*. The [13] *Ambrones*, the [14] *Tigurini*, the [15] *Tugenes*, the [16] *Urbigenes*, and in ſhort, almoſt all the Nations who inhabited the Country which is now called *Swiſſerland*, were bringing their Troops to join thoſe of the northern Nations, which were already diſperſed about in *Gallia Narbonenſis*. So that *Mallius*'s *Conſular* Army would have arrived very ſeaſonably, if he had had the Underſtanding, Valour, and Experience that were neceſſary to enable him to make head againſt ſo great a number of Enemies. But the new *Conſul* began his Campaign with quarrelling with *Cæpio*, as ſoon as they had joined their Forces.

Oroſ. L. 5, c. 15.

Cæpio's Character makes it probable, that he did not pay all due Regards to *Mallius*, as to his Superiour. The Diſproportion was ſo great between the two Generals, with regard to Birth, Underſtanding, and Knowledge in Military Affairs, that the *Pro-Conſul* could not readily give Way to the *Conſul*. And on the other hand, the more conſcious *Mallius* was, that he deſerved Contempt, the ſooner was he provoked when he met with it. So that the Diſputes grew warm, and were carried at laſt to ſuch a Heighth, that the only Expedient the Officers of the two Armies could find out to put an End to them, was to ſeparate them. A deteſtable Reſolution, which ſoon produced the moſt terrible Defeat *Rome* had ever met with, and brought her into greater Danger than had ever threatned her, ſince her Foundation. This innumerable Multitude of *Cimbri* and *Gauls* could deſire nothing better, than to ſee the *Roman* Forces divided; and their Generals knew how to make the beſt Uſe of their Advantage.

As ſoon as they ſaw the *Rhone* between the *Conſular* and *Pro-Conſular* Armies, the Barbarians triumphed. *See*, ſaid they one to another, *the wonderful Effect of the impending Vengeance of Heaven on theſe ſacrilegious Prophaners!* Apollo *has infatuated them, and is leading them blindfold to Deſtruction. Let us then ſacrifice theſe Victims which are devoted to the angry Gods; and let us dedicate all the Spoils we ſhall take from the Enemy, to their Honour. This will make them propitious to us; whereas the*

13 The *Ambrones* formerly poſſeſſed Part of the Canton of *Friburg*, and that of *Lucerne*.

14 The *Tigurini* inhabited the Cantons of *Zurich*, *Appenzel*, *Schaffhouſen*, *Rhintal*, &c.

15 The Country of the *Tugeni* contained the Cantons of *Zug*, *Glaris*, *Schwitz*, and *Uri*.

16 *The Principality of Neuf-chatel*, and the greateſt Part of the Canton of *Friburg* and of *The Pais Roman*, belonged to the *Urbigenes*.

Romans

Romans *have incurred their Diſpleaſure.* This ſaid, both the *Gauls* and their Allies made a formal Vow, not to reſerve to themſelves any Part of the Booty which they ſhould take from the conquered. Year of *ROME* DCXLVIII. P. RUTILIUS RUFUS, CN. MALLIUS MAXIMUS, Conſuls.

At firſt, the *Cimbri* and *Gauls* ſeem to have acted ſeparately, the latter on the Side of the *Rhone* next to *Provence*, the former in *Gallia Narbonenſis.* And the firſt Attempt the *Gauls* made, was on a Detachment of the *Conſular* Army, under the Command of a Lieutenant-General of great Diſtinction. This was that *Marcus Aurelius Scaurus*, who had been *Conſul* three Years before, and had made War with the *Cimbri.* The Body he commanded was beaten by the *Gauls*, and *Scaurus* himſelf fell into their Hands, and was made a Priſoner of War. This Defeat filled *Mallius*'s Camp with Terrour; and though he hated *Cæpio*, he thought it proper to call him to his Aſſiſtance. The *Pro-Conſul* anſwered at firſt, in a proud and angry Manner, *We have each his Province; Let the* Conſul *take care of himſelf.* But when he had reflected a little farther on the Publick Good, he became more tractable. Beſides, he was afraid that *Mallius* would have his Revenge, and if he conquered the *Gauls* without him would run away with all the Glory of the Campaign. He therefore paſſed the *Rhone*, to be nearer to the *Conſular* Army, but affected to have no Correſpondence with the *Conſul.* They neither had any Conferences, nor held any Councils, nor concerted any Meaſures together. The two *Roman* Armies watched each other as narrowly, as if they had been Enemies; and *Cæpio* took care to encamp in the Way, where the *Cimbri* muſt paſs, in order to fall on the *Romans.* He hoped, that by Means of this advantageous Poſt, he ſhould be able to ſtand all the Shock of the *Cimbri* himſelf, and thereby deprive *Mallius* of the Opportunity of ſharing the Honour of the Victory. *Tit. Liv. in Epit. Velleius, L. 2. Diod. Sic. Oroſ. L. 16. Salluſt. in Jugur.*

As for the *Cimbri*, they concluded that the two Generals were in perfect Union and Friendſhip, when they ſaw them draw near each other; and being leſs audacious than they had been during the Separation of the *Roman* Armies, they ſent Deputies to the *Conſul*, to propoſe a Peace, which they might perhaps obtain of him on better Terms than the untractable *Pro-Conſul* would grant them. Theſe Deputies muſt neceſſarily paſs through *Cæpio*'s Army, and he ordered them to be brought before him. Then he examined them, concerning the Commiſſion they were charged with; and when he found that they had Orders to treat only with *Mallius*, he could not ſuppreſs his Uneaſineſs. It tranſported him with ſo much Jealouſy and Rage, that he not only treated the Ambaſſadors very ill, but had like to have had them murdered, in his Preſence; and the Fury of their General highly provoked his *Legionaries.* They thought themſelves in the utmoſt Danger, under a Commander who was ſo little Maſter of himſelf; and they forced him, whether he would or no, to go to the General's Camp, confer with him, and aſſiſt in deliberating on the Propoſals the *Cimbri* had ſent to the Republick. *Plut. in Lucullo & Mario. Eutrop. L. 5. Juſtin. Tacit.*

But as the *Pro-Conſul* was come to the General's Tent againſt his Will, he expoſed himſelf there more than ever. He reſolved to oppoſe his Superiour in all Things; and contradicted him with Obſtinacy and Rudeneſs. Nay, he not only aſſumed much, and ſpake with great Haughtineſs, but abuſed as well as inſulted his General. This increaſed the Hatred between the two Commanders; the wiſeſt of the Officers foreboded from thence the ſame fatal Effects, which the Diviſions of the *Conſuls* had produced at *Cannæ*; And in ſhort, the Enemy, being informed by their Envoys of the Miſunderſtanding between the Generals, took this Opportunity to give battle. The *Gauls* attacked *Mallius*'s Camp, and the *Cimbri* that of *Cæpio*: And the Slaughter they made was almoſt inconceivable. Fourſcore thouſand Men, *Legionaries* and *Allies*, with the two Sons of the *Conſul*, all periſhed in this fatal Day; and 40000 Servants or Suttlers with them. Never was there a more compleat Victory gained. It was with great Difficulty, that only ten Men eſcaped with their two Generals, to carry the News of this fatal Action to *Rome.* And among theſe was the famous *Sertorius*, who being yet very young, was making his firſt Campaign under *Cæpio*, in the *Roman* Cavalry. Being well mounted, he rode into the *Rhone*, and ſwam croſs it, without quitting his Buckler or Cuiraſs. This was the firſt Proof he gave, of that Intrepidity amidſt the greateſt Danger, which he always retained, even in old Age. As for the Conquerors, they deſtroyed all the Spoils they took from a ſenſe of Duty. In compliance with their Vow, they tore in pieces all the Habits of the dead, as well as the Moveables and the Tents they found in the two Camps. The Gold and Silver they *Diod. Sic. L. 36. Eclog. 1. Valer. Antias ap. Liv. Plut. in Sertorio,*

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they threw into the *Rhone*; and drowned the Horſes they had taken in the Battle. Nor would they ſo much as ſell any of their Priſoners of War, but hanged them all on Trees, and would give no Quarter to any. Thus were theſe Barbarians cruel out of Piety; and revenged without Avarice the Injuries done to *Apollo*, whoſe Temple the ſacrilegious and covetous *Romans* had plundered.

§. V. The News of this Misfortune when brought to *Rome*, filled it with fear and Conſternation. When *Hanibal* was ready to come down the *Alpes*, he had never given ſo great an Alarm. This new Deluge of *Cimbri* and *Gauls* threatened all *Italy*, and were numerous enough to ſwallow up the whole Country. Their laſt Victory ſeemed to aſſure them of the Conqueſt of the Capital of the World. *Rome* had loſt two *Conſular* Armies, which were her chief Dependance, and was now left unprovided for her Defence, in her greateſt Need. Beſides, Advices alſo came from *Spain*, that a *Prætorian* Army had been cut in pieces there by the *Luſitanians*. Both theſe melancholy Accounts arrived at the ſame Time, that is, on the Eve of *The Nones of October*; and the Senate aſſembled, and ordered, that, *This ſhould for ever be reckoned among the* Unlucky Days, *as well as that of the Battle of the* Allia. So that this was a new Confeſſion, that their greateſt Misfortunes had been brought on them by the *Gauls*. In this general Conſternation, all the Shops in the City were ſhut up, and the *Citizens* laid aſide the *Toga*, and put on their military Habit. A ſpeedy Remedy was abſolutely neceſſary for the preſent Evil; and the firſt Step taken, was to depoſe *Cæpio* from the Generalſhip, and declare him incapable of any Command in the *Roman* Armies for the future. This was new; ſo much ſo that, if we may believe ſome Authors, of all the moſt faulty of the *Roman* Generals, from the Time of *Tarquin the Proud*, not one had ſuffered ſo terrible a Diſgrace. But be that as it will, the Decree of the People againſt the unfortunate *Pro-Conſul*, did not paſs without Oppoſition. *C. Junius Norbanus*, the *Tribune*, reported it to the *Comitia*, and there it met with many Opponents. The Nobility and Senate exclaimed againſt it as a Novelty, and a Blow which affected the whole Body of the *Patricians*; and ſuch Outcries were heard, and ſuch a Tumult made, as *Norbanus* could no otherwiſe ſuppreſs, than by raiſing a Sedition. But at his Perſuaſion, the People took up Stones; wounded *M. Æmilius Scaurus*, the *Preſident of the Senate* with them in the Head; and drove out of the Aſſembly the *Tribunes*, *L. Cotta* and *D. Didius*, who proteſted againſt the Law their Collegue had propoſed. Thus the ſacrilegious *Cæpio* [17] was depoſed, and according to ſome Authors, his Goods confiſcated: And when thus diſgraced, degraded, and reduced to Want, he condemned himſelf [18] to Baniſhment. But ſome think he was brought back and periſhed in Priſon, from whence his Body was dragged to the *Scalæ* [19] *Gemoniæ*. A Puniſhment juſtly due from *Rome* to one of her

Jul. Obſeq.

Cic 2. de Orat. & in Brut.

Idem pro Balb.

17 The Ancients are not agreed about the Puniſhment inflicted on *Servilius Cæpio*, by the Aſſembly of the People. *Strabo* aſſerts, as certain matter of Fact, That the Criminal being condemned to Baniſhment, retired to a foreign Country loaded with Curſes and Reproaches, there led a miſerable Life, and there died without ſeeing his Relations or Country any more. *Timagenes*, the Hiſtorian, quoted by *Strabo* himſelf, ſays, That his two Daughters, who were Heireſſes to his Eſtate, were diſgraced after his Death, and died in Infamy. But according to another Verſion, which *Sigonius* follows, The unfortunate General left only two Sons, who conſumed their Patrimony in ſhameful Debaucheries, and at length died miſerably. *Valerius Maximus*'s Account, is not only different from that of *Strabo*, but inconſiſtent with it ſelf. *Cæpio*, according to him; *B. 6. c. 9.* who was gradually raiſed to the higheſt Offices in the Republick, became a remarkable Inſtance of the Inconſtancy of Fortune, after he had been honoured with a *Triumph*, the Dignity of *Pontifex Maximus*, and the Title of *Protector of the Senate*. After he had attained to the higheſt Pitch of Grandeur, he was brought down ſo low, as to die in the publick Priſon. His Body was cut in pieces by the publick Executioner, and hanged upon the Gallows, to be a Spectacle of Terror to all the *Roman* People. But it is no eaſy Matter to reconcile this with the 7th Chapter of his 4th Book. We are there told, That *Cæpio*, being accuſed of having been the ſole Cauſe of the Defeat of the *Romans* by the *Cimbri* and *Teutones*, was cloſely confined in Priſon; That, in his Diſgrace, he experienced the Faithfulneſs of *Caius Antiſtius Rheginus*; That this generous Friend found Means to elude the Vigilance of his Guards, and procure his Eſcape; That *Cæpio*, as ſoon as at Liberty, made the beſt of his Way to ſecure himſelf by a ſpeedy Flight; and That *Antiſtius*, not content with having delivered him out of Priſon, accompanied him in his Retreat. But if the Priſoner fled, how could he die in Priſon? *Caſaubon* has well obſerved this Inconſiſtency, in his Notes on *Strabo*; but ſtops there. And we may therefore add, that in order to reconcile theſe Places, it may be ſaid, That *Cæpio*, through the Intereſt of his Family and Friends, was brought back to *Rome* from his Exile; That the *Tribunes of the People* revived the old Accuſations againſt him; and That, when he was put into Priſon a ſecond Time, he was poiſoned there.

18 *Cicero*, in his *Oration for Lucius Balbus*, ſays, That *Servilius Cæpio* retired to *Smyrna*, a City of *Aſia Minor*. Some Moderns, and particularly *Pighius* the *Annaliſt*, have placed the Judgment paſſed on this General, in the Year 658, ten Years after the Victory gained by the *Cimbri* over the *Romans*; which we ſhall have Occaſion to explain more fully hereafter.

19 See Vol. 3. p. 19, Note 17.

own *Citizens*, who had ſacrificed the Intereſts of his Country to his Avarice and Ambition!

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And now, the whole Government of the Republick for the reſt of the Year fell to the *Conſul P. Rutilius Rufus*, who had been unactive at *Rome*, whilſt his Collegue was ſo unfortunately making War in *Gaul*. It may be preſumed, that if *Mallius*'s Province had fallen to *Rufus*, he would have behaved himſelf with more Prudence and Valour than that weak General. At leaſt, *Rome* empowered him to guard *Rome* againſt the Misfortunes that threatened her; and he applied himſelf wholly to the Duty of his Office. By his Orders, new *Legions* were raiſed in the City, and not a *Citizen* who was of Age to bear Arms, was exempted from the Service. No Excuſes were admitted. The *Conſul* would not diſpenſe with his own Son, who was ſcarce ſeventeen. Tho', according to Cuſtom, he might have kept him with him in his Pavilion; he choſe rather, for Example's ſake, to make him ſerve as a common Soldier in one of the *Legions*. And it was perhaps, as much in regard to him as to the publick Good, that he firſt introduced Fencing-Maſters [20] into the *Roman* Camp, to teach the young Soldiers how to handle their Arms, and attack an Enemy or defend themſelves, with Art. In this manner, the wiſe *Conſul*, who was a very learned *Stoic*, and a ſkilful Warriour, prepared for his Succeſſor an invincible Army; which afterwards preſerved, and was the Glory of, the Republick.

Val. Max. L. 2. c. 3.

§. VI. Whilſt *Rutilius* was thus raiſing and diſciplining his Troops in *Italy*, the *Cimbri* and *Gauls* held their Councils of War beyond the *Alpes*. Some were for going down into the Plains of *Inſubria*, paſſing the *Po*, and drawing near to *Rome*. Others, for conquering the new *Roman Province*, and reducing *Aix*, *Narbonne*, and *Toulouſe*, and their Dependencies. But before they came to any Reſolution, the *Cimbri* thought it proper to bring into their Aſſembly, their *Conſular* Priſoner of War, *Aurelius Scaurus*, and hear his Opinion. The *Roman* was therefore brought before the Generals of the *Cimbri* and *Gauls* with his Hands loaded with Chains, and was aſked, whether it would be ſafe for them to go into *Italy*, and carry on the War to the Foot of the *Capitol?* They, no doubt, entertained Hopes, that ſince *Scaurus* had loſt his Liberty, he had likewiſe extinguiſhed all Affection for his Country. But to their great ſurprize, he ſpake very honourably of his Countrymen, without the leaſt Deference for his new Maſters.

Regulus, ſaid he, *when a Captive among the* Carthaginians, *as I now am among you, never forgot that he was a* Roman; *neither are you to expect any Advice from me, which may be prejudicial to my Republick. I ſhall only give you ſuch, as may be uſeful to your ſelves. It is a great deal for you, to have brought yourſelves into ſuch a Condition, as will allow you to deliberate whether you ſhall march to* Rome; *and my Advice is, to ſtop here, and not to proceed ſo far as to attempt to execute ſuch an Enterprize. Enjoy the Glory Fortune has given you, in your firſt Battle; and don't raſhly throw away this accidental Advantage. Tho' you have ſucceeded through the diſunion of two bad Commanders; you have nevertheleſs Reaſon to be afraid of the Republick, when all the Members of it ſhall unite to reſiſt and deſtroy you. I neither judge of your Fate, nor of that of* Rome, *by the preſent State of Things. The recollection of what is paſt, is to me a ſurer Rule, whereby to judge of the Misfortunes, which will hereafter befall you.* Pyrrhus *came from* Epirus *into* Italy, *attacked the Republick before it was well eſtabliſhed, and his firſt Succeſs intimidated, tho' it did not diſcourage, the* Romans. *But at laſt, his ſhameful Flight effaced all the Glory of his former Victories. And* Hannibal *is a later Inſtance. This Conqueror of* Spain *came over theſe* Alpes *which you are inclined to paſs, and many Nations repaired to his Standards in the Heart of* Italy. *Nay, he was victorious in ſeveral pitched Battles, and drew near to the* Capitol, *and inſulted it. But what was the Iſſue? He was recalled into* Africa *by a well-judged Diverſion, was there conquered, and* Rome *triumphed. Indeed the Defeats of* Pyrrhus *and* Hannibal *have not leſſened the Reputation of thoſe great Men; but they have much raiſed the Fame of the* Romans. *Their very Name and their Forces are now become formidable to the fartheſt Parts of the Earth. You may fight them once with Suc-*

20 *Valerius Maximus* tells us, That *Rutilius* committed the Care of theſe military Academies to thoſe Maſters of Arms, whoſe Buſineſs it was to inſtruct the *Gladiators*, that *Caius Aurelius Scaurus* had bought at his own Expence, for Combats in the Amphitheatre. *Caius* was probably one of the *Ædiles* in the Year 649; at leaſt its certain, it was their Buſineſs to preſide at the *Games*; and it has been already obſerved, That it was likewiſe their Concern to provide every thing neceſſary for the *Games*, either with their own Money, or that of the Publick. See Vol. 2. p. 77, Note 51.

ceſs; but in the End you will find their Republick to be invincible. This was thought too inſolent a Speech from the Mouth of a Captive; and *Bojorix*, one of the Kings, or Leaders of the *Cimbri*, a young Prince, full of Fire, being provoked at it, drew his Sword, and without regard to the Name or Dignity of a Priſoner of that Conſequence, ſtabbed him. A barbarous Action! and Heaven would not ſuffer it to eſcape unpuniſhed!

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§. VII. From this Time, the united *Germans* and *Gauls* were wholly intent on their Expedition into *Italy*. In the mean while, *Rome* choſe new *Conſuls* to ſucceed *Rutilius* and *Mallius*; and as ſhe uſually took care in Time of great Diſtreſs, to prefer only Men of known Abilities and experienced Commanders, ſhe firſt pitched on *Marius*, tho' abſent. He was the Hero of the Time: And his Victories in *Numidia* were the ſole Motives to his Election. No Canvaſſing or Artifices were now neceſſary; the Neceſſity of Affairs promoted him. Two Laws were urged againſt him: One which forbad the Choice of any abſent Perſon to be *Conſul*; and another which enacted, That no one ſhould be raiſed to the *Conſulate* a ſecond Time, till ten Years after the firſt. But the People made the Laws give way to the publick Good. They recollected the Inſtances of the two *Scipio's*, who, on account of the great Importance of the Wars in *Africa*, had not been ſubjected to the common Rules. In ſhort, *Marius* was proclaimed *Conſul* a ſecond Time, and *C. Flavius* [21] *Fimbria* was given him for his Collegue.

Plut. in Mario.

Marius was buſy in *Africa*, in regulating his new Conqueſt, and thought of nothing leſs than his new Promotion: So that this News was a very agreeable Surprize to him; and he left *Africa* without delay. He arrived at *Rome*, in the latter end of *December*; and prepared, both for receiving the Honours of a *Triumph*, and for entering upon his *Conſulſhip*, on the firſt Day of *January*. A Day therefore which did him double Honour, and was one of the moſt remarkable of his Life. He entered *Rome* with the Pomp of a *triumphant* Victor; and his magnificent Chariot was preceded by the Riches which he had brought from his Province. Theſe conſiſted of 3700 Pounds Weight of Gold in Ingots, 5775 Pounds Weight of Silver in Bars, and 287000 [22] *Drachmæ* or Silver *Denarii*, in *Specie*. But the Spectators were not ſo much ſtruck with the Sight of this [23] Wealth, as with that of the Captive King, who was led in Chains before his Conqueror. The Eyes of all were fixed on *Jugurtha* and his two Sons, the eldeſt of whom was named *Oxindas*; and the Remembrance of the great Reputation which the *Numidian* King had acquired, together with the Joy of having overcome him, drew Reflections from the *Romans*, which were the Effects of a true manly Compaſſion. *Is this then*, ſaid they, *the* Jugurtha, *whoſe Power and Riches have ſo long fatigued us? Which was the greater General, He, or* Hannibal? *The latter was the more rapid Conqueror, but the former defended his Dominions with greater Addreſs. They were both very artful Men; but the* Numidian *had the aſcendant.* Hannibal *fought us openly; but at a Time, when his own Republick was in the heighth of her Glory, and ours had very little extended her Dominions. Whereas* Jugurtha *formed Deſigns againſt* Rome, *when ſhe was moſt powerful, and moſt ſucceſsful. He borrowed Arms from his Enemies, and made uſe of our Paſſions to deſtroy us. He made great Advantage of the Covetouſneſs of our Generals, and the Avarice of our Magiſtrates: And the Attacks he has made upon our Probity, have done the Republick more Miſchief, than all the Ravages which* Hannibal *committed in our Dominions. And with Regard to his own Kingdom, with what Glory did he carry on the War there? Did* Hannibal *defend himſelf with that Valour and Conſtancy? The Loſs of one Battle diſcouraged him. But* Jugurtha, *tho' ſupported only by an Army of fickle and effeminate Men, found Means to make them conſtant, and inſpire them with Courage. He found they were not fit for pitched Battles; and he employed them in ſudden Incurſions. And tho' he ſeldom overcame us in regular Engagements, yet he deſtroyed our Ar-*

App. L. 1. de Bell. Civ.

21 *Cicero*, in his *Brutus*, ſays, That *Flavius Fimbria* was in ſome Reputation, as an Orator, and no leſs valuable for his Experience in the Adminiſtration of the Republick. The Senate, more than once, did him the Honour, to follow his Advice. He had ſome Knowledge of the Civil Law, and made a good Uſe of it at the Bar. His Orations were not unknown to *Cicero*, who had read them when he was very young; but they were ſoon after buried in oblivion. The *Roman* Orator blames him for being too ſatyrical, and too indiſcreet, in his Speeches; and for ſpeaking with a Vehemence and high Tone of Voice, which looked like raving.

22 *Plutarch* reckons only 17028 *Drachmæ*, or *Denarii*, in *Specie*.

23 At the rate of 500 *Livres* to a Pound of Gold, and 50 to a Pound of Silver, the 3700 Pounds weight of Gold will come to 1503500 *Livres*; and the 5775 Pound of Silver will come to 288750 *Livres*. The *Drachmæ*, at the rate of 10 *Sols* each, come to 143500 *Livres*.

mies

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mies by piece-meal. In ſhort, he diſcovered great Abilities in his Marches and Retreats; great Artifice and Cunning in his Attacks; and a great Readineſs at Expedients, in Diſtreſs. Nay, he would have been at the Head of his Troops to this Day, if the Eloquence of Sylla, *and the Treachery of a King, had not been made uſe of, to load him with Chains. Fortune has indeed proſpered the Arms of* Marius; *but her Frowns have not made* Jugurtha *contemptible, tho' miſerable.*

Theſe were the Thoughts of the *Romans* concerning their Captive, even when they were triumphing over his Miſery. But, tho' they eſteemed him, they were the Inſtruments Heaven choſe to puniſh the Crimes he had committed, in order to extend his Dominions. He was made a Spectacle to the People, from the triumphal Arch to the *Capitol*; and ſome ſay, he fainted in his March; which if true, he muſt have recovered himſelf very ſoon. After the Ceremony, when the *Roman* Soldiers tore off the Tips of his Ears, in ſnatching away his Pendants, he was deeply affected with their Inſults: And when he was thrown into a deep Hole, there to drag on the Remainder of his miſerable Life, he cried out, *Alas!* Romans, *Your Stoves are very cold!* But tho' he was ſtill willing to live, even in this filthy Pit, he was ſoon delivered [24] from the Miſeries of it. The Inconveniencies of his Priſon, and the Want he ſuffered, brought a Diſtemper upon him, which killed him in ſix Days after the *Triumph* of his Conqueror. His two Sons ſurvived him, and ſpent their Lives in a more tolerable Captivity, at [25] *Venuſium*. And as for *Marius*, his Pleaſure was not without its Allay, even amidſt the Applauſes of the People. They ſufficiently gave him to underſtand, that they allowed *Sylla* his Share of the Honour of the Conqueſt.

Epit. Livian. L. 67. c. 19.

Epit. Liv. L. 67. c. 20.

Front. Strat. L. 4.

§. VIII. As ſoon as the Victor came down from his Chariot, he aſſembled the Senate, and ventured to appear in the Senate-Houſe, in the pompous Dreſs he wore in the Proceſſion. Whether he did this by Miſtake, or out of Affectation, the Thing was new; and when he ſaw the Reſentments of the Senators in their Looks, and Sneers, he was aſhamed of it. He therefore went immediately, and pulled off his triumphal Habit, and returned in a *Prætexta*, the uſual Dreſs of *Conſuls*.

The Buſineſs of the Aſſembly was to aſſign the *Conſuls* their Provinces. But as the People had already determined that *Marius* ſhould go to *Tranſalpine Gaul*, to ſuppreſs the Inſolence of the *Cimbri* and *Gauls*, and revenge the Cauſe of the Republick; all that remained was, to divide the Armies between them. *Marius* had brought that from *Africa*, which had gained him the Conqueſt of *Numidia*. *Rutilius* had juſt raiſed a new one, and taught it that ſort of Diſcipline, which he had himſelf invented, and which made it almoſt invincible. *Marius* had his choice, and he readily preferred the new *Legions* which *Rutilius* had inſtructed, and left the old Troops which he had commanded in *Africa*, to his Collegue *Fimbria*. Perhaps he might not be entirely ſatisfied with them, becauſe he diſcovered that they ſtill retained ſome Affection for *Metellus*, their old General, and his perſonal Enemy. But be that as it will, the two *Conſuls* agreed, That *Marius* ſhould manage the War beyond the *Alpes*, with *Sylla* for his Lieutenant General; and That *Fimbria* ſhould continue in *Italy* to receive the Barbarians, in caſe they ſhould think fit to croſs the Mountains.

Theſe were the wiſe Preparations the Republick made to guard her ſelf againſt the Deſcent of the *Cimbri* and *Gauls*. The chief Dependance of the *Romans* was on *Marius*, and they had therefore heaped upon him the higheſt Honours. It was probably no ſmall Mortification to the Nobility, to ſee this vile *Plebeian* become ſo very neceſſary to the Publick, and exalted above the Senate and all the *Patricians*. Whilſt on the other hand, it did not a little increaſe the Boldneſs of the *Tribunes*, to ſee themſelves ſupported by a *Conſul* of their own Faction, who was as formidable for his Arms, as they were for their Influence over the People. The Situation of Affairs never ſo much favoured their Enterprizes as at preſent; and therefore four of the ten, ſignalized themſelves by the Laws they got paſſed, or attempted at leaſt, in favour of the Commons, and to the Diſadvantage of the Senate and Nobility.

§. IX. One of the moſt zealous for mortifying the *Patricians*, was *Cneïus Domitius Ænobarbus*, the great Grandfather of the Emperor *Nero*. He cited *M. Æmilius Scaurus*, *The Preſident of the Senate*, before the People; and got him fined, for having neglected, as he pretended, the annual Sacrifices offered to the *Dii Penates* at *Lavinium*.

24 *Eutropius*, *Livy*, and *Oroſius* ſay, That *Jugurtha* was ſtrangled in Priſon, after he returned from the Ceremony of the *Triumph*.

25 See Vol. 3. p. 126. Note 16.

But

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But it was pure Revenge, and not any Zeal for Religion, which led the *Tribune* to this Severity. *Scaurus* had affronted him, by refuſing to admit him into the *Augural* College as he had deſired. Nevertheleſs, as revengeful as *Domitius* was, he ſtill retained ſome Principles of Equity. At the Time that he was preparing to accuſe *Scaurus*, with an Intention to ruin him if he could, one of the Slaves of the accuſed offered to put into his Hands all his Maſter's Papers. Theſe would doubtleſs furniſh him with ſufficient Matter for new Complaints to deſtroy his Enemy. But he had Probity enough to deteſt purſuing even his Hatred, by ſuch baſe Means. He abhorred the Treachery of the Servant, and ſent him back to his Maſter, to give him due Puniſhment for it. Thus, tho' the *Romans* were now grown very vitious, yet they ſtill had ſome great Virtues as well as great Faults. However, That it was a part of *Domitius*'s Character to conceal his Acts of Injuſtice, under the Appearance of Equity, was likewiſe ſeen in the new Law he got paſſed againſt the *Pontifical* College. At the Eſtabliſhment of it, the Power of filling up the Vacancies in it, was ſolely in the *Pontifices* themſelves; and tho' this Matter had gone through ſeveral Changes, the ancient Uſage was at length re-eſtabliſhed. But *Domitius* reſolved to transfer again the Right of electing the *Pontifices* to the *Comitia*; which was a new Wound to the Nobility, who had the College in a manner at their Diſpoſal. And in order to conceal the Hardſhip, under an Appearance of Moderation, he inſerted a Clauſe in the Law, that when a *Pontifex* was to be elected, only 17 of the 35 *Tribes* ſhould be aſſembled, and he ſhould be choſen by a majority of their Suffrages. This he ſaid he did, to obviate any Complaint, that the whole Republick had aſſumed a Right of granting Promotions, which was contrary to the Laws of Religion. But how thin was this Sophiſtry; how apparent the Deceit? As if a Part of the People had a better Right to diſpoſe of the Offices of Religion, than the whole. Nevertheleſs, there was no reſiſting Force. The Law was paſſed; and a little time afterwards, the Lawmaker himſelf was choſen *Pontifex Maximus*, by the 17 *Tribes*. A ſure ſign that the *Tribune* had his own Intereſt in view, when he gave the People a Privilege, which was not properly within their Sphere! However, he did not ſucceed ſo well in the Accuſation he brought before them againſt *M. Junius Silanus*. This illuſtrious *Patrician*, who was *Conſul* five Years before, having been unſucceſsful in his Expedition againſt the *Cimbri*, the *Tribune* made his Misfortune his Crime. But the Commons would not blindly give themſelves up, to be guided by his Paſſions. *Junius* was acquitted, with only two *Tribes* againſt him. So that the *Romans* did not always think, that the Loſs of a Battle was to be imputed as a Fault to all their unfortunate Generals.

Suetonius in Nerone. *Cic. pro Dejotar.* *Val. Max. L. 6. c. 5.* *Cic. contra Rullum.* *Suet. in Nerone.* *Val. Max. L. 6. c. 5.*

Another *Tribune*, who ſhewed his Zeal againſt the *Patricians*, was *Caſſius Longinus*; who took occaſion from the Succeſs of his late Accuſation againſt *Servilius Cæpio*, to get a new Law paſſed, That every *Citizen*, who was degraded by a *Plebiſcitum*, ſhould be thereby for ever deprived of his Place in the Senate. This took away from the Senators their Power of reſtoring their Honour to thoſe, whom the People had diſgraced.

Cic. in Bruto. But the *Tribune* who did the Senate moſt Injury, was *Caius Servilius Glaucia*. He not only revived the *Gracchian* Law, which deprived the *Conſcript Fathers* of the Cognizance of any civil Cauſes, and veſted it wholly in the *Roman Knights*; but gave them ſtill a deeper Wound. He got it enacted by the Commons, That the *Allies* of *Latium*, who ſhould accuſe a Senator, and prove their Charge, ſhould enjoy all the Privileges of *Roman Citizens*. This was opening a large Field, for oppreſſing the greateſt Men in the Republick. And laſtly, the ſame *Tribune* got a Law paſſed by the People, That whenſoever any Cauſe concerning publick Oppreſſions, ſhould be poſtponed for further Information, the accuſed ſhould not be heard in their Defence without hearing the Accuſers likewiſe at the ſame time. This was the only way to hinder the Oppreſſors from eſcaping the Puniſhment they had deſerved. Hitherto, whenever they had obtained a Decree to poſtpone the Sentence, they had been allowed to defend themſelves without hearing their Opponents; and often ſecured themſelves againſt the Rigour of the Laws by meer Chicanery.

Cic. in Balbo. *Cic. Verr. Tertia.*

As for the *Tribune*, *Lucius Marcius Philippus*, he attempted to revive the Law of *Tiberius Gracchus* concerning the Diſtribution of Lands. But this was thought a ſeditious Attempt; and he at laſt acquieſced upon the Remonſtrances of the Nobility. He ſubmitted to their Reaſons, and deſiſted; and did himſelf Honour by his Moderation. All theſe Attempts againſt the Nobility ſufficiently ſhew, how much the popular Faction depended on the Protection of the new *Conſul*; and the mortified Senate peaceably ſubmitted to theſe Hardſhips, as long as he continued in Power.

§. X. In the mean time *Marius* ſet out for *Tranſalpine Gaul.* The *Narbonne* Province was the Rendezvous appointed for his Troops; and he found it ravaged, but the Enemy gone. Inſtead of paſſing the *Alpes*, as they had propoſed after the defeat of *Cæpio* and *Mallius*, their Hopes of Booty had drawn the Barbarians back into *Spain*; and the *Conſul* returned Thanks to the Gods for this Happineſs. His Army was not yet diſciplined or formed, in the manner he deſired; and had he been obliged to fight immediately after his arrival, he would have had ſome Reaſon to fear the Succeſs of Troops, who had never been exerciſed but in Places of Safety, and far from an Enemy. But he now had Time, till the Return of the *Cimbri*, to perfect his *Legionaries* in Diſcipline, and make them ſuperior in Power to the Multitudes of the Enemy; and his Vigilance in forming them was very great. Not that he taught his Troops Frugality and Continence by his Example only; they were more influenced by the Severity that appeared in all his Deportment. There was a wildneſs and fierceneſs in his Looks and Eyes not to be deſcribed. The very Tone of his Voice was ſo rough and harſh, that whenever he gave Orders, it made thoſe that received them tremble. And this had more Effect than Puniſhments, in keeping his Men in exact Subjection and Obedience. Tho' the *Cimbri* were gone, he was altogether as ſevere in his Diſcipline, as if they had been within reach of him. The ſtricteſt Rules were obſerved in conducting his Convoys, and in Forraging. Whenever his Troops marched, it was in order of Battle. And that they might habituate themſelves to rally the more eaſily, and form themſelves with little Trouble, he would ſuffer but one ſort of Enſigns in his Army. He ordered, That *Eagles* only ſhould be borne; and every Man was taught to repair readily to his own, without Confuſion.

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Plut. in Mario.

But this Army, tho' thus wiſely diſciplined, had never yet been expoſed to the Hazards of Battles: And *Marius* therefore, till the return of the *Cimbri*, whom he came to ſeek, found Employment for it, by ſending them againſt the *Tectoſages*. He ordered *Sylla* to go and make War with all the Enemies to the *Roman* Name, who were diſperſed from *Narbonne* to the *Pyrenees*: And *Sylla* kept up the Glory he had acquired in *Numidia*. He fought the *Tectoſages*, with a Detachment of the new Army; and took one of their Kings, named *Copillus*, Priſoner of War. By theſe ſlight Advantages, the *Conſular* Army was gradually prepared for greater Victories, when the Barbarians ſhould return from *Spain*. Nevertheleſs *Marius*, did not think the Troops he had brought from *Italy* ſufficient to withſtand ſo terrible an Inundation of *Cimbri*, *Teutones*, and *Gauls* as he expected: And he obtained leave to ſend for Succours to the fartheſt Parts of the Eaſt. He ſent as far as to the King of *Bithynia*, deſiring him to ſend ſome *Bithynian* Succours even beyond the *Alpes*. But *Nicomedes* the Son of old *Pruſias*, offered ſuch Reaſons for his Excuſe, as were not diſapproved of at *Rome*. He repreſented, *That great Numbers of his Subjects had been carried away by the* Roman Knights, *who farmed the Revenues of the Republick in the* Levant; *That being kept in Slavery by theſe* Publicans, *they could no longer ſerve in his Troops*; *and That unleſs his* Bithynians *were reſtored to him, he could not compleat his* Phalanxes, *or march them to aſſiſt* Marius. The Complaint was allowed to be a very juſt one, and the Senate had regard to it. They paſſed a Decree, That all thoſe Men of free Condition, who had been brought from the Country of any Ally and enſlaved, ſhould be reſtored to their Liberty. But this Decree, tho' nothing could be more juſt, gave riſe to a new War, in which a great deal of *Roman* Blood was ſpilt, and of which *Marius* was, by this Means, the innocent Occaſion.

Plut. in Sylla.

Diod. Sic. in Eclog. 1. apud Valeſ.

§. XI. The greateſt part of theſe Slaves had been brought from the Eaſt againſt their Wills, and had been diſperſed about, partly in *Italy*, but chiefly in *Sicily*, to cultivate the Lands which were appropriated to the Publick: And upon the firſt News of this Decree, the unhappy Creatures broke off their Chains, and without waiting for further Orders, ſet themſelves at Liberty. Their firſt Commotion was at [26] *Nuceria*, a City of *Campania*, on the Banks of the [27] *Sarnus*: And the Number of them here being not great, the Tumult was the leſs formidable and ſoon ſuppreſſed. But a more violent Paſſion, even than the Deſire of Liberty, gave riſe to a ſecond Storm at *Capua*. A young *Roman Knight*, named *Vettius*, whoſe Father was immenſely rich, had ſquandered away his Fortune in Debauchery: And after he was thus reduced, he fell violently in

26 See Vol. 2. p. 227, Note 99, & Page 283, Note 93.

27 The *Sarnus*, or *Sarno*, as it is now called, riſes in Mount *Tifate* in *Campania*, and falls into the *Mediterranean*. The Mouth of it is not called *Sarno*, but *Scafati*.

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love with a beautiful Slave, whom he bought for ſeven *Attick Talents*, upon Credit, for a certain Time. The Riches of the Father made it eaſy for the Son to obtain his Miſtreſs in this manner; the only Uſe he made of her, was to miniſter to his Pleaſures; and he ſtill continued fond of her, when the Time came that he muſt either pay for her, or reſtore her to her former Maſter. Being therefore both in love and inſolvent, his only Recourſe againſt Juſtice, was to make an Inſurrection among the Foreigners, who cultivated the Lands of the Publick in his Diſtrict. The new Decree of the Senate, and his Quality of a *Roman Knight*, which he derived from his Father, made it eaſy for him to ſeduce theſe unfortunate Eaſtern People, who had been reduced to Slavery by force. *Vettius* alſo found Credit enough ſtill, to purchaſe Arms for 500; and he promiſed all that would follow him their Liberty, and put himſelf at the Head of them. At firſt his Company conſiſted of only 400; and his firſt Expedition with them was to murder thoſe who had preſſed him to pay for his new Miſtreſs. Then he led them to the Villages and Farms in the Neighbourhood, which he put under Contribution; wherever he came, the Slaves he ſet at Liberty joined him; and when he had aſſembled to the Number of 700, he then poſted himſelf in a Place difficult of Acceſs, and made it an *Aſylum* for all fugitive Slaves. The Senate thought they could not be too quick, in providing a Remedy for this growing Evil; and they diſpatched in all haſte *Lucius Lucullus* the *Prætor of Rome*, with Orders to purge *Campania* of theſe Robbers. *Lucullus* took only 600 diſciplined Men with him; but, gathered up as he marched 4000 Foot more, and 300 Horſe. As faſt as the *Prætor* advanced, *Vettius* fortified himſelf in his Poſt, and got himſelf proclaimed King by his Party. They by this Time amounted to 3500; and the firſt Attack turned to the Advantage of the Rebels. *Vettius* defended himſelf like a Man deſperate. It was therefore neceſſary to make uſe of Artifice, for want of Force; and *Lucullus* by promiſing Impunity and Rewards to one *Apollonius*, who was General under *Vettius*, brought him over to him. What could the pretended King expect but Treachery from the venal Wretches he had about him? In ſhort, *Apollonius* ſold him to the *Prætor*; and he could only eſcape a publick Execution, by killing himſelf. A melancholy End! But ſuch a one, as might have been an inſtructive Leſſon to the Debauchees of his Time! When Men are grown deſperate in their Incontinence, what an Abyſs of Miſery muſt be the Conſequence!

§. XII. Theſe little Storms were Preludes to a more important War, which the Decree of the Senate raiſed in *Sicily*. Almoſt all the Land of this fruitful Iſland belonged to the Publick Treaſury; and this was the Reaſon, that the *Publicans* annually ſent vaſt numbers of Slaves thither, to cultivate it. Nor were theſe Receivers of the Publick Revenue, at all ſcrupulous in the Choice they made in the Eaſt, of the Perſons they ſent hither into Slavery. If a Man was a good Husbandman, whether he was a Freeman or not, they ſeized him, and ſent him to work in *Sicily*. This was the Cauſe of the King of *Bithynia*'s Complaints, whoſe Country was by this means unpeopled; and the Senate, as we have obſerved, had ordered the Grievance to be redreſſed. But the Execution of the Decree, made the Remedy worſe than the Diſeaſe. *Sicily* was then governed by a *Prætor* named *Licinius Nerva*, a weak timorous Man, and very capable of being corrupted by the *Publicans*. At firſt, he obeyed the Decree, which ordered the Eaſtern People of free Condition, who had been brought by force into the Iſland, to be ſet at liberty, as ſoon as he received it. He ſtruck off the Chains of 400 of theſe unfortunate Men, and ordered that all who had any Remonſtrances to make concerning their Slavery, ſhould repair to him to *Syracuſe*. The number of theſe poor Creatures was much greater than he had imagined; and he found juſt Cauſe to be aſtoniſhed at the Villanies of the *Publicans*, who had by force carried ſo many thouſand Men from their own Country, and reduced them to Slavery. But after his firſt Fire was ſpent, the Perſons concerned found means to ſoften him. By their Preſents, they turned his Compaſſion into Cruelty. He then looked on this Multitude of People who had been enſlaved by force, only as a troubleſome Mob, and ſent them back to their Maſters to be ſeverely puniſhed for their Inſolence. But the fear of being ill uſed made theſe unfortunate Creatures dread their reſpective Homes; and they retired to a Wood, conſecrated to the [28] *Dii Palici*, in hopes, that the Reſpect paid to ſo

28 *Æſchiles* is the firſt, who, we know, has mentioned theſe Gods. Poetry gave them birth, as it did to moſt

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ſo venerable a Sanctuary, would procure Juſtice for them. The *Prætor* at firſt ſeemed to approve of the Step they had taken, and urged the Holineſs of the Place, as a Motive for them to be reconciled to their Maſters. But this Moderation was now too late. They were too much exaſperated to be eaſily appeaſed. On the contrary, they met together in Companies, and took Meaſures to extort by force of Arms, the Liberty which had been unjuſtly refuſed them.

Their firſt open Attempt was made upon two Brothers, of the Name *Ancylius*, who had great Eſtates. Thirty of their Slaves cut their Throats in their ſleep, plundered their Farms, made an Inſurrection in the Neighbourhood, and in that very Night got 150 together. The *Prætor* with all his Diligence, could not come before there were near 200 in Arms; and being too weak to attack them, he made an Agreement with a Leader of *Banditti* named *Caius Titinius*, who having been condemned to die by Law, had made his eſcape, and was turned Robber. This Man promiſed the *Prætor*, that he would join his Company with the Slaves, and betray them. Accordingly the Villain kept his Word; delivered up the Caſtle which the Aſſociates had ſeized, to the *Romans*; and the Slaves all periſhed, either Sword in hand, or by throwing themſelves down from the top of the Fort, to avoid Puniſhment.

§. XIII. *Licinius* therefore, when he had ſuppreſſed this firſt Commotion, ſhould have kept the Field, in order to prevent the ill Conſequences of this Sedition. But he diſbanded his Troops; and his Indolence emboldened ſome Slaves to murder a *Roman Knight* named *Clonius*. He was aſſaſſinated by his own Domeſticks, who to the number of fourſcore, broke off their Chains, and retired to an Hill, armed with their Tools. The *Prætor* immediately haſtened thither with an handful of Men which he had ready; but finding them intrenched he paſſed by, and turned towards [29] *Heraclea*. His not attacking them was imputed to his Cowardice, and the Rumour ſpreading, this made the Rebels the more inſolent. In leſs than ſeven Days, 800 Slaves aſſembled at a Place appointed; and they increaſed ſo faſt in Number, that they were, in a few Days more no leſs than 6000. Then finding it very inconvenient for ſo great a Multitude to continue together without a Head, or Order, or Diſcipline; they immediately choſe themſelves a General, and gave him the Title of King. This was a Flute-player, named *Salvius*, who likewiſe pretended to Predictions, by conſulting the Entrails of Animals. His Flute and his Art of Divination had introduced him into all the [30] *Orgya*

moſt of the Pagan Divinities, *Macrobius* aſcribes their Origin to an unlawful Commerce between *Jupiter* and the Nymph *Thalia*. They met on the Banks of the *Simæthus* near *Catanea*; and when ſhe was ready to be delivered, ſhe prayed the King of the Gods, who had debauched her, to hide her from *Juno*'s Reſentments. Accordingly, by *Jupiter*'s Orders, the Earth opened, and ſwallowed her up. The Nymph appeared no more till ſhe had been delivered of two Twins, whom the Poets call *Palici*, from a *Greek* Word which ſignifies the wonderful Manner of their Birth. *Sicily* afterwards paid them Divine Honours, and made them her Tutelary Deities. Altars, and a magnificent Temple were erected to their Honour, in which they were ſaid to have uttered Oracles. This Sanctuary was greatly revered in the Country, as an *Aſylum*, which none could violate with Impunity. The Prieſts, who found their Account in impoſing on the Credulity of the People, always ſaid, in order to credit the Worſhip of the *Palici*, that the Gods immediately puniſhed every Prophanation of their Temple. They alſo reported it as a certain Truth, That when the Twins came out of the Bowels of the Earth, they had opened two Gulphs near Mount *Ætna*, which vomited out Fire; and That there were two Lakes formed there, in which ſulphureous and peſtilential Waters boiled up through ſeveral Paſſages. Theſe Lakes were formerly called *Delli*, and *Palici*; and now *Naphtia*. *Diodorus Siculus* makes the two but one Lake, as does *Cluver* in his *Geography*, and *Fazellus* in his Hiſtory; to whom we refer. The Mythologiſts have vented the like Dreams about the Fountain *Palicene*, which probably was the Lake itſelf. It roſe, according to them, near the famous Temple which was deemed the Center of Religion; and the *Sicilians* aſcribed a miraculous Virtue to it which was that of diſcovering Perjury. The Perſon who was to ſwear, went to the Altars of the *Dii Palici*, and there wrote on a little Table a ſolemn Form expreſſing the Thing ſworn, which Table was thrown into the Water. If it ſwam, the Fact was deemed true; but if it ſunk, this was adjudged a Conviction of the Crime. And *Diodorus Siculus* pretends, That the Offender was always puniſhed on the Spot, and generally with Blindneſs. There was alſo a current Tradition in *Sicily*, that theſe gracious Gods, had, at the Prayers and Vows of the *Sicilians*, brought Plenty there after a Famine. Under this Perſwaſion, the Iſlanders came in crowds to bring their Offerings, and pay their Homage to theſe chimerical Gods. Nay formerly, ſo deteſtable was their Superſtition, that human Victims were ſlain at theſe Altars. But Humanity ſoon got the better of ſo barbarous a Cuſtom, and the *Sicilians* acknowledged the monſtrous Abuſes of ſuch Sacrifices.

Lactantius, *Servius*, and *Stephen of Byzantium*, have changed the Name of the Nymph *Thalia*, into that of *Ætna*, and call her the Daughter of *Vulcan*. The laſt, and *Diodorus Siculus*, ſpeak of a City of *Palice*, on the Banks of the *Simæthus*, ſo called from the Name of theſe Gods.

29 See Vol. 2. p. 547. Note 47.

30 The *Greeks*, according to *Servius*, gave the Name of *Orgya*, to all ſorts of Sacrifices. But it moſt

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gya of the Women; but nevertheleſs his Pleaſures and Effeminacy had not enervated his Courage. He was found worthy of the Rank to which he was raiſed; and he immediately divided his People into three Parties, which he ſent out under three Leaders, to pillage the Country, and aſſemble their Comrades, and bring them to the Camp. Theſe Expeditions by his Subalterns ſucceeded beyond his Expectation; and they brought him ſo many Men and Horſes, that he was ſoon in a Condition to form a numerous Army.

It amounted, in a very ſhort time, to 20000 Foot and 2000 Horſe; and he then attempted to beſiege [31] *Morgantia*, a ſtrong City on the Banks of the [32] *Simæthus*. On the other hand, the *Prætor Licinius*, could raiſe no more than 10000 Men, partly *Italians*, and partly *Sicilians:* but nevertheleſs he ventured to march againſt the Enemy. He came in the Night, and attacked the Camp of the Slaves, which he found deſerted. All *Salvius*'s Troops were engaged in the Siege; and the *Prætor* ſeized the Booty theſe Robbers had brought out of the Country, and taking their Wives Priſoners, reduced them again to ſlavery. From thence, before Day-break, the *Prætor* drew near to the beſieged City, and by means of the Darkneſs ſurprized the Enemy. A ſudden Pannick ſeized them, and they diſperſed; but did not run far. Before Sunriſing, they aſſembled together again, and conſulted how to revenge themſelves, by ſurprizing the *Prætor*. Then, by favour of the Night, they came unexpectedly on the *Prætorian* Army, who thought themſelves victorious, ſurrounded them, and attacked them when they were leaſt upon their guard. This was a fine beginning for this new King; and though the *Romans* long diſputed the Victory with him, yet he compleated it by a maſterly Piece of Conduct. He made Proclamation throughout all his Army, that no Enemy ſhould be killed, who laid down his Arms. The *Romans* heard this, and being hard preſſed, demanded quarter. This leſſened the Slaughter, ſo that the *Prætor* had no more than 600 Men killed upon the Spot; but he had 4000 made Priſoners of War.

§. XIV. This compleat Victory raiſed the Courage of the new King; and his Army viſibly encreaſed. He was ſoon in a better Condition than ever to take *Morgantia*; and he attacked it again, and ſurrounded it more cloſely than before. The braveſt Defenders of the Place, againſt this Army of Slaves, were the Slaves of *Morgantia*, who faithfully adhered to their Maſters. Theſe had promiſed them their Liberty if they repulſed, or tired out the Beſiegers; and they choſe rather to acquire it honeſtly, than take it by joining the Rebels. They performed Exploits much beyond Men of their Condition; and in a Word, obliged *Salvius* to raiſe the Siege. How then could the *Morgantini* have done better, than to have kept their Words with the Deliverers of their Country? But *Licinius* thought fit to diſannull the Promiſes they had made them. The baſe *Prætor* ſeems by his Conduct, to have had nothing in view, but to ſtir up and foment a War, which gave the *Romans* much Trouble, and coſt them much Blood. And accordingly, the Slaves of *Morgantia* abandoned their Maſters whom they had defended, and went over to the Enemy. By this means the Evil daily encreaſed, and the Contagion ſpread through all Parts of *Sicily*. A Slave born in *Cilicia*, and named *Athenio*, raiſed an Inſurrection among his Fellows, in the neighbourhood of [33] *Egeſta*, and [34] *Lilybæum*. His Maſter had made him Major-domo, and given him the Charge of his great Eſtate in the Country: And *Athenio* in return killed his Benefactor, and put himſelf at the Head of the 200 Slaves, which his Maſter had in his Service. As ſoon as he encreaſed his Party to the Number of 1000, he got them to declare him a King; and then his Conduct was very different from that of *Salvius*. The new Monarch would not admit into his Service all the Fugitives that offered themſelves. He only choſe out ſuch, as were moſt inclined to, and beſt qualified for, military Service. This was an excellent Artifice to draw more People after him; and one Effect that he found from it was, that the handſomeſt Men were ambitious of the Honour of being admitted among thoſe whom *Athenio* thought fit to prefer.

moſt properly ſignifies the tumultous Aſſemblies which the drunken *Bacchantes* held in the Night, in Honour of *Bacchus*. *Cybele* had alſo her *Orgya*, in which her Adventures were repreſented, and Flutes and other muſical Inſtruments attended the Ceremonies.

31 See Vol. 3. p. 231. Note 41.

32 The *Simæthus* is now called by the Natives *La Jarretta*. *Pliny*, *L.* 7. ſpeaks of a City of this Name, on the Banks of this River.

33 See Vol. 2. p. 544, Note 42.

34 See Vol. 2. p. 469, Note 4.

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Licinius flattered himſelf, That the two Kings of the Slaves would deſtroy one another, and That Jealouſy would ſow Diviſions between the two Armies; but his Expectations were fruſtrated. The two Heads of the Rebels acted ſeparately, in different Countries, without ſeeking for, or hurting one another. *Athenio* very much reſembled *Salvius* in his Qualifications and Abilities. They were both brave, both endued by Nature with ſome Talents for commanding, and both valued themſelves much on their Skill in Divination: And this laſt Prejudice was of more uſe to them than any thing elſe, in preſerving their Superiority over their Comrades. Whilſt *Salvius* was carrying all before him, in all the Country between *Morgantia* and [35] *Leontini*; *Athenio* marched his Army, conſiſting of about 10000 Men to the ſide of *Lilybæum*, with deſign to beſiege and take that City. A chimerical Project indeed, ſince *Lilybæum* was perhaps the ſtrongeſt Place then in the World; but Expeditions concerted with all the Wiſdom of experienced Commanders were not to be expected from ſuch a General. However, *Athenio* ſpent much Time and Proviſion in this fruitleſs Attempt; and then found out an Expedient to quit his Enterprize without Diſhonour. He pretended to be inſpired, and in a ſudden Tranſport cried out; *What do I ſee? What is this that threatens us! Let us, my Friends, be gone this inſtant from a Place, where a melancholy Fate is preparing for us. If we perſiſt in attempting to take* Lilybæum, *we ſhall be undone! Let us then make our Advantage of the Knowledge that is given me from Heaven!* And indeed, the Impoſtor happened to ſpeak more Truth, than he himſelf imagined. At the very time that his Army was decamping, a Fleet arrived from *Mauritania*, ſent by *Bocchus* to aſſiſt the *Romans* in *Sicily*. It was commanded by a General named *Gomon*, who enter'd the Port of *Lilybæum*, landed his Troops there, and immediately fell on the Rear of *Athenio*'s Army as it was upon the march. But this ſlight Defeat, only ſerved to raiſe the Glory of the Head of the Rebels, and encreaſe the Confidence of his Soldiers. They revered him, as a Man in ſuch Favour with the Gods, as to be admitted into their Councils.

§. XV. On the other hand, *Salvius* was now wholly intent on finding out a proper Place to be made the Capital of his new Dominions. After he had reviewed his Army, which he found to be 30000 ſtrong, he offered Sacrifices to the Demi-Gods worſhipped in *Italy*, and preſented each with a Purple Robe. His Name ſeems to imply, that his Family had originally come from *Italy*, and that he was deſcended from one of thoſe Captives, whom the *Romans* had formerly taken, when they conquered the Provinces of *Italy*. But be that as it will, this King of the Slaves, choſe out a Place which in the Language of the Country was called [36] *Triocala*, becauſe it had *three* great *Advantages* which are ſeldom to be found together. Firſt, it had plentiful Springs of the beſt Water in the World; in the next place, the Hills about it were covered with Olive-trees, Vines, and other Fruit-trees; and laſtly, the Situation was ſuch, that a City built there might be made impregnable. At *Triocala* therefore *Salvius* reſolved to fix his Habitation: And it was there that he thought proper to change his *Italian Name* into a *Greek* one. In order to ingratiate himſelf with his Multitude of Eaſtern People, he called himſelf *Trypho*. Then he began the Foundations of his new City, built the Citadel of it on the Ruins of an old demoliſhed Caſtle, and ſurrounded it with a wide Ditch which was a Mile in compaſs. There he raiſed himſelf a fine Palace, and opened a Market for the ſale of Proviſions brought from the neighbouring Countries. He likewiſe ſettled a kind of Polity in his City, and choſe himſelf a Council conſiſting of his Friends and the moſt prudent of his Subjects. In ſhort, all Things were ſettled in great Order at *Triocala*, and nothing was wanting but to people the new Colony with the Slaves that *Athenio* had under his command. *Trypho* invited him to come, and partake of the Pleaſures of the Place where he was ſettled; and *Athenio* accepted of the Invitation, and came attended with only 3000 of his Men, the reſt being by his Orders diſperſed about the Country to pillage it. But his ſtupid Complaiſance coſt him dear. He was ſeized as ſoon as he entered *Triocala*, and ſhut up Priſoner in the Citadel. Such were the Beginnings of this new War of the Slaves in *Sicily*. Though it may reſemble the Inſurrection raiſed by *Eunus*, a few Years ago,

35 See Vol. 2. p. 474. Note 9.

36 *Stephen of Byzantium* and *Ptolomy* mention a City of *Triocala* otherwiſe called *Tricala* by the antient Geographers; which ſtood in the South of *Sicily*, near the Place where we now find *S. Giorgio di Triocala*.

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in ſome Particulars, it was a very different War; and we ſhall ſee it laſt above four Years. Let us therefore now return to *Marius*'s Camp in *Tranſalpine Gaul*.

§. XVI. The *Conſul* waited for the Return of the *Cimbri* to the *Narbonne Province*, with impatience. His *Conſular* Year drew near an end, and he had not yet ſeen the Enemy. The Barbarians were ſtill ſubſiſting on the Booty they got in *Spain*; and reſolved not to return towards the *Alpes*, till they could find no more Proviſions beyond the *Pyrenees*. In the mean time, *Marius*'s Army daily increaſed, by the Succours he received from all the eaſtern Countries. This mixture of Soldiers of ſo many different Nations, made him the more vigilant in keeping an exact Diſcipline in his Camp; and he puniſhed Vice there with great Severity. We may judge of the Abhorrence he had for that infamous Debauchery which Licentiouſneſs too often introduced into the *Roman* Armies, by the following Inſtance.

Plut. in Mario. Val. Max. L. 6. c. 1. Cic. pro Milone.

He had brought with him into *Gaul* a Siſter's Son, named *Caius Lucius*, who bore a conſiderable Rank among the Officers, being a *Military Tribune*. This *Tribune*, who was not ſo virtuous as his Uncle, gave himſelf up to the moſt abominable of all Paſſions, and being ſtruck with the Beauty of a young Soldier, ordered him to come to him, at Night, to his Tent. *Trebonius* 37 (which was the Soldier's Name) obeyed, and came: but when he found that he could not preſerve his Chaſtity, without reſiſting the Violence going to be offered him; he, without regard to the General's Reſentment, ſtabbed his Nephew, and ſaved his Honour at the Hazard of his Life. The Death of *Lucius* made a great Noiſe; and *Marius* was ſoon informed of it, after his Return from the Expedition which he was at that Time upon. *Trebonius* was warmly accuſed by ſome Flatterers; but he produced his Witneſſes, and proved his Innocence. The *Conſul*, tho' much affected with the Loſs of a Nephew whoſe good Qualities were obſcured by this ſingle Vice of Incontinence, put on an Appearance of the contrary; and not only acquitted *Trebonius*, but rewarded him for his Courage. He with his own Hands, put one of thoſe Crowns on his Head, which Generals never gave to their Soldiers but after ſome valiant Action. Fame ſoon divulged the Equity of the *Conſul*, and the Virtue of the private *Legionary*; and the Applauſes the Army gave them reached *Rome*. The Praiſes of *Trebonius* and *Marius* were in every Mouth; and as the Time of Elections drew nigh, the *Centuries* thought they could not do better than continue a General in the *Conſulate*, who ſo generouſly guarded their Children under his Command, againſt the infamous Attempts of their wicked Officers. 38.

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§. XVII. Accordingly, when the *Comitia* were aſſembled in *The Field of Mars*, there was no difficulty in the new Election of *Marius*. Tho' abſent, he was proclaimed *Conſul*, a third Time; and the People ordered, that he ſhould continue in *Tranſalpine Gaul*, there to wait the Return of the *Cimbri*. The moſt inveterate Enemies the *Conſul* had, as the *Craſſus's*, the *Metellus's*, and *Marcus Scaurus*, highly approved of this Appointment. They had more Regard to the good of the Publick, than to their own private Reſentments. The Collegue the Republick gave *Marius*, was *L. Aurelius Oreſtes*, who continued ſome Time at *Rome* to ſettle Affairs there. The firſt that employed him

Cicer. in Orat. de Provin. Conſular.

37 *Valerius Maximus* is the only Author, who gives this young Soldier the Name of *Plotius*.

38 At the ſame time, or near it, according to *Cicero*, and *Valerius Maximus*, *Quintus Fabius Eburnus* gave the *Romans* a like Inſtance of Severity, in the Perſon of his own Son. This young Man was ſuſpected of the moſt ſcandalous Debaucheries. At leaſt, his Irregularity had raiſed great Suſpicions of his Modeſty; and *Fabius* in vain endeavoured to recover him to a Senſe of Things worthy of his Birth and Name. Neither Advices nor Threatenings made any Impreſſions, on a Heart blindly devoted to its Paſſions. The Father therefore firſt baniſhed his Son into the Country; and thereby removed him from his wicked Companions, and gave him Time for Reflection and Repentance. But the Son, tired with his Solitude, became more untractable than ever, and laid a Scheme for ſhaking off the Yoke of this troubleſome Cenſor, who debarred him of his Pleaſures. And then *Fabius*, in his Deſpair, forgot that he was a Father. Having the Laws to ſupport him, which gave Fathers an abſolute Power over their Children, he even condemned his Son to die, and the Sentence was immediately executed by two Slaves. To both theſe he gave their Liberty, to ſave them from the Rack; and then retired to a Solitude, in which he died of Grief and Vexation. *Valerius Maximus* gives this *Fabius* the Surname of *Servilianus*. According to *Cicero*, one *Cneius Pompeius* accuſed the too rigorous Father, of having unjuſtly put his Son to death; and *Fabius* prevented the Sentence, by a voluntary Exile, and ever after lived at *Nuceria*, and was made a Citizen of that City.

Another *Quintus Fabius*, the Son of the Conqueror of the *Allobroges*, diſgraced himſelf by a licentious and debauched Courſe of Life. One of the *Prætors* of *Rome*, whom *Val. Maximus* calls *Quintus Pompeius*, made a ſtrict Enquiry into the Conduct of the young Debauchee, put him under the Guardianſhip of his Relations, as a known Prodigal, and deprived him of the Management of his Eſtate, as early as the Year 533, as *Oroſius* gives us room to conjecture. *Marcus Fabius Buteo* had cauſed his own Son to be put to death, upon his being accuſed and convicted of Theft.

were

were thoſe of Religion. It was ſaid, That, among other Prodigies, a Dog at *Ariminum* had ſpoken Words articulately; That at [39] *Ameria*, two Armies had been ſeen fighting in the Air, one in the Eaſt, the other in the Weſt; and That at laſt, the eaſtern Army was vanquiſhed. By a Decree of the *Aruſpices*, Expiations were ordered to be made, to avert theſe fatal Preſages; and twenty ſeven young Girls, marched in Proceſſion, ſinging Hymns as they went, to the Temple of *Ceres* and *Proſerpine*, and made their Offerings there.

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Jul. Obſeq. c. 103.

At the ſame Time, the City was entertained with a kind of Comedy, at the Expence of a contemptible *Prætor*, named *T. Albucius*, who became the Jeſt of the Publick. He was extremely vain, and highly valued himſelf upon being at the ſame time well acquainted with polite Learning and Philoſophy and a Maſter in the Art of War. He had formerly reſided at *Athens* to learn the Elegancies of the *Greek* Tongue; and there gave out, that he beſt underſtood the Delicacies of the pureſt *Atticiſm*, of any Man in the World. *Quintus Mucius Scævola*, then *Prætor* in *Achaia*, came to *Athens*, and did himſelf the Pleaſure to viſit this *Roman*, whoſe Folly made the *Athenians* themſelves laugh. When *Scævola* ſaw him, he, in deriſion, ſaluted him only in *Greek*; and ordered his *Lictors* to ſpeak to him in no other Language, but that which he pretended to underſtand, better than the Natives themſelves. *Albucius*, tho' no Conjurer, had Senſe enough to ſee through the Ridicule, reſented it, and openly declared himſelf an Enemy to *Scævola*. When returned to *Rome*, he, in Revenge, accuſed the *Prætor* of publick Oppreſſions in *Achaia*, but loſt his Cauſe. Nevertheleſs, this worthleſs Creature was nominated *Prætor* for *Sardinia*; and on that Occaſion, diſplayed his Vanity in the ſtrongeſt light. Tho' he had done nothing in his Province, but given chace to ſome Robbers, he demanded of the Senate a Decree, for publick Thankſgivings to be offered up to the Gods for his Exploits: And tho' the Petition was laughed at, he decreed himſelf a ſort of *Triumph*, in his Province. As ſoon then as he was out of his Office, the young Orators, by way of diverſion, accuſed him before the Commons of Diſobedience; in having *triumphed* without the Conſent, either of the Senate, or People. Every one was very deſirous of declaiming againſt him; and particularly *Curius Pompeius Strabo*, who had been his *Quæſtor*, made all the Intereſt he could, to get leave to be one of his Accuſers. But it was thought an ill Precedent, to ſuffer Subalterns to accuſe their Generals. *Caius Julius Cæſar* was therefore choſen to plead againſt this mighty triumphant Victor; and his Speech was very artful and elegant, and full of the moſt delicate Satyr. After him ſpake *Scævola*, with great Vehemence, mixed with great Drollery. And in ſhort, *Albucius* was condemned to Baniſhment, more out of Contempt to his Perſon, than for the Enormity of his Crime. The Place he choſe for his Exile was *Athens*; and there he puzzled his Head with the *Epicurean* Philoſophy. In ſhort, that nothing might be wanting to make him compleatly ridiculous, he afterwards turned Poet, and Satyriſt. He pretended to imitate *Lucilius*, and to write very ſevere Verſes, by which no body ſuffered but himſelf.

Cic. de Divin. & ejus interpres Pædianus. Idemque variis in locis. Apuleius,

§. XVIII. Theſe droll Scenes diverted the *Romans*, whilſt their Republick was hard preſſed in ſeveral Places, and in more apparent Danger of ſinking than ever. In *Tranſalpine Gaul*, a frightful Multitude of *Germans*, of different Appellations, *Teutones*, *Helvetii*, and *Ambrones*, and of *Gauls* of all the weſtern Provinces, excluſive of the *Cimbri*, were threatening *Italy* with a moſt terrible Inundation. *Marius* was covering the Country beyond the *Alpes* with his Army; and the new *Conſul Aurelius*, was preparing to receive them on this ſide the Mountains. In *Sicily*, the rebellious Slaves were ravaging all the Provinces, and taking Advantage of the Indolence of *Lucullus*, who had been ſent to make War with them. And in *Spain*, the *Cimbri* were laying waſte *Celtiberia* with as much Fury as they had ravaged *Narbonne-Gaul*; whilſt, at the ſame time, *Rome* was now reſolved, to ſend no more Troops thither. After the Defeat of *Mallius* and *Cæpio*, ſhe kept all her Forces, to oppoſe the Torrent of Enemies which threaten'd her from the *Alpes*. So that the Republick had now at moſt but one *Legion* in *Hither Spain*, commanded by the *Prætor*, *Marcus Fulvius*; which was a ſmall Force, to ſtop the Incurſions of the *Cimbri*. However, Neceſſity and their common

Jul. Obſeq. c. 103.

39 *Ameria*, formerly known by the Name of *Amelia*, was thought by the *Romans* to be one of the moſt ancient Cities of *Umbria*. *Pliny* pretends, on the Authority of old *Cato*, that it was built 964 Years, before the War with *Perſes* King of *Macedon*. Which if true, it muſt have been founded about 383 Years before *Rome*. It was near *Narnia*, and at a little diſtance from the *Tiber* and the Lake *Baſſano*. *Cicero* calls it a *Municipium*, in his *Oration for Roſcius*.

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Intereſt had made the *Celtiberians* join with the *Romans*, in defending their Lands and Eſtates againſt the Northern Barbarians; and it happened very fortunately for them, that the *Roman* General was an excellent Soldier. He conducted his *Legion*, and *Celtiberian* Troops with ſo much Prudence, and inſpired them with ſo much Valour, that he forced the *Cimbri* to leave *Spain*, and that with the Expence of only one Battle. His Stratagem was this. In order to tire out this Multitude of Vagabonds, he ſent ſome of his *Spaniſh* Horſe to inſult the Enemy to the very Foot of their Entrenchments. Upon this, the Barbarians immediately ſallied out of their Camp, and left no body to defend it. At the ſame time, the Horſe were too nimble for them, and eaſily eſcaped them in the purſuit. And *Fulvius* finding, upon repeated Trials, that they always left their Camp empty on ſuch Occaſions, he reſolved to take this Advantage, and ſurprize it, the moment they ſhould leave it. To this end, he marched himſelf at the Head of a choſen Body of Men, and hid himſelf behind their Camp, in the Night. The next Morning, the *Spaniſh* Cavalry came to inſult it, as uſual; and the *Cimbri* immediately marched into the Plain, and purſued them with Fury. Then the *Prætor* inſtantly left his Ambuſh, and made himſelf Maſter of their Entrenchments; and this was enough to diſcourage thoſe Robbers from continuing in a barren Country which they had already ravaged, and where Proviſions now began to fail. They reſolved to return back into *Gaul*, in the firſt beginning of the Spring.

Front. Strat. L. 2. c. 5.

Plut. in Sylla. Vell. Paterc.

In the mean time, *Marius* employed himſelf in diſciplining the new Reinforcements he was continually receiving, from *Rome* and her Allies. He was not idle in his Camp; his very Inaction was laborious [40]. Before the *Cimbri* returned back over the *Pyrennees*, a ſwarm of [41] *Marſi*, Natives of *Germany*, who came from the Banks of the [42] *Luppia*, appeared all on a ſudden, in *Gaul*, with a Deſign to join the *Teutones*, and enter *Italy* with them. Upon this, *Sylla* was immediately detached to meet theſe new Enemies: And he choſe rather to make uſe of Perſuaſion than Violence with them. He firſt deſired a Conference; and in it prevailed upon them to alter their Reſolution, and come over to the *Romans*. So that hitherto, *Sylla* had been in a manner *Marius*'s Right-hand. The Lieutenant General had faithfully aſſiſted his *Conſul* with his Arm and his Eloquence, in promoting the publick Good. But now they parted. Whether or no, *Marius*'s Jealouſy of a Subaltern, who gave him Umbrage, revived at this Juncture, we cannot ſay. But this we know, That their Diſſenſions had begun three Years before in *Numidia*; That they had hitherto artfully concealed them, under the Appearance of a perfect Friendſhip; and That, whatever their mutual Sentiments of each other now were, they no more acted together after this Time. *Sylla* will no longer ſhine in *Marius*'s Army; but we ſhall find him next, in the Army of the Collegue which the Republick gave *Marius* for the next Year. Towards the end of the preſent *Conſular* Year, *Aurelius Oreſtes* died in his Camp at the Foot of the *Alpes* on the ſide of *Italy*; and the Republick was obliged to recall *Marius*, the ſurviving *Conſul*, to preſide at the new Elections. He left the Command of his Troops in *Tranſalpine Gaul* to *Manius Aquilius*, and returned with Joy to *Rome*; where he acted a Part very ſuitable to his Ambition.

§. XIX. When he arrived, he found a very intriguing, artful Man, at the Head of the *Tribunes*, named *Lucius Apuleius Saturninus*; who, after he had ſpent his Eſtate and the beſt Part of his Life, in Debauchery had ſtood for the *Quæſtorſhip*, in order to raiſe himſelf from the Diſgrace which his Effeminacy had brought upon

40 *Marius*, ſays *Plutarch* in his Life of this General, in order to diſcipline his Soldiers, forced them to take great Marches; gave them but ſhort Intervals for reſt between their Labours, and thoſe almoſt always interrupted; and the Time he allowed them, for their private Neceſſities, was rather ſpent in Labour than in Eaſe. They were obliged to provide and dreſs their own Victuals without any Aſſiſtance; tho' their Arms were very heavy, they were obliged to carry on their Backs, not them only, but likewiſe all their Proviſions and Utenſils. So that they were compared to Beaſts of Burden; and in a Word, were called *Marius's Mules*. But *Plutarch* gives us another Derivation of this Nick-name; as we have before obſerved, p. 88, when we ſpake of the Activity of *Marius* at the Siege of *Numantia*.

41 The *Marſi*, according to *Tacitus*, were a People of old *Germany*. They at firſt inhabited a little Diſtrict in *Holland*, beyond the *Iſſel*, a ſmall River that riſes near *Utrecht*. Then they ſettled in a Part of *Germany*, which is now a Part of the Circle of *Weſtphalia*, and of the Biſhoprick of *Paderborn*. Some Remains of their Name are ſtill preſerved in the Town called *Dithmarſen*.

42 The River *Luppia* or *Lupias*, as *Strabo* calls it, riſes at *Lipſprink*, a Village of *Weſtphalia*, near *Paderborn*; from thence it runs through a ſmall Tract of Ground, and falls into the *Rhine*, after it has paſſed through the Dutchy of *Cleves*. On its Banks ſtands *Lipſtad*, a City of *Weſtphalia*; which was formerly called *Luppia*, as well as this River.

upon him, and thereby put himſelf in the Road to the firſt Dignities. He was choſen; and it had been his Lot, to diſcharge that Office at *Oſtia*, where he had received a Commiſſion from the Republick to ſupply *Rome* with Proviſions, the City having been almoſt reduced to a Famine, ſince the Rebellion of the Slaves in *Sicily*. But he had diſcharged his Office ſo ill, that he had been recalled. This ſo mortified him, that he then reſolved to lay aſide all Thoughts of purſuing the *Curule* Dignities, and entering warmly into the *Plebeian* Party, he had now gained himſelf ſome Reputation by his furious Zeal [43] againſt the Nobility. So that the *Conſul* could not but think a *Tribune* ſo active and warm againſt the Senate, a very proper Tool to be employed in carrying on his ambitious Schemes. The Point *Marius* had in view, was to get himſelf nominated *Conſul* the next Year. But this was a tender Point, and might eaſily give Offence to the People. It was a Thing unheard of, that the ſame Perſon ſhould ſo often be choſen *Conſul* ſucceſſively; and his Management in order to ſucceed a fourth time, was maſterly. The Scheme was this. Upon concerting Meaſures with the *Tribune*, it was reſolved, That *Marius* ſhould pretend to refuſe the *Conſulſhip*; and That *Apuleius* ſhould engage the People to force him to accept it. And the Plot was carried on with great Dexterity and Addreſs. In the firſt place the *Tribune* cauſed it to be privately whiſpered about, that the People could not pay too much Honour to the General, who was appointed to preſerve *Italy* from the Inundation of the *Cimbri*. Then he aſſembled the People together, and publickly addreſſed himſelf to them thus. *What!* Romans, *will You, who have had Reſolution enough hitherto, to overlook the Laws, in regard to the publick Good, diſhonour yourſelves at laſt by an Inconſtancy which will be very prejudicial to the Publick? What has been your View, in advancing* Marius *to ſo many* Conſulſhips *already? Was it only the Promotion of a private Man, or mere Fondneſs and Caprice? It was the Neceſſity of the Times that led you to it. It was the threatened Inundation from the Weſt. And if then your Reſolution was right the laſt Year, why will you alter it now? Is the Storm blown over; or are our Fears yet abated? The Tempeſt ſtill hangs over the* Pyrenees, *and we ſhall ſoon hear it roar towards the* Alpes. *Who then ſhall be able to ſcreen you from it? Will a new Commander, a tender effeminate* Patrician, *a General who is unknown to his Army, unacquainted with the Country, and unexperienced in War? Divert, O ye Gods, ſuch pernicious Counſel! In our preſent Situation, the fierce* Marius *is the only Man that can withſtand the Barbarians. His Competitors, and thoſe that envy him and his Competitors, are at preſent as much to be feared by the Republick, as the* Teutones, *and the* Cimbri. *If the latter get the* Conſulſhip, *the Republick is ruined, and* Rome *utterly undone. Upon your next Choice, depend the Safety of your Wives and Children, and the very being of our Houſes and our Temples. Conſider this; and be determined by the mighty Danger that threatens us.*

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Cic. in Bruto, proSexto, & de Aruſp. reſpond.

Plut. in Mario. Epit. Liv.

On the other hand, *Marius* played his Part well. He pretended to be mighty modeſt, and refuſed to ſuffer his Name to be entered among thoſe of the Candidates. Men of Underſtanding indeed ſaw through the Diſguiſe; but even his Rivals did not diſapprove of his being continued at the Head of Affairs. The Nobility themſelves could not but eſteem him; and the extream Danger the State was in, made his Aſſiſtance neceſſary. During theſe Tranſactions, News was brought to *Rome*, that the *Cimbri* were leaving *Spain*, and returning back to *Gaul*; and then the publick Alarm, made the People impatient to bring on the Elections, and not to defer the Choice of *Marius* for *Conſul*. But the more preſſing the People were with him to accept their Offers, the more reſolute he pretended to be to decline them. And among the Pretences which he urged for his refuſal, he always took Care to intermix ſome which tended to throw an Odium upon the *Patricians*. In ſhort, he carried his feigned Oppoſition ſo far, that the *Tribune* in one of his Harangues, began to treat him *as a Perſon who obſtinately reſiſted the Will of the People, and a Traytor to his Country:* And the Game was ſo artfully played, that the People were effectually impoſed on. They nominated *Marius Conſul* the fourth Time, much againſt his Will as they imagined; and gave him for his Collegue, *Q. Lutatius* [44] *Catulus*, a Man in great Eſteem

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43 *Cicero*, in his *Brutus*, ſays that *Apuleius Saturninus* had the Art of impoſing on the People, not ſo much by his Eloquence, as by the Vehemence of his Action.

44 *Cicero* has given us a perfect Character of *Quintus Lutatius Catulus* in different Parts of his Works. His good Nature, and his polite and engaging Behaviour prejudiced all Men in his Favour. His agreeable Manner of ſpeaking in Publick, and the Purity of his Expreſſion, added new Beauties to his Speeches; and

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Eſteem with the Senate, and at the ſame time beloved [45] by the People for his good Nature.

Nevertheleſs all the *Tribunes* were not equally well-affected to *Marius*. *Bæbius* oppoſed the Law propoſed by *Apuleius* to pleaſe the new *Conſul*, That the Veterans of his Armies ſhould be put in Poſſeſſion of the Lands conquered from *Jugurtha*, in *Numidia*. But the People were ſo enraged at the Oppoſition, that they took up Stones, and drove *Bæbius* down from *The Roſtra*. Such was the Temper of the *Romans* at this Time. Their *Comitia* were no longer held in Order, or Peace; but a Spirit of Faction prevailed in them; and the Parties ſucceeded by Violence. However, *Marius*, it is certain, had the Hearts of all the People; whoſe Prayers for his Proſperity followed him beyond the *Alpes*.

Auth. de Vir. Illuſt.

§. XX. All *Gaul* was in Motion; and the Seaſon, and Approach of the Enemy, haſtened the Generals to their Poſts. *Catulus* indeed fell very ſhort of the Merit or Reputation of *Marius*; but *Sylla* had joined him, and under the Conduct of this illuſtrious Lieutenant-General, the Forces of the former were very near equal to thoſe of the latter. However, the two *Conſuls* ſet out from *Rome* at the ſame time; and left the City in great Uneaſineſs about the Succeſs of Affairs abroad, and as great a Conſternation at the new Troubles raiſed at Home.

Plut. in Sylla.

Abroad, The *Thracians* [46] had raiſed Diſturbances in *Macedon*, ever ſince the laſt Year. The rebellious Slaves laid *Sicily* waſte, and ſtraitened the *Citizens* of *Rome* for Proviſions. And to increaſe the Misfortune, a ſwarm of Pyrates had appeared in the maritime Parts of [47] *Cilicia*, and infeſted the *Mediterranean*. So that their Piracies contributed as much to the Famine which afflicted *Rome*, as the Devaſtations in *Sicily*. They made ſudden Deſcents in *Europe*, *Aſia*, and *Africa*, and carried away all the Inhabitants they could find, to ſell them; and the Iſland of *Delos* was their Staple. There they kept a publick Market, where the *Romans* themſelves bought their Slaves. Though *Cilicia* was then dependent on the Crown of *Syria*, yet the Inhabitants carried on their Piracies with impunity. The *Syrian* Monarchs, who were continually quarrelling among themſelves, were forced to connive at what they could not well prevent. In the mean time, *Rome* ſuffered by it, and the Ships which were bringing Proviſions thither, often fell a Prey to theſe Barbarians. 'Till at length the Republick conſidered them as a publick Scourge; and ſent a Man to deſtroy them, who ſeemed moſt nearly concerned, to clear the Seas of them. This was the famous Orator, *M. Antonius*, whoſe Daughter the *Cilicians* had carried away, from near the Cape of [48] *Miſene*. The Republick gave him an extraordinary Commiſſion, with the Title of [49] *Pro-Conſul*; and he fitted [50] out Ships, cleared the Seas of theſe Robbers, and

Florus, L. 3. Liv. Epit. L. 58. Tacit. Annal. 12.

and his Eloquence was ſo ſweet and inſinuating, that he captivated the Hearts of his Hearers. He was an Orator, a Hiſtorian, and a Poet. He wrote hiſtorical Memoirs of his *Conſulate*, after the manner of *Xenophon*, whom he took for his Model; and he preſented his Book to his Friend *Aulus Furius* of *Antium*, whoſe Poems were eſteemed by all Judges. He employed his Leiſure in poetical Performances; but the too great Levity of his Muſe, to ſay no more, ill became the Gravity of his Character, and that Auſterity of Life, which he profeſſed. At leaſt this is the Judgment, *Ovid* and *Pliny the Younger* made of it. *Aulus Gellius* has preſerved one of his Epigrams on a Child named *Theotimus*, in the 19 Book of the *Noctes Atticæ*; which he produces as a Maſter-piece of Elegance and Politeneſs. *Cicero* quotes another, in his firſt Book, *De Nat. Deorum*, on young *Roſcius*, in theſe Words.

Conſiteram, exorientem Auroram forte ſalutans,
Cum ſubito a Læva Roſcius exoritur;
Pace mihi liceat, Cœleſtes! dicere veſtra,
Mortalis Viſu'ſt Pulchrior eſſe Deo.

Here *Catulus* appears to have been ſo charmed with *Roſcius*, that he even raiſes him above the Gods. Nevertheleſs, ſays *Cicero*, this Child, whom he makes a ſuperior Divinity to all others, ſquinted. The Poet's Wit and Affection were too partial to *Roſcius*.

45 This Man, who was ſo greatly beloved by the People, and whoſe Merit was univerſally acknowledged, had nevertheleſs the Mortification to be twice diſappointed of the *Conſulate*. Firſt, in the Year 647, when he was oppoſed by *Caius Atilius Serranus*, a Man of experienced Wiſdom in the Government of the Republick, as *Cicero* confeſſes, in his *Oration for Plancius*. And a ſecond Time, when, to his much greater Mortification, the People preferred the contemptible *Mallius* before him, in 648. *Cicero* exclaims againſt this odd Choice, and condemns with Indignation the odious Preference.

46 *Florus* tells us, *B.* 3, That the *Prætor*, *Calpurnius Piſo*, marched againſt the *Thracians*, whom he forced to abandon *Macedon*, and purſued as far as to Mount *Caucaſus*. *Julius Obſequens* reckons among the Events of the Year 650, the total Defeat of the *Thracians*, who had ravaged *Macedon*.

47 In ſome Copies of *The Epitome of Livy*, and of *Julius Obſequens* we read *Siciliam*, inſtead of *Ciliciam*; but the Criticks have corrected this Miſtake in the later Editions. The Pyrates here ſpoken of, ſcoured the Sea of *Cilicia*, and not that of *Sicily*.

48 The Promontory of *Miſene*, is on the Sea-coaſt of *Naples*, near *Cumæ*, *Puteoli*, and *Baiæ*. It ſtill bears the Name of *Miſene*, which was likewiſe given to a City in the ſame Place, which is not now in Being.

49 *Cicero* gives *Marcus Antonius* this Title, in *B.* 1, *de Oratore*; which is a deciſive Authority againſt the *Abridger of Livy*, who ſuppoſes, that he commanded in the *Cilician* Seas, with the Title of *Prætor* only.

50 *Tacitus* tells us, *Annal. B.* 2, That the Inhabitants

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and returned to *Rome* to *triumph*. But as the Succeſs of this Expedition was uncertain when the *Conſuls* left *Rome*, the City was in great Anxiety about it.

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At home, new Diſturbances were raiſed by a more formidable Enemy than thoſe *Cilicians*, at the ſame Time, that ſo many Enemies threatened her from abroad. This was *Lucius Apuleius Saturninus*, that factious *Tribune of the People*, who by his Intrigues, had got *Marius* his fourth *Conſulſhip*. Being proud of the Protection of a *Conſul* of his own Stamp, and an avowed Enemy to all the *Patricians*, he was wholly bent on promoting ſuch Men to the *Tribunate* as were wholly devoted to him; and ſuch as would preſerve the ſame Spirit, in the College. To this end, he caſt his Eyes on the meaneſt Creature in *Rome*, to raiſe him to that Dignity; a poor *Freedman*, named *Lucius Equitius Firmanus*; whoſe Parents, and even whoſe *Tribe*, were utterly unknown. But *Apuleius* knew him to be a bold active Man, fit for Intrigues; and thought he would be a proper Tool to exerciſe his Fury, if he could place him among the *Tribunes*. To this End therefore he invented a falſe Story, which he imagined his Influence with the People would make them readily adopt. It being probable, that the Birth of *Equitius* would be the greateſt Obſtacle to his Advancement, *Apuleius* made him change his Name to that of *Gracchus*; and preſented him to the People, as the Son of *C. Tiberius Gracchus*, and the only Remains of that illuſtrious Family, who had ſealed their Affection for the *Plebeian* Party with their Blood. A Deſcendant from the *Gracchi* could not but be very dear to the *Roman* People; and he would have been immediately promoted to the *Tribunate*, if the *Cenſors* had not diſcovered the Cheat, and diſconcerted all their Meaſures.

Auth. de Vir. Illuſt. c. 73. *Flor. L.* 3. *c.* 18. *Oroſius. L.* 5. *c.* 17. *Val. Max. L.* 9. *c.* 7; *& L.* 3. *c.* 8. *Vell. Pat. L.* 2. *Appian. L.* 1. *Civ.* *Cic. in Orat. pro Sext. & pro domo ſua.*

The *Cenſorſhip* was then in the Hands of two *Metelli*, the Sons of [51] two Brothers; and the moſt famous of the two was *Q. Cæcilius Metellus*, ſurnamed *Numidicus*, for having conquered *Jugurtha* before *Marius* had *triumphed* on his Account. This great Man was the main Support of the Nobility whom *Marius* and his Party laboured to oppreſs; and he had likewiſe perſonal Reaſons for hating [52] *Apuleius*. Beſides, that this Incendiary was wholly devoted to his moſt cruel Enemy, he had very lately raiſed an Inſurrection among the People againſt the *Cenſor* himſelf. As ſoon as *Numidicus* had returned to his Houſe, after his being elected *Cenſor*; *Apuleius* had beſet it, with a Body of armed Men, and *Metellus* had been forced to flee to the *Capitol* to ſave his Life. Nor had even the Sacredneſs of this Place put a ſtop to the Purſuits of the audacious *Tribune*, who had marched thither with his Company and inveſted the Sanctuary, whither the *Cenſor* was fled for Refuge. So that he would certainly have been murdered there, if the *Roman Knights* had not in ſome Compaſſion for the Hero, and in Indignation againſt the villainous *Tribune*, immediately come to his reſcue. Such was now the Fury of Party-zeal at *Rome!* The moſt venerable Men in the Republick, were not ſafe from the Violence of the *Tribunes*.

It may therefore well be imagined, that the brave *Metellus*, who had been thus perſonally injured, and was an Enemy to all Deceit, would not ſuffer *Apueius* to put a Cheat upon the People, with regard to *Equitius*. He made a Speech to the *Commons*, and convinced them that *C. Gracchus* had but three Sons; the eldeſt of whom died

tants of *Byzantium*, then in Alliance with the Republick, furniſhed *Marcus Antonius* with a Reinforcement of Troops and Galleys; which the *Byzantine* Deputies put the Senate in mind of, in the Speech they made to them in the Preſence of the Emperor *Nero*.

51 One of theſe two *Cenſors*, for this Year 651, ſurnamed *Numidicus*, was the Son of *Lucius Cæcilius Metellus Calvus*; and the other, who was ſurnamed *Caprarius*, was the Son of *Quintus Metellus Macedonicus*, the Brother of *Calvus*.

52 *Appian* ſays, *Bell. Civ. L.* 1, That *Quintus Metellus* declared himſelf openly in his *Cenſorſhip*, againſt *Lucius Apuleius* and *Caius Servilius Glaucia*, who had been *Tribune of the People*, two Years before. The *Cenſor* degraded them both from being Senators, for being factious Men, and unworthy of that Rank. But his Collegue oppoſed this ſcandalous Degradation, and they were both reinſtated, in ſpite of *Metellus*. *Apuleius* was ſo angry at this Affront, that he ſet no Bounds to his Reſentment. He every where exclaimed againſt the *Cenſor*; let ſlip no Opportunity of doing him Miſchief; and the Friends of the ſeditious *Tribune* aſſiſted him in the Deſign he had formed of deſtroying *Metellus*. But this great Man, whoſe Conduct had ever been blameleſs, found his Innocence a ſufficient Security againſt the Attacks of his Enemies; who charged it upon him as a Crime, that he had built too fine a Houſe in the Country. And *Cicero* mentions, *De Oratore*, *L.* 2, a Reply of *Caius Julius Cæſar* to the *Cenſor*, in Alluſion to it. *Metellus* was ordered to raiſe Recruits in the City for the *Roman* Army, that was employed in guarding *Italy* againſt the Irruption of the *Cimbri*; and having no regard but to the preſſing Wants of the Republick, he would excuſe none from the Service that were able to bear Arms. *Julius* pleaded an Exemption from the Law, becauſe he had bad Eyes; and when the *Cenſor* asked him whether he could ſee nothing, he replied, Yes, I can ſtill ſee from *The Eſquiline Gate*, the fine Palace that you have built.

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in *Sardinia*, when he was making his firſt Campaign there; the ſecond at *Præneſte* in his Infancy; and the third, who was born after the Murder of his Father, in his Mother's Arms, at *Rome*. But ſtill *Apuleius* would not acquieſce in the Teſtimony of the *Cenſor*. He ordered *Sempronia*, the Widow of *The ſecond Africanus*, and the Siſter of *Gracchus*, to be cited to appear. He took it for granted, That his Preſence would ſtrike the illuſtrious Dame with dread; and That ſhe would in Deference to him, acknowledge *Equitius* to be her Nephew. She was therefore brought up to *The Roſtra*, in an Aſſembly of the People, (tho' this was contrary to the Laws, which forbad any Woman to appear in a Court of Juſtice) and ſhe there ſhewed the Conſtancy of an Heroine. *Apuleius* in vain put on an angry and revengeful Look. In vain, did *Equitius*'s Party endeavour to intimidate her with their Clamours. She remembred the noble Blood that ran in her Veins, and would not pollute it with an impure Mixture. As ſoon as *Equitius* drew near to her, to accoſt her, as his Aunt, ſhe thruſt him away with Indignation in her Looks and Geſture, and would not ſuffer him to *ſalute* her, as near Relations uſually did. This *Metellus* thought a ſufficient Ground for him to refuſe to inſert the Name of *Equitius* in the Liſt of the *Roman Citizens*; but the publick Declaration he made of his Refuſal, had like to have coſt him dear. He very narrowly eſcaped being ſtoned by the Populace, at the Inſtigation of *Metellus*. So very different were the preſent *Citizens* of *Rome*, from thoſe firſt Republicans, who were remarkable for their Moderation, even in their Seditions! They ſpared the Blood of their Fellow-Citizens, in their moſt violent Tranſports. With Theſe, it was now grown cuſtomary to make even the Places of their Aſſemblies Fields of Battle. And after all, theſe were but the Beginnings of thoſe Exceſſes, of which we ſhall ſee *Apuleius* guilty hereafter.

§. XXI. Thus did *Marius* embroil *Rome* by the *Tribune*, his Agent; whilſt he was himſelf preparing to conquer the Barbarians in *Tranſalpine Gaul*. The *Cimbri*, now driven out of *Spain*, were come down the *Pyrenees*, and the *Roman* General was expecting that they would return to their old Poſt, and ravage the *Narbonne-Province*. But they appeared there no more. In a great Council of War, this terrible Multitude of Northern Confederates reſolved to enter *Italy*, where they deſired to ſettle, by two different Ways. The *Cimbri* were to croſs *Germany*, march along by the ſides of the *Alpes*, and after a long Circuit to paſs over the moſt Eaſtern Parts of them, near the Country of the [53] *Carni*. The *Teutones*, *Ambrones*, and the other *Gallic* and *Helvetian* Troops, were to make their way through [54] *Liguria Tranſalpina*, and croſs the *Alpes* in the Weſtern Parts. So that the former were to march through the Country of the [55] *Norici*, where they would meet with no Oppoſition; but the latter muſt force their Way through *Marius*'s Army, before they could reach *Italy*. And indeed, this Diviſion of the Barbarians into two Bodies was mighty well judged. By this means, they did not hurt one another with their Numbers, and their Troops were not the leſs formidable for being divided. And before they parted, they agreed on a very natural Diviſion of their new Settlements; which was, That the *Cimbri* ſhould have all that Part of *Italy* which lay beyond the *Po*; and the *Teutones* and their Allies all that was on this ſide of that River: each Army mutually promiſing the other, that it would not attempt the Siege of *Rome*, till they were both joined, in the Heart of *Italy*. On the other hand, the two *Roman Conſuls* conformed their Meaſures to the Deſigns of their Enemies. *Marius* continued in *Tranſalpine Gaul*, to hinder the *Teutones* from paſſing the *Alpes Ligures*; whilſt *Catulus* advanced towards the *Carni*, to wait for the *Cimbri*, in the Eaſtern Parts of the *Alpes*; and before we purſue the latter croſs the *Norican* Provinces, we will firſt attend *Marius* in his Expeditions.

His Army was by this Time accuſtomed to his rough Voice, and rigid Behaviour; and as they confided much in his Valour, and more in his Prudence, they eſteemed, and began to love, him. He had juſt given them a Proof of his Addreſs, in the Me-

53 The Country of the *Carni* contained all that Tract of Land, which is bounded, to the North by Mount *Ceſe*, to the Eaſt by the River *Rizan*, to the Weſt by the River *Tajamento*, and to the South by the *Adriatick* Sea. It is now the Eaſtern Part of *Friuli*, the County of *Goritz*, and a ſmall Part of *Iſtria*.

54 See Vol. 2. p. 5. N. 24, and p. 6, N. 31.

55 We don't find the Accounts of the ancient Geographers minute enough to enable us to ſhew exactly the Limits of the Country of the *Norici*. *Ptolemy* places them between the Conflux of the *Ins* and the *Danube*, and the Chain of Mountains that ſeparates them from *Pannonia*. But he has not told us their Boundaries to the North and South. Nevertheleſs it is agreed that the greateſt Part of *Upper Auſtria*, the Archbiſhoprick of *Saltzbourgh*, and all *Stiria* and *Carinthia*, were formerly inhabited by the *Norici*.

thod

6

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thod he took to diſcover, which of the *Gallic* Nations were ſteady, and which wavering, in their Affections to the Republick. He had written a circular Letter to all the Cities in the eaſtern Parts of *Gaul*, and had ſent in it a ſecond Letter ſealed with his own Seal, with Orders to the Magiſtrates not to open the incloſed, till the Day that he appointed. Some obeyed, others broke open the ſecond Letter contrary to his Orders; and before the Day appointed came, he ſent for all theſe Letters to be returned to him, and by this Circumſtance of opening the Seals, judged what dependence he ought to have on the Inhabitants of each City. In the mean time, the better to guard the Paſſes of the *Alpes*, in the further Part of *Liguria*, and to ſecure himſelf againſt this terrible Multitude of *Teutones*, *Marius* came and encamped a great Way below the Conflux of the *Iſer* and the *Rhone*, near which ſtands *Arles*. This was an advantageous Situation, where he might have conveniently ſupplied his Army with Proviſions up the *Rhone* from the Sea, if the Mouth of that River had not been ſtopped up with a heap of Mud and Sand, which the Waves continually lodged there. But this Circumſtance made it ſtill to be feared, that his Troops would be forced to remove to a worſe Station, for want of Neceſſaries: And *Marius* therefore undertook a great and difficult Work, which is remembered to this Day, and was called *Foſſa Mariana* [56]. He dug a large Canal into which he turned the Waters of the *Rhone*, and thereby made a new Communication between the River and the Sea. Through this Canal, the largeſt Tranſports could paſs, and through this Paſſage, he ſupplied his Army with plenty of Proviſions; and when thus encamped, as it were in an Iſland, between the two Arms of the River and the Sea, he had the leſs Reaſon to fear the Attacks of the Enemy. The neighbouring Diſtrict is to this Day called *La Camargue* [57], which is a Corruption of *Caſtra Mariana*, that is, *Marius's Camp*.

Plut. in Mario.

§. XXII. Here, the *Conſul* enjoyed for ſome Time, the advantageous Poſt which he had choſen, and fortified. The Enemy drew near to him, and with their innumerable Multitudes covered a vaſt Tract of Land. But the Army was ſo ſituated, that they could not come to make a general Attack upon it. They could only march Detachments to the Foot of the Camp, where they made frightful Shouts, and challenged the *Romans* to come out, and fight them. Whereas *Marius* was not in haſte to venture a Battle, till his Troops had had ſome Knowledge of the Enemy, and had learned to deſpiſe their Clamours. There was an inexpreſſible Fierceneſs in the Countenances of theſe Barbarians; which was very terrible to thoſe who had not been uſed to them. And therefore, as oft as they appeared, the *Conſul* ordered his Troops to mount the Ramparts, that their Outcries, and the clatter of their Arms, might become the leſs terrible by being familiar to them. He likewiſe ſent out ſome of his *Manipuli*, at different Times, to lay the neighbouring Country waſte, thereby to diſtreſs theſe numberleſs Barbarians with Want; and the more the Scarcity of Proviſions increaſed, the more

56 *Strabo*, *Mela*, *Pliny*, *Solinus*, and *The Itinerary of Antoninus*, all mention this famous Work which has perpetuated among us the Memory of the Name and Exploits of *Marius* among the *Gauls*. But the Moderns are not agreed about the Place where this Canal which was called FOSSA MARIANA was made. *Mercator*, *Montanus*, *Belle-Foreſt*, and *Spond*, quote a Paſſage of *Ptolomy* to prove, That the new Channel was on the eaſtern Part of the *Rhone*, where now ſtands *Aigues Fortes*. But this is not ſufficient to deſtroy the Opinion of the Ancients, who all expreſly ſay, That the *Foſſa Mariana* ran Eaſt and Weſt from the *Rhone*. Father *Maret*, in his *Geography of Gaul*, makes it the ſame with the great Channel of the *Rhone*, which runs 7 great Leagues and a half from North to South, in *La Camargue*, from *Arles* to the Sea. But if we at all conſider the Text of the ancient Geographers, we ſhall be obliged to agree, that *Marius* turned the Courſe of the *Rhone*, over-againſt *La Camargue*, through a ſtony Country which they therefore call *Campi Lapidei*, and which the Natives now call *La Craw*. Beſides, the *Itinerary of Antoninus* and *Pliny the Naturaliſt*, ſpeak of the Channel of *La Camargue* and the *Foſſa Mariana*, as of two different Stations. We therefore agree with the generality of Geographers, both ancient and modern in Opinion, That the Channel here ſpoken of, was made in the Plains of *La Crau*, and reached to the Village of *Fos*, between the *Rhone* and the Pond of *Martigues*, which the *Roman* General made Navigable by this Means. It was with this Deſign, that *Marius* widened the Channel which we find at this Day between *the Tower of Boac*, and the *Terra-firma*. By this means he made a free Paſſage for his Tranſports, as far as to *Martigues*, whither they could not come before, without great difficulty. The Branch of the *Rhone* which has a Communication with this Canal, is now called *Bras Mort*, becauſe the Sands, which in length of Time have been left there, have choaked up the River, and ſtop'd the Water. The Map given Plate 8, Page 199, makes it unneceſſary to enlarge further upon it.

57 *La Camargue* is an Iſland in the moſt weſtern Part of *Provence*, made by the *Rhone* and the *Mediterranean*. It is commonly ſaid to be 7 great Leagues and an half broad, from *Arles* to its moſt ſouthern Part. Some, who have thought that *Marius* encamped in it, have imagined that the Name of *La Camargue*, was only a Corruption of CASTRA MARII. Others derive it from *Marga*, which according to *Pliny B.* 17, ſignifies a fat Earth, with which the *Gauls* and *Britons* uſed to enrich their Lands; and which is to this Day called *Marne* by the *French*, and *Margal* by the *Flemings*. And indeed *La Camargue* paſſes for the moſt fruitful Part of all *Provence*.

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earneſt they were to come to a deciſive Battle. They were continually inſulting the *Romans*; but their Inſults affected only the common Soldiers. The General and his Officers diſregarded them; and if at any Time, the *Legionaries* were preſſing to revenge them with their Arms, the *Conſul* reſtrained them, and treated their Zeal as a falſe Bravery, and themſelves as Enemies to their Country. He told them, That their preſent Buſineſs was not to acquire Glory, or erect Trophies, but to preſerve *Italy*, their Religion, and *Rome* itſelf, from Deſtruction: And That therefore, all Raſhneſs was to be laid aſide, and no Hazards to be run, upon any account.

But this Oppoſition of *Marius*, and the Contempt they began to have for the Enemy, only made the *Romans* the more impatient to come to a Battle. Upon ſeeing and hearing the Barbarians, they had already found out, that their Valour was not proportionate to their Stature. And they obſerved to one another, *That Outcries and Shouts only fill the Air with Noiſe, but do no Execution; That gaſtly Eyes, and a ſavage Mien can only frighten Cowards; and That regular, and well diſciplined Troops will always have the Advantage over a diſorderly, and ill-conducted Multitude.* Theſe Sentiments and Declarations gave the *Conſul* great Pleaſure; yet ſtill he was reſolved to hazard nothing. If he continued unactive in his Camp, ſo did the Enemy in theirs. And when he found that the Murmurs of the *Legionaries*, and their Impatience for fighting increaſed, in proportion as their Fears abated; *Marius* had recourſe to their Superſtition, to abate their Ardour. *Julia*, the *Conſul*'s Wife, who was of the Family of the *Cæſars*, had ſent him a Woman from *Rome*, named *Martha*, whoſe Skill in Predictions, ſhe ſaid, ſhe had experienced. This pretended Propheteſs, who was a Native of *Syria*, had come to the Capital of the World, to make her Fortune there, by her Divinations; and after ſhe had been rejected by the Senate, ſhe found it eaſier to impoſe on Women, than thoſe grave Magiſtrates. She had found Means to make her Court to *Julia*, and gained her Eſteem, by a Prediction which it was not very difficult to make. As ſhe was ſitting near the *Conſul*'s Wife, at a Show of Gladiators, *Martha* foretold to her which of the two Champions would conquer; which, without doubt, ſhe judged of by his Stature, and his Skill. However, the Lady was charmed with the Prediction; and well knowing that her Huſband had, or at leaſt pretended to have, a great Regard for Diviners, *Julia* ſent *Martha* to *Gaul*, where the *Conſul* received and treated her with the moſt profound Reſpect. He honoured her, as if ſhe had been entruſted with the Secrets of Fate; preſented her with a Chariot for her own Uſe; and offered no more Victims but by her Orders. She preſided at all Sacrifices, dreſſed in a long Purple Mantle, faſtened about her Neck by a Gold-Claſp; and carrying in her Hand a Javelin, adorned with Ribbands, and a Garland of Flowers on the top of it. Doubtleſs, *Marius* privately informed her of his Deſigns, ſo that ſhe was not ſo much an Interpreter of the Will of the Gods, as of that of the *Conſul*; and by her Means, he kept his Soldiers in a more ready Obedience. He is ſaid to have frequently made uſe of ſuch religious Cheats to gain the Eſteem of his Troops. He tamed two Vultures, upon whoſe Necks the Soldiers had put Braſs-Collars; and as theſe carnivorous Birds flew frequently to the Camp, after they were ſet at Liberty, whenever they appeared, the Troops cried out *Victory*. And this taught *Sertorius*, who learned the Art of War under *Marius*, not to neglect theſe military Artifices, which eaſily impoſe upon the Multitude.

Front. Strat. L. 5. c. 11.

Plut. in Mario.

§. XXIII. At length, the *Teutones* were tired out with *Marius*'s ſo long delaying to give Battle; and they were continually hovering about the Camp, and inſulting the *Legionaries* with great Shouts. One of them, who was of a gigantick Size, challenged the *Conſul* to fight him, in ſingle Combat. But *Marius* anſwered, *If the* German *is ſo much in haſte to die, let him go and hang himſelf. But if he has a mind, I'll ſend out the leaſt, and oldeſt of my Fencing-Maſters, to fight him; and when he ſhall have overcome him, he will be the more worthy to enter the Liſts with me.* By theſe Delays, the General gained Time, and inſenſibly ruined the Enemy's Army. So that their Leaders, having no other Enterprize within their Reach, raſhly attempted to force the *Roman* Camp. But Numbers could do little againſt an Army of brave Men well entrenched. The *Romans* overpowered them with their Darts, from the tops of their Ramparts. Nothing therefore remained, but to decamp as ſoon as poſſible, and endeavour to force a Paſſage over the *Alpes* ſome other Way; and we may judge of the terrible Number of theſe Confederates, by the Time they were filing off. We are told, That they were ſix whole Days, without intermiſſion, in paſſing by the *Roman* Camp. In their March, the Barbarians cried out to the *Romans*, who were upon their Walls, *Adieu, Adieu. If*

Front. Strat. L. 4. c. 7.

Plut. in Mario.

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you have any Meſſages to your Wives, we will ſoon deliver them at Rome. And when the Enemy were decamped, *Marius* was forced to decamp likewiſe; tho' he was very unwilling to leave the Poſt, which it had coſt him ſo much labour to fortify, and which had gained him ſo much Honour. His Abode in the Neighbourhood of *La Camargue* has ever been thought a maſterly piece of Conduct. However, he followed cloſe after the Army of the *Teutones*, into the inner Parts of *Provence*, and came up with them near a City which *Sextius* had built, and which is now known by the Name of *Aix*. It ſtood at a little diſtance from the *Alpes*; and the *Romans* now prepared for a general Action, which they had ſo long deſired. The *Teutones* had ſpread themſelves along the [58] *Arc*, a little River near *Aix*; and *Marius* deſignedly encamped higher, in a dry Place, where there was no Water, on purpoſe to oblige his Soldiers to fetch it, at the hazard of their Lives. When the *Legionaries* complained of Thirſt, he ſhewed them the River, and ſaid, *There is Water enough, but you muſt purchaſe it with your Blood.* And when they replied, *Lead us then to the Enemy, while we have ſome Blood in our Veins; and don't tarry till we are periſhed with Thirſt*; this was very agreeable to the *Conſul*; only he thought it neceſſary, firſt to fortify a Camp, that at all Events, he might be ſure of a Retreat.

§. XXIV. Whilſt his Troops were buſy in making the Camp, the Servants of the Army who wanted Water for themſelves, their Maſters, and their Horſes, went in Crouds to the River with their Pitchers and Pails, and armed as well as they could with Hatchets, *Partiſans*, and Swords, for their Defence, in caſe of an Attack: And they had the good Fortune to find very few Enemies at the River's ſide. It happened to be the Time of their eating, and bathing; which they did with great Pleaſure in the Hot-Springs, which they found near *Aix*. But nevertheleſs, the few *Teutones* that were left to guard the River, fell upon the *Roman* Servants. Theſe made a great Outcry, and ſome of the *Legionaries* ran to their Aſſiſtance. Upon this, the whole Army of the Enemy took Arms, and *Marius* was forced to draw up his Troops in Battalia. The *Legions* halted at a certain diſtance from the River; whilſt the *Ligures* in the *Roman* Army advanced to begin the Action. On the other hand, the *Ambrones*, who were the beſt Part of the Confederate Army, being 30000 in Number, faced the *Ligures* in good Order. They were a warlike Body, and to them was aſcribed the Victory formerly gained over *Mallius* and *Cæpio*. Beſides, their Bravery was now heightened with Wine, and they briſkly marched up to the Enemy, beating Time on their Bucklers. When they came to the River they paſſed it without heſitation, and fell on the *Ligures*, crying out, *Ambrones!* [59] *Ambrones!* This Name was not peculiar to that People only, but to all the Nations of *Liguria*; and as at this Word the Attack became general, the *Ligures* were put to the Rout. Then the *Legions* advanced with ſlow Pace, and when they came to the Attack, the Face of Affairs was changed. The *Ambrones*, repulſed in their Turns, retired to the Banks of the River; and there their total Defeat began. The Land and Water were both ſtained with their Blood; and Part of them recovered the oppoſite Bank, but the *Romans* ſtill purſued them fighting. At length, a ſmall Remains of the Fugitives fled for Refuge to a kind of Fort made of Carts, which ſerved them for a Camp, and the *Legionaries* marched after them. There the Wives of theſe

58 The River *Arcq*, called *Cenus* by the *Latins*, riſes between *St. Maximin*, and the Village of *Pourieres*; and after it has run, from Eaſt to Weſt, through a ſmall Part of *Provence*, it falls into the Sea of *Martigues*.

59 The Enemy's Men cried out *Ambrones* from all Parts, either to encourage one another, or intimidate the *Romans*, by the Sound of a Word which the Defeat of *Mallius* and *Cæpio* had made formidable; and *Plutarch* adds, That the *Ligures* who ſerved under *Marius* returned the Shout, repeating the ſame Appellation; which, he ſays, was formerly common to all the Clans of *Liguria*. This has led ſome to infer, That the *Ambrones*, who inhabited one of the *Swiſs Cantons*, came originally from the *Ligures*, within or without the *Alpes*. Others ſeat them in the City and Territory of *Embrun*. But there is no ſolid Proof for this Conjecture. *Reineccius*, and after him the learned Author of *The Monuments of Paderbourne* pretend, That the *Ambrones* who were in Alliance with the *Cimbri*, lived on the Banks of the *Emmer*, in *Weſtphalia*; where there are two Rivers of this Name, one called *Ambra Major*, the other *Ambra Minor*. The former riſes in the Village of *Langelau*, in the Dioceſe of *Paderbourn*, and falls into the *Weſer*. The other falls into the *Werſe* near *Munſter*. Father *Briet* confines the *Ambrones* to a Part of the Canton of *Fribourgh*, and that of *Lucern*. *Cluver* gives them the Cities of *Soleure* and *Vindiſch*; and after having ſpoken with great Uncertainty of the Origin of theſe People, he ſuppoſes that their Country bordered on the River *Amma*, now the *Emme*, in *Swiſſerland*. From thence, according to him, they were called *Ammerones*, and by Corruption *Ambrones*. Add to this, that according to *Feſtus*, this Nation were ſo much abhorred for their Robberies, that their Name afterwards became proverbial, to ſignify ſcandalous People who had no Honour; and *Iſidorus* underſtands the Word *Ambro* in the ſame Senſe.

Barbarians

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C. MARIUS, & Q. LUTATIUS CATULUS, Conſuls.

Barbarians had ſtayed, during the Fight; and as ſoon as theſe Furies ſaw their Huſbands in diſorder, and the *Romans* at their Heels, they armed themſelves with Axes and Sabres, and fell on the Purſued and their Purſuers without diſtinction. They gnaſhed their Teeth, and threw themſelves, with great Shrieks, into the midſt of the Fight, and without any regard to their own Defence, ſeized the Swords, and endeavoured to ſnatch away the Bucklers, of the Combatants. At length, when their firſt Fit of Fury was over, they deſired to capitulate. The only Condition they propoſed was, That their Honour ſhould be preſerved, and they ſhould be put under the Protection of the Gods, who were the Protectors of the Chaſtity of the *Veſtals*. But this Requeſt was not granted; and then theſe poor unfortunate Women being reduced to deſpair, firſt killed their Children, and then themſelves. Not one remained alive of ſo great a Multitude: A noble Inſtance of a conſtant Love of Chaſtity, which was now extinguiſhed at *Rome*, whilſt the weſtern Barbarians thus ſignalized themſelves by it!

Oroſ. L. 5. c. 15.

Val. Max. L. 6. c. 1.

Plut. in Mario.

§. XXV. However, this firſt Battle on the River *Arc*, was only the beginning of Victory. This Action had been begun by accident, and only the Army of the *Ambrones* was defeated. The *Teutones*, encamped at a greater diſtance from the River, were ſtill in Being, and their Numbers infinite. So that the *Romans* retired to their Camp, where they did not paſs the Night in very great Tranquillity. No Songs of Victory were heard among them as uſual; their Sleep was interrupted by the Howlings of the Barbarians; and what increaſed their Uneaſineſs was, That the Battle had forced them to leave the Works of the Camp unfiniſhed. So that, if the Enemy had attacked them in the dark, they might eaſily have entered the Trenches which were open on all ſides. But the good Fortune of *Marius*, and the Ignorance of the Enemy, ſaved the *Romans*. The *Teutones* did not ſtir all that Night, nor all the next Day; and thereby gave the *Legionaries* Time to fortify themſelves, on the Eminence which their General had at firſt choſen.

In the Night before the ſecond Battle, *Marius* ſent away *Claudius Marcellus* with a Body of Infantry, and gave him, inſtead of Cavalry, the Boys of the Army, mounted without Saddles, on all the Beaſts of Burden and Cart-Horſes he could find. His Orders were to lay in Ambuſh in the hollow Roads behind the Enemy's Camp, and to fall upon them in the Heat of the Action. Tho' the Detachment was ſmall, yet the great Number of the Servants thus odly mounted, gave it the Appearance of a great Army.

Frontin. Strat. L. 2. c. 4.

At the riſing of the Sun, *Teutobocchus*, or as others, *Teutobodus*, the King, or rather General of the *Teutonick* Army, drew up his Troops, in the Plain. On the other hand, *Marius* formed his Infantry on the Declivity of the Hill where he was poſted, at the Foot of his Entrenchments. He ſuffered only his Cavalry to go down into the Plain, to inſult and harraſs the Enemy. Their Orders were firſt to attack the Barbarians briſkly, and then draw them towards the Hill by a feigned Flight, and afterwards return and poſt themſelves in the two Wings of the *Roman* Army, to cover it. And the Stratagem ſucceeded. The *Teutones* were impatient, and tranſported with Rage; and this was the ſole Cauſe of their Defeat. If they had had the Phlegm of the *Romans*, they would have conquered them. But they inconſiderately advanced, tho' in good Order, to the Foot of the Hill; and the wiſe *Conſul* ſtill kept the Advantage of the Ground.

Plut. in Mario. Oroſ. L. 5. c. 16.

Perhaps no Action ever began with an Ardour equal to that of the Troops which *Teutobocchus* commanded. They ſtood the Shower of Darts which the *Romans* threw down upon them, without ſtirring; and tho' forced to climb, before they could get at the Enemy, they came up with them, and attacked them Sword in Hand. But their Feet often failed them, and when the *Romans* only puſhed them back with their Bucklers, they tumbled over one another. Beſides, the Sun ſhone with great Strength, and the *Teutones* were not uſed to the Heats of *Provence*. Nevertheleſs, they kept the Battle doubtful till Noon, notwithſtanding theſe Diſadvantages; and then the Approach of *Marcellus* determined the Victory. As ſoon as the *Teutones* ſaw a great Army advancing to attack them in the Rear, their Courage and Strength failed them all at once. They were ſtruck with a Panick, and diſperſed themſelves; but their Flight did not ſave them. The *Romans*, who in a manner ſurrounded them, made a terrible Slaughter of them;

60 *Oroſius* and *Val. Maximus* inform us, That after theſe Women had daſhed their Children to pieces upon the Rocks, ſome of them ſtabbed themſelves, and others ſtrangled themſelves, to avoid the Shame of being expoſed to the Luſt of the Soldiers.

Year of *ROME* DCLI.

C. Marius, & Q. Lutatius Catulus, Conſuls.

them; and that chiefly by the Hands of the Servants who had been mounted, only for Shew. In ſhort, the Enemy's Camp was taken and plundered, and it is ſaid, that the *Roman* Soldiers gave up all the Spoils to *Marius*; which, if true, was not a Preſent equal to his Services. *Teutobocchus* [61], according to ſome, was killed in the Battle; according to others, he was made a Priſoner of War; and he is ſaid to have been of ſuch a gigantick Stature, that when he marched before *Marius*'s Chariot at his *Triumph*, his Head reached above the Trophies which were carried before the Victor. As to the Number the Enemy loſt in this glorious Victory, it is not eaſy to aſcertain it. Some ſay the Slain and the Priſoners in the two Battles, amounted to 290000; and the loweſt Calculations ſay, That there were 100000 killed upon the Spot. But be that as it will, the Field of Battle was certainly ſo much [62] enriched by the Bodies buried there, that the *Marſeilleſe* [63] had the next Year a much more plentiful Crop from it, than uſual: And ſome ſay, the Dead were ſo numerous, that they made Fences for their Vineyards, of their Bones.

Velleius. Eutropius. Oroſius. Florus, L. 3. Liv. Epit. Author de Vir. Illuſtr.

§. XXVI. It may well be imagined, that there was no little Joy in the *Roman* Army, at their Deliverance from ſo terrible a Multitude. But *Marius* would not take any Advantage to himſelf, from the Spoils of the Enemy, with which his Soldiers had complimented him, as the ſole Author of the Victory. He ordered them to be gathered all together, which took up a great deal of Time; and in the mean while, he diſpatched a Courier to *Rome*, with the News of the Deliverance of *Italy*, on the Side of the weſtern *Alpes*. This filled the City with inexpreſſible Rejoycings, Feaſtings, and Applauſes; and the aſſembled *Tribes* thought they could no way better teſtify their Honour for their Deliverer, than by chooſing him *Conſul* for the next Year. Thus was *Marius* advanced to the *Conſulate* a fifth Time; and that, not by any Artifice or Intrigue, but purely by the juſt Gratitude of the People.

And whilſt the People at *Rome* were magnifying the Glory of the Conqueror, the Army gathered together all the Booty taken from the Enemy; of which *Marius* only reſerved ſuch Particulars, as might do him Honour at his *Triumph*. All the reſt he dedicated to the Gods. The Soldiers built a Pyramid of all the combuſtible Things they found in the Enemy's Camp, and on the Field of Battle; and the *Conſul*, with his Robes tucked up after the manner of the *Galli*, and with a Flambeaux in his Hand, was juſt ready to ſet fire to the Pile; when Meſſengers arrived from *Rome*. Theſe congratulated him in the Name of the Republick, brought him the News of his fifth Election, and preſented him with a Decree of the Senate, which gave him leave to *triumph*. At this, the Shouts of the Army were doubled; *Marius* was almoſt borne down with the Number of the Crowns, which the Soldiers preſſed to put upon his Head; and he accepted theſe new Honours with Gratitude, and without any indecent Exultation. *I accept the* Conſulate, ſaid he, *as a new Obligation upon me to conquer the* Cimbri, *as I have the* Teutones. *As for a* Triumph, *I deſire it may not be mentioned to me, till I have made my Victory compleat. As long as there ſhall remain any Barbarians to be feared in the Neighbourhood of* Italy, *the Pomp of a triumphal Proceſſion, and the Marks of Glory, uſually produced on ſuch Occaſions, will be very unſeaſonable.* This ſaid, he ſet fire to the Pyramid, and finiſhed the Sacrifice.

61 What *Honore Bouche* relates in his *Hiſtory of Provence*, has the Air of a Fiction. He ſays, That there was found near the Village of *Tretz*, a Stone with an Inſcription, which preſerved the Name of *Teutobocchus*. From whence ſome inferred, That his Tomb was erected in the ſame Place. And *Monſieur de Peireſc*, according to *Gaſſendi*, thinks there is no better Foundation for the Conjectures ſome have made, upon a Brick Sepulchre, which was dug up in the Year 1613, near the Conflux of the *Rhone* and the *Iſere*. It was 30 Foot long, 12 broad, and 8 high, and in it, was a Stone with this Inſcription, Teutobocchus Rex.

62 The moſt common Opinion is, That the firſt Battle with the *Ambrones*, was fought in the Plain of *Aillane*, on the Banks of the *Arc*; which, according to ſome Authors, was ſo called from the Triumphal *Arch*, which the Conquerors, or the *Gauls* then in Alliance with the *Romans*, erected near it, in Honour to *Marius*. The ſecond Battle, according to the Tradition of the Inhabitants of the Country was fought, four Leagues and a half from *Aix*, in a great Plain, between the Villages of *Porrieres* and *Tretz*. In proof of which, they ſay, there have been dug up in this Place ſome Arms of an ancient Form, and the Remains of ſeveral Trophies.

63 The *Marſeilleſe* had favoured the Expedition of the *Romans* againſt the Barbarians; and *Marius* piqued himſelf on ſhewing his Gratitude. He not only gave them a Share of the Spoils of the Enemy, and put them in Poſſeſſion of all the Sea-Coaſt near the *Rhone*, but gave them a Right to the Canal he had dug; and they, according to *Strabo*, finding this to be a free Paſſage for all Ships to go up, and down the *Rhone*, ſettled a Cuſtom on all Veſſels that came that Way, which raiſed a conſiderable Revenue.

Year of *ROME* DCLII.

C. Marius, & Manius Aquilius, Conſuls.

But the Republick had not the ſame Regard to *Catulus*, as to *Marius*. He was not continued in the *Conſulſhip*. *Rome* thought it enough to leave him at the Head of his Army, in quality of *Pro-Conſul*. The new Collegue given the Conqueror of the *Teutones* in *The Field of Mars*, was one *Manius Aquilius*, an able General, whoſe Merit will appear when he comes to carry on the War with the rebellious Slaves in *Sicily*. But of this hereafter, when we have firſt related the Expedition againſt the *Cimbri*, in which the Republick was more nearly concerned.

§. XXVII. The *Romans* began the Year, which was ſo fruitful in Victories, with an Application to religious Affairs. Prodigies of ſeveral Sorts were ſaid to have been ſeen, in different Parts of *Italy*. One of the moſt ſurpriſing was the Noiſe the ſacred Bucklers made by ſtriking againſt one another, without any Perſons touching them; and the Terror increaſed upon the Reports ſpread of the Commiſſion of ſuch Crimes, by two Monſters in Iniquity, as had yet had no Example. An unnatural Son, *Publicius Malleolus*, had killed his Mother; a Crime on which the *Roman* Laws had hitherto inflicted no Puniſhment. Their Legiſlators had thought Parricide ſo enormous a Villany, that they had not preſumed it poſſible for Men to be guilty of it. Only one Villain [64] had been ſuſpected of killing his Father, ever ſince the Foundation of *Rome*. But now *Publicius* was fully convicted of having dipped his Hands in his Mother's Blood. A new Puniſhment was therefore allotted for this new Crime; and a Law was made, by which it was expreſly enacted, That every Parricide ſhould be ſewed up in a Leathern-ſack, and with Execrations, thrown into the *Tyber*. The other Crime which was new, was an Attempt which a Slave made upon himſelf. In an extravagant Fit of Superſtition he reſolved to imitate the [65] Prieſts of *Cybele*, who took away the Marks of their Sex, when they dedicated themſelves to *The Mother of the Gods*: And there was Reaſon to fear that this Eaſtern Superſtition would get ground in *Italy*. One of theſe Half-Men, conſecrated to *Cybele*, named *Batabates*, had come the laſt Year to *Rome*, to warn the *Roman* People, to purify the Temple of the Goddeſs, whoſe Miniſter he was. The Senate had received the Impoſtor honourably, borne his Expences during his ſtay, and ſuffered him to appear in Publick, wearing a Crown of Gold, and a long Robe of the richeſt Brocade. Nevertheleſs, when he had appeared in the *Comitium*, a *Tribune of the People*, named *Aulus Pompeius*, had treated him as a Cheat, and had not ſuffered him to mount *The Roſtra*, to harangue the People. But it happened that *Pompeius* was ſeized with a violent Fever, as ſoon as he got Home, and died of it, in a few Days. This had raiſed the Credit of *Batabates*, and ſpread the Worſhip of the Goddeſs; and his Example had been ſo far contagious, that a Slave hoping to have gained himſelf the ſame Reſpect, had mutilated himſelf. But *Rome* being apprehenſive of the Conſequences of ſo dangerous a Deluſion, baniſhed the Madman, for ever from *Rome*, and tranſported him: And theſe new Alarms led the *Romans* to ſeek for a new kind of Expiation, which they ſeem to have borrowed from the *Jewiſh* Religion. They took a He-Goat, tied ſome burning Materials to his Horns, loaded him with the Curſes of the Publick, and then drove him out of the City, through the Gate [66] *Nævia*.

Jul. Obſeq. c. 100.

Oroſ. L. 5. *c.* 16.

Auctor Lib. ad Herennium.

Cic. Lib. de Inventione & pro Roſcio Amerino.

Diod. Sic. Ecl. L. 36.

Jul. Obſeq.

§. XXVIII. After this, *Rome*, thinking herſelf reconciled to the Gods, depended on great Succeſs. But the *Cimbri*, having in the mean time paſſed the [67] *Alpes Norica*, and returned into *Italy*, this greatly alarmed her. The *Pro-Conſul Catulus*, who ſhould have oppoſed the Paſſage of theſe formidable Enemies, had not found himſelf ſtrong enough to guard all the Paſſes; and therefore, according to *Sylla*'s Advice, he choſe rather to withſtand the Enemy in the Plain, than divide his Army into ſmall Bodies, and run the Hazard of diſperſing them in ſeveral Parts of the Mountains. He was come and encamped on the [68] *Atheſis*, to hinder the *Cimbri* from paſſing [69] that River. He

64 *Plutarch* gives this Villain the Name of *Lucius Oſtius*.

65 See Vol. 3. p. 475. Note 44; and our former Remarks on the *Archigalli* and *Galli*, Prieſts of *Cybele*.

66 It is difficult to ſay exactly where the Gate *Nævia* ſtood. *Victor* ſeems to place it near the Gate *Capena*. See the preceding Volumes.

67 The *Alpes Noricæ* reached from the Spring of the *Drave*, to that of the *Sontius*, now the *Lizonſo*, which falls into the *Adriatick* Sea after it has watered *The County of Goritz*. The Ancients ſeem to have been ignorant of the Name of *Alpes Norica*. We don't find it uſed by any, but the Authors of the middle Age, ſuch as *Jornandes*, *Aimoin*, &c.

68 The *Atheſis* is a River of *Italy*, now known by the Name of the *Adige*. It has ſeveral Springs, the chiefeſt is to the South of *The Trentine Lake*, in *The Alpes*. After it has watered the Cities of *Trent* and *Verona*, it runs through the *Poleſin of Rovige*, and falls into the *Adriatick Sea*.

69 A modern Writer, deceived by the Text of *Plutarch*,

He had pitched too Camps, and admirably well fortified both. The firſt was on the Northern-bank, and faced towards the Enemy. The other was on the Southern, and joined to the other by a Wooden-bridge built over the River. And the outward Parts of both were guarded by little Forts, erected on purpoſe to cover the Entrenchments.

Year of *ROME* DCLII. C. MARIUS, & MANIUS AQUILIUS, Conſuls.

Whilſt the *Romans* were buſy in theſe Works, the numerous Army of the Barbarians came down from the *Alpes*, which were yet covered with Snow and Ice. They might have paſſed by the Mountains, without difficulty, through the Valleys. But being uſed to cold, they took a Pleaſure in tumbling about in the Snow half naked; and inſtead of walking down the Mountains, they ſate down upon their broad Bucklers, and ſlid from top to bottom. When they were got together at the Foot of the Mountains, in *Friuli*, and the Country of the *Veneti*, they ſoon began to taſte the Sweets of this new Climate; but nevertheleſs marched to the *Roman* Camp, and prepared to attack it. In order to ſurround it entirely, it was neceſſary to paſs the River, which they ſounded, but found not fordable. Then they endeavoured to ſupply their want of Skill, with Labour and Strength. They pulled up great Trees by the Roots, and threw great Pieces of the Rocks into the River, in order to make it narrower. By this means they hoped, both to make the Stream more rapid; and ſo to fill up the River, as to make it paſſable: And whilſt they were doing this, the great Beams they threw into it, were brought down the Stream with ſuch Violence, that they ſhook the Piles of the Bridge, and threatned it with ruin.

Oroſ. L. 5. c. 16. Plut. in Mario.

And now, the terrible Appearance of theſe incredible Multitudes, had a very ſurprizing Effect. The *Romans* were ſtruck with a Panick at the Sight of them: And the Alarm began in the great Camp, that is, the Camp which the *Pro-Conſul* had pitched, in the extream Part of *Italy*, and in which were his own Quarters. The *Legions* firſt deliberated for ſome Time, and then took to their Heels, leaving the little Camp to the Mercy of the Enemy. *Catulus* in vain endeavoured to encourage them, and perſuade them to deſpiſe the Menaces of the Enemy. Fear prevailed over Duty. However, *Catulus* had the Preſence of Mind, to ſave at leaſt the Honour of his Republick. He ordered his *Eagle* to be carried before him, and marching apace, put himſelf in form, at the Head of the Fugitives. By this means the ſhameful Flight of the *Legionaries* had the Appearance of a Retreat, directed by the General. But this Management did not hinder ſome of the *Knights* from riding, full ſpeed, to *Rome*; where it may well be imagined, they muſt be ill received. The Son of *Scaurus*, the perpetual *Prince of the Senate*, was one of them; and as ſoon as his Father was informed of his cowardly Deſertion, he ſent him Orders never to appear again in his Preſence. Upon this, the Shame of his Fault ſunk the *Roman* into Deſpair; and he, who was afraid of dying honourably in the Field of Battle, fell very ingloriouſly by his own Hands. In the mean time, the little Camp made a Reſiſtance worthy the Bravery of *Romans*. One of the *Cimbri* who was of a moſt gigantick Size, came and inſulted the ſingle *Legion* that was left, and challenged the braveſt Man, among them, to fight him. *L. Opimius* accepted the Challenge, and overcame him. Nevertheleſs, even the Example of this brave Man, was not ſufficient to encourage all the Cowards. One of the ſix *Tribunes*, who commanded the *Legion*, refuſed to attempt to break through the Enemy, in order to go and encamp in a ſafer Place. A private *Centurion* therefore named *Petreius*, ſtabbed the cowardly Officer, and left him dead upon the Place. Then being choſen Commander of the little Camp, he capitulated with the Enemy upon honourable Terms; and in order to ſecure the Fidelity of the *Cimbri*, he made them ſwear to the Articles, on the brazen [70] Bull which they worſhipped. Thus *Petreius* conducted his *Legion* to a place of Safety, who in Gratitude honoured him with an [71] *Obſidional Crown*; and afterwards he led them to the main Army, whoſe Fears *Catulus* could not appeaſe, till he had brought them to the Banks of the *Po*. And it

Plutarch, is of Opinion, without any Regard to the Authority of the Ancients, that the River here ſpoken of, is the *Atiſo*, now the *Toſa*, which riſes in the *Alpes* at Mount *de la Fourche*, and falls into the great Lake, in the Dutchy of *Milan*. But whoever will at all examine the Courſe of the *Toſa*, will find, as *Cluver* obſerves, that this River was 200 Miles diſtant from the Territory of *Venice*, where the *Cimbri* firſt poſted themſelves.

70 We know, by the Hiſtory of the fabulous Gods, that *Jupiter*, the *Sun*, the *Earth*, and the *Moon*, were all worſhipped, in the Shape of a Bull. See *Macrobius, Saturnal. L.* 1; *Voſſius de Idololatr*; and *Lilio Giraldi, Syntag. Deorum.* After this Victory was gained over the *Cimbri*, the Bull with other Spoils fell to the Share of *Lutatius Catulus*; and he kept it in his Houſe, as a glorious Monument of the Defeat of the Barbarians.

71 See what we have ſaid of the different Sorts of *Military Crowns*, in the preceding Volumes.

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Front. Strat. L. 1. c. 5.

is ſaid, That when he came to paſs this River, a large Detachment of the *Cimbri* came to oppoſe it; and That he got rid of theſe troubleſome People, who had harraſſed him in his Paſſage, by this ingenious Stratagem. He took Poſſeſſion of an Eminence as if he intended to encamp upon it, and the better to deceive the Enemy ordered ſome Tents to be pitched; but at the ſame time commanded his Soldiers not to lay down their Burdens. The Enemy, ſeeing this, reſolved to encamp themſelves; and whilſt they were buſy at their Work, *Catulus* took this Opportunity to paſs the River, and ſecured his Troops.

§. XXIX. As to the Barbarians, had they known how to have made the beſt Uſe of their Advantage, they might doubtleſs have made themſelves Maſters of *Rome*, with as much eaſe, as the *Senones* formerly did, after the Battle of the *Allia*. They would have found the City defenceleſs, and all Orders of Men in the utmoſt Conſternation. But they had ſeveral Motives for their Delay. They had promiſed the *Teutones* not to make any attempt on the Capital, but in concert with them; and they were ſo captivated with the Pleaſures of this new Region, that they forgot their Conqueſts. Theſe People, who had been accuſtomed to the Northern Colds, had formerly lain in the open Air, and had lived only on raw Fleſh, began now to make uſe of Tents, to reliſh the Wine of the Country, and to taſte with pleaſure the Fruits and Delights of the Place, to which they ſaid their good Fortune had brought them. And in Proportion as they enjoyed the Conveniencies of Life, their Courage and love of Labour gradually wore off. Their Courage was not founded in Reaſon like that of the *Romans*, but only in Habit, and the Want of every Thing that makes Men love Pleaſure. So that they now languiſhed away their Time in Idleneſs, daily expecting the arrival of their Confederates the *Teutones*; and in the mean time, the Senate of *Rome* took advantage of their Negligence. Their firſt Step was to recal *Marius* to *Rome*, both to take his Advice, and to employ him; and in order to encourage him to ſupport his Country in ſo great a Diſtreſs, by new Honours, they gave him leave to have one *Triumph* immediately, and promiſed him another, after the Defeat of the *Cimbri*. But *Marius* affected Modeſty, and declined the preſent Offer. He ſaid, *That he thought it by no means proper, to entertain the People with a vain Show, in Times of ſo much Danger; That he could not look on the War as ended, as long as there remained Enemies to conquer; That the Army with which he had conquered the* Teutones *was ſtill in* Gaul; *and That it would be an Act of Injuſtice in him, to rob them of their Share of thoſe honourable Fruits of their Victory, which the Senate had offered him.* Then the *Conſular* Army was ordered to return forthwith from *Tranſalpine Gaul*, where *Rome* had no more Enemies to fear; and it was hoped, that when joined to the *Pro-Conſul*'s Army on the *Po*, theſe united Forces would not only equal thoſe of the Barbarians in number, but excel them in Strength and Valour.

Upon their Union, *Marius* was declared Generaliſſimo, his *Conſulate*, and perſonal Reputation giving him a Superiority over *Catulus*; and the *Cimbri* were not now thought ſo formidable. *Catulus* had with great Prudence got the *Po* between him and the Enemy when he had only two *Legions* to oppoſe them with; but after both Armies were joined, the *Conſul* repaſſed the River with them, to guard *Italia Tranſpadana* from the Ravages of the Barbarians. *Marius* and *Catulus* encamped ſeparately, but always within reach of each other; and after they had paſſed the *Po*, the Conqueror of the *Teutones* met with a Mortification, which, though on a ſlight Occaſion, yet very ſenſibly affected him.

Plut. in Sylla. We have already obſerved, that after *Sylla* had ſerved ſome few Years under *Marius* as his Lieutenant-General, he had been affronted by him, and afterwards choſe rather to ſerve under *Catulus*. He had found that *Marius* was ſecretly his Enemy, or at leaſt a perfidious Friend, and was continually putting Obſtacles in the way of his Advancement out of Jealouſy. But he found *Catulus* to be naturally indolent; and as he left the Care of the Army to *Sylla*, he did him Juſtice for his Services. The Lieutenant had very lately procured a very great Plenty in *Catulus*'s Camp; inſomuch that his Magazines were indeed over full. Whilſt on the other hand, *Marius* wanted even Neceſſaries, and his Purveyors were very negligent in ſupplying him with Proviſions. *Sylla* therefore being informed of the *Conſul*'s Want, came and maliciouſly offered him the Superfluities he had gathered; and though Neceſſity obliged *Marius* to embrace the Offer, never was Preſent accepted with more Reluctance. This was genteelly reproaching him, with the Injury he had done himſelf, in driving from him an Offi-

cer, whoſe foreſight would have prevented the Diſcontent of his Troops; and from this Time *Sylla* ventured to enter into an open Competition with him, notwithſtanding the Superiority which five *Conſulates* gave him, over a private Lieutenant-General. We ſhall henceforward ſee their mutual Enmities daily encreaſe; and not end, till they have produced ſome terrible Cataſtrophes in the State.

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§. XXX. In the mean time, the *Cimbri* were tired with the Inaction into which their Indolence and love of Pleaſure had led them; and they either believed that the *Teutones* would ſoon appear in *Italy*, or pretended to do ſo. At leaſt, they ſeverely beat all thoſe who brought them the News of their Defeat: And that, they might act with ſome appearance of Juſtice, the Barbarians before they came to Blows, ſent a Deputation to the *Roman* Generals. Theſe Deputies, informed the *Romans* of their Pretenſions in theſe Words: *Either let the* Romans *aſſign us Lands, for ourſelves and our Brethren* (for ſo they called the *Teutones*, their Allies) *in the Country where we are, or elſe they muſt expect to feel the weight of our Arms!* To which *Marius* replied, with an Air of great Fierceneſs. *You aſk for Lands for your Brethren; I have given them ſome already. Their Carcaſſes are now ſtinking in the Fields by the* Arc, *and their Bones ſerve for Stones for the Vineyards of the* Marſeilleſe. The Deputies were exaſperated at the Jeſt, and in a great Rage threatned to make him repent of his Inſults, as ſoon as the Kings of the *Teutones* ſhould paſs the *Alpes*. *You need not then delay a Moment*, anſwered *Marius*, for *They are here, and you ſhall immediately ſee them*; and then ſhewing them *Teutobocchus* and the other Chiefs of the *Teutonic* Army, his Priſoners, and in Chains; he added, *Pray, ſalute your Brethren; and make yourſelves ready to come and join them.* After theſe Inſults, nothing remained but to have recourſe to Arms; and *Bojorix*, the King of the *Cimbri*, came himſelf to the Camp of *Marius*, to bid him Defiance, and to require him to fix the Time, and Place, for a Battle. This the *Romans* had ſcarce ever done. Each Party uſually choſe the Field of Battle upon the Spot, without any previous Determination. But nevertheleſs, *Marius* had the Complaiſance and Addreſs on this Occaſion, to pitch on the Plain of[73] *Verceille*, and to fix on the Day before *The Eve of the Calends of Auguſt*, (which was at three Days diſtance) for the Day of Battle. This[74] Field was barely wide enough for drawing up the *Legions* of the two *Roman* Armies; but was not a ſufficient Breadth for forming ſo vaſt a Multitude as the Barbarians, who could not be ranged there, without crowding. However, the *Romans* and *Cimbri* appeared there, on the Day appointed; and the Army of *Catulus* amounted to 20300, and that of *Marius* to 32000 Men. In the Morning, a Fog aroſe, and *Marius* ſhewed his Judgment, in uſing the ſame Caution, which *Hannibal* had done, at the Battle of *Cannæ*. He took care, that his own Troops ſhould have the Sun in their Backs, if it ſhould ſhine out; and the Enemy have Sun, and Wind, and Duſt, in their Faces. He alſo firſt ordered his Troops to make a plentiful Meal, and then drew them up before his Trenches, very early in the Morning; whereby he ſo hurried the Enemy to form likewiſe, that their Men were already fatigued, when they took their Poſts. Their Infantry ſeemed innumerable; and when drawn up in a Square covered 30 *Stadia*[75] of Ground. Their Cavalry were 15000, each armed with a *Cuiraſs*, a white Buckler, two Javelins and a Sabre. Their Helmets were in the Form of gaping Mouths of ſtrange Beaſts, with Wings of Birds upon the Tops of them, by way of Creſt; and this ſeemed to add to the Heighth of their Stature, which was naturally gigantick.

Front. Strat. L. 2. c. 2. Plut. in Mario. Flor. L. 3. Oroſ. L. 5. c. 16.

Before the Action began, each of the *Roman* Generals offered a private Sacrifice. *Marius* promiſed the Gods an hundred Victims, if he ſhould be[76] victorious; and *Catulus* made a Vow, to erect a Temple not to *Fortune* in general, but to *The Fortune of this Day*, which was ſomething new and ſingular. *Marius* as Commander in chief, had drawn up the Troops with a view to his own Advantage; and in order to deprive the *Pro-Conſul* of any Share of the Glory of the Day, had poſted his Troops in the Center. But he had divided his own Army into two Bodies, and poſted one in the right Wing, and the other in the left; and theſe two Wings projected before the main

73 *Strabo* ſpeaks of the City of *Verceille*, as a Town on no Account conſiderable. *Tacitus* tells us, that in *Veſpaſian*'s Time, it had the Title of a *Municipium*.

74 *Velleius*, *Florus*, and the Author of *The Lives of Illuſtrious Men*, give this Field the Name of *Campus Randius*; which *Cluver* thinks was the ſame Place, where the Village of *Rubio* now ſtands.

75 Thirty *Stadia*, at the rate of 125 Paces to each, make near one *French League* and a Quarter.

76 *Plutarch* ſays, That *Marius* found an happy preſage of his Succeſs, in the Entrails of the Victim he ſacrificed, and then cried out with an Air of Enthuſiaſm, *The Victory is mine.*

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Body, and conſequently run nearer to the Army. So that all the Efforts of the Enemy muſt fall on the General's Army; and he expected to have monopolized all the Glory, of having fought and conquered the Barbarians. But he was miſtaken. Two unforeſeen Accidents prevented his robbing his Collegue of his Share of the Victory. In the firſt place, the Cavalry [77] of the *Cimbri* made a Motion, as if they intended to wheel about the Flanks, and ſurround the *Roman* Army. Upon this, *Marius* detached his two Wings to follow them, and withdrew himſelf to a conſiderable diſtance from his main Body. This ill Diſpoſition is ſaid to have been occaſioned by a *Legionary* who cried out, *The* Cimbri *flee; Let us purſue them.* Upon which *Marius*'s Men advanced againſt theſe pretended Fugitives, and drew their General with them. And in the next place, the Wind blew pretty hard, and raiſed ſuch a Cloud of Duſt, that the Enemy could not ſee *Marius*'s Troops. Nevertheleſs, the Barbarians advanced through the Cloud, and fell on the *Legions* commanded by *Catulus* and *Sylla*, who were too brave to be affrighted at their Multitude. And as for their Soldiers, the Duſt hindered them from ſeeing the Number of the Enemy, and made them the leſs apprehenſive of their Danger. However, the Barbarians made the Onſet with unparallelled Intrepidity; and the Wind ceaſing, the Duſt was ſoon diſperſed. After this the Sun ſhone out with ſuch Strength, that theſe northern People, who were little able to bear great Heats, found their Strength and Courage fail them at once. They were ſoon covered with Sweat, and ſcarce able to lift up their Hands to ſtrike a Blow. Whilſt the *Romans* on the contrary, who were uſed to burning Suns, and inured to Fatigue, made what Havock they pleaſed of their Enemies, who had put it out of their own Power to avoid their Blows, and flee. The *Cimbri*, like true Barbarians, had tied themſelves to each other with Cords faſtened to their Belts, that they might keep their Ranks the better. So that every Rank, being as it were hung in a String, they could not ſeparate themſelves, to ſave their Lives. And to compleat their Misfortune, their own Squadrons whom *Marius* had ſo long purſued, came at laſt and fell on their own Infantry, and put them entirely into Diſorder. And then, all that followed was a dreadful Butchery; and the whole Plain was covered with theſe great Bodies, whoſe Appearance only had ſtruck ſo much Terror, into the *Germans*, *Gauls*, and *Spaniards*.

XXXI. When thus Conquerors in the open Field, the *Romans* marched in all haſte to take, and plunder, the Enemy's Camp: And here they had a new Battle to fight, not with Men (there were few of them left) but with their Wives, who were even more fierce than their Huſbands. They were dreſſed in black Rags, and ſeemed already in mourning for their Fathers, Huſbands, and Sons, who had juſt now periſhed in the Battle; and they threw all the Darts they could find, from their Carts, which was a ſort of Fortification for them. Till at laſt, when they had ſpent their Rage on their Friends, Relations, and Enemies, without Diſtinction; they firſt ſuffocated their Children in their Arms, and then killed themſelves. The greateſt Part hanged themſelves in Cords on the Branches of the Trees. One who was hanged to the ſide of her Cart, was ſeen to ſpurn way with her Feet two of her Children, whom ſhe had tied by the Neck, one to each of her Feet, to hang them. Others for want of Trees and Stakes, tied Strings in running Knots about their Necks, and then faſtened them to the Tails of their Horſes, to ſtrangle themſelves that way. In ſhort, theſe unhappy Creatures ſought Death all manner of Ways, by the Sword, the Halter, and by Poiſon. Thus was almoſt this whole Nation extirpated, whoſe Incurſions and Robberies had been looked on as a publick Scourge. The few Men that eſcaped in the Fight, were either taken and enſlaved, or fell by their own Hands in ſingle Combats. Two of their little Kings ſtabbed each other. *Bojorix* and *Luig*, their chief Commanders, died in the Action, Sword in hand. And the only two of their Generals, which the *Romans* made Priſoners of War, were *Clodic* and *Seſorix*. Quarter was given to 60000 of theſe Barbarians, who were put in Chains, and ſold to the beſt Bidder; and at leaſt 120000 were left dead in the Field of Battle. Whereas the *Romans* had ſcarce 300 Men wanting in both their Armies. But *Marius* brought to his Camp only two *Colours* taken from the Enemy; whilſt *Sylla* brought to his, one and thirty, with the brazen Bull which the *Cimbri* worſhipped.

77 The Cavalry of the *Cimbri*, according to *Plutarch*, were 15000 Men. Each Horſeman was armed with a terrible Helmet, in the Form of a terrible wide Mouth, and ſurmounted with a Bunch of long Feathers, ſo that they looked more like Beaſts than Men: with Iron *Cuiraſſes* which were very bright; and with two Darts to throw at a Diſtance: And when theſe were thrown, they attacked the Enemy Sword in Hand.

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Beſides, almoſt all the Darts with which the Barbarians were wounded, were found marked with the Name of *Catulus*, who had imprinted it on all the Arms of his Soldiers before the Battle. So that *Sylla* ſaw with Pleaſure the greateſt Part of the Glory of the Action taken from *Marius*; who had endeavoured to engroſs it all to himſelf [78].

But when the News of this important Victory came to *Rome*, which ſome Hiſtorians, (following the Fables the *Pontifices* put into their Annals) ſay *Caſtor* and *Pollux* brought thither, the very Day of the Battle, the People there gave all the Honour to *Marius*. They ran into great Extravagancies in the Honours they paid to this *Conſul* of their own Faction. They began their Meals with invoking him, as a God; and ended them, with pouring out Liquors in his Name, by way of Libation. They called him, *The third Founder of* Rome, and *The ſecond Deliverer of his Country*; and neither Time, nor the moſt circumſtantial Accounts, could undeceive his Partiſans and Adorers. They could not bring themſelves to allow *Catulus* any Share of the Succeſs. When the two Generals were in the Suburbs, waiting for Orders for a *Triumph*, all the Outcry was for *Marius*. The Clamour was, *That he only had deſerved a* Triumph, *and That the Honours of it ought not to be divided, between ſo great a Man, and a common General.* But notwithſtanding all this, *Marius* had not the Face to rob *Catulus* of the Share he had in the Victory. Beſides, he was afraid, that the Army of *Catulus* would oppoſe his *Triumph*, if he pretended to exclude their General: And the *Conſul*'s Condeſcention went ſtill farther. Tho' he was offered two *Triumphs*, one for having defeated the *Teutones*, and another for having extirpated the *Cimbri*, he contented himſelf with one. So that it may be preſumed, That the two Victors were carried in the ſame Chariot from *The Triumphal Gate* to *The Capitol*, attended by their two Armies. The chief of the Captives taken, either from the *Teutones* in *Gaul*, or the *Cimbri* in *Italy*, marched before their Chariot; and no part of the Sight ſtruck the People ſo much as that of the Giant *Teutobocchus*. If he was really higher than the Trophies that were carried in the Proceſſion, he muſt have been at leaſt ten Foot high. And tho' the two vanquiſhed Nations were very poor, yet the Spoils taken from them were pretty conſiderable. Theſe Robbers by Profeſſion eventually enriched the *Romans* with all the Booty they had taken from all the Nations through which they had paſſed. So that *Marius* was ſufficiently enabled to build a Temple, *To Virtue and Honour*; but it was a Monument of his want of Taſte, as well as of his Glory. He neither employed any *Greek* [79] Architect to build it, nor uſed any foreign Marble in it. And when at the Dedication of it, the People were entertained with *Games* after the *Greek* manner, *Marius* had not Patience to ſtay long at them, but was immediately tired, and withdrew. This great General had no Taſte for Arts. His Element was War. Nevertheleſs, he had conſtantly drank out of a Cup with two Handles, ever ſince his laſt *Triumph*. He had heard that [80] *Bacchus* the Conqueror of the *Indians*, had uſed ſuch a one after his Conqueſt;

Florus L. 3. c. 3.
Plut. in Mario.
Florus L. 3. c. 3.
Vitruvius in Præfat. L. 7. de Archit.
Val. Max. L. 5. c. 7.

78 This Expedition of the *Romans* in *Provence*, againſt the *Ambrones* and *Teutones*, gave riſe to an ancient Tradition which continues among the Natives to this Day. They fancy, That the Triumphal Arch which is ſtill at *Orange*, was erected in honour to *Marius*, to perpetuate his Name and Exploits in *Narbonne-Gaul*. But the Figures carved in Relievo on the two Fronts, always gave juſt Cauſe to doubt of the Truth of the vulgar Opinion. We ſee there a confuſed Mixture of Anchors, Tridents, Sterns of Ships, and Oars; which are certainly Marks of a naval Victory, and can never be applied to that gained by *Marius* in the Plains of the Territory of *Aix*, whatever *Joſeph de La Piſe*, the Author of *The Hiſtory of Orange*, may ſay to the contrary. He ſays, That under this Monument, were dug up among ſome Ruins, about the End of the 16th Century, a Stone on which the Name of *Teutobocchus* was inſcribed; and quotes his own Father as an Eye-witneſs of the Fact. But tho' we ſhall not diſpute the Truth of it, we muſt aſſert, That the Inſcription is not deciſive in favour of his Opinion. In order to make it ſo, he muſt firſt prove, That there was no other *Teutobocchus* among the *Gauls* and *Teutones*, but the King over whom *Marius* triumphed. Whereas this Name was perhaps as common among the *Celtic* Nations, as *Cornelius*, *Cæcilius*, &c. among the *Romans*.

79 *Vitruvius* calls the Man, who undertook to build this Temple, *Caius Mutius*; who had gained himſelf ſome Reputation at *Rome* as an Architect, by the Buildings of which he had had the Direction. And this which he now raiſed by Order of *Marius*, increaſed the good Opinion the *Romans* had entertained of his Ability, and fine Taſte, in the Proportion of *Colonnades* and their *Architraves*. *Vitruvius* owns, That this Temple might juſtly have been ranked among the fineſt Monuments of the *Roman* Architecture, if the Goodneſs of the Materials had been anſwerable to the Greatneſs of the Deſign. But *Marius* did not regard Magnificence, or give himſelf any Trouble about doing himſelf Honour by publick Works.

80 The *Egyptians* diſpute the Honour of *Bacchus*'s Birth with the *Greeks*. *Diodorus Siculus*, *Herodotus*, and *Plutarch* ſay, That *Niſa*, a City of *Arabia Felix*, was the Place of his Education; and make him the ſame Perſon with the famous *Oſiris*, whom the *Egyptians* make the Conqueror of the *Indies*. *Diodorus* pretends, that *Orpheus* introduced the Worſhip of this *Egyptian* God into *Greece*. But not being able to find in him all Things that are attributed to *Bacchus* by the

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quest; and he made a Vow, to imitate this God in this Particular. But *Catulus* acted very differently. He built his Temple of the richest Marble, and adorned it with the finest [81] Statues: And *Rome* did not disapprove of the Inscription he put upon it, *viz. To the* [82] *Fortune of this Day.* His Intention in it was to transmit to Posterity the Memory of *The Third of the Calends of August*, which was not barely fortunate to him, but the most glorious Day of his Life [83].

Plut. L. 34. *c.* 8.

§. XXXII. Thus was *Italy* at last delivered from her Fears, by the Defeat of the *Teutones* and *Cimbri*; and the only Enemies the Republick now had were in *Sicily*; a slight Insurrection which had been made by the *Lusitanians*, had just been suppressed. But the rebellious Slaves were still in Arms, in a Country, which the *Romans* were nearly concerned to settle in Peace; and we must now return from the Digression into which the Torrent of northern Barbarians has led us, to prosecute the *Sicilian* Affairs. We have already observed, That *Athenio*, one of the Kings of the Slaves, had suffered himself to be surprized by the other, whose first Name was *Salvius*, and who afterwards called himself *Tryphon*: And the latter having shut up the former in the Citadel of *Triocala*, carried on the Rebellion alone, and maintained himself in the advantageous Post which he had fortified. *Tryphon*, put on the Royal Robes, and with the Diadem on his Head, and the Scepter in his Hand, gave Law to his new Subjects, whom a Spirit of Servitude made obedient: And in the Year 650, *Rome* had sent into *Sicily*, the *Prætor Lucius Licinius Lucullus*, with an Army of 14000 Men, *Legionaries* and Auxiliaries, exclusive of the Succours that were brought him from *Greece* and *Lucania*. As soon as the *Roman* Army was landed, *Tryphon* delivered *Athenio* from his Confinement, and advised with him about the Means of resisting the new General. His Opinion was, That they should wait to receive the Enemy in the Fort he had built; but *Athenio* represented, That it would be both more glorious, and more safe, to march directly to the *Romans*, and fight them in the open Field; and the latter prevailed. *Tryphon* continued in the City to defend it if attacked, and *Athenio* marched away with a Body of 40000 Slaves to receive *Lucullus*. The two Armies met in the Neighbourhood of [84] *Scirtæum*, not far from *Triocala*, and encamped, 1500 Paces from each other. Some Days were spent in Skirmishes, and at length they came to a Battle, in which the Victory was warmly disputed. These Men, who, for the most part had been Soldiers before they were Slaves, wanted neither Valour nor Discipline; and they fought with a Regularity and Constancy which the *Romans* did not expect. Insomuch that the Success would have been dubious, if *Athenio* had not been wounded in both his Knees, towards the End of the Battle. He had advanced too far into the Engagement, at the Head of 300 Horse, and falling to the Ground through Faintness, was covered with a heap of dead Bodies. And then, as soon as he disappeared, all his Troops dispersed themselves, and more of them fell in the Flight, than in the Action. Above 20000 were killed on the Spot;

Diod. Sic. in Eclog. 1. *L.* 36.

the Fabulists, he is forced to make three *Bacchus's*, who were all worshipped by the ancient *Pagans*. The first, an *Egyptian*, the Son of *Ammon* and *Amalthea*, was surnamed *The Bearded*, because he wore a long Beard, after the manner of the *Indians* whom he had subdued. The second, was the Son of *Jupiter* and *Proserpine*, or rather *Ceres*; who, according to the Mythologists, first found out the Art of yoking Oxen, to plough Land. The third was born at *Thebes*, of *Jupiter* and *Semele*. And *Cicero* reckons up five *Dionysius's*, or *Bacchus's*, exclusive of the Son of *Semele*. The Delusions of the ancient Pagans concerning this chimerical God, the different Names they gave him, and the shameful Ceremonies which made a Part of his Worship, are fully collected by *Noel Le Compte*, *Lilio Giraldi*, and *Vossius*. *Arnobius*, *Clemens of Alexandria*, *St. Austin*, and *Lactantius* have published Accounts of the horrible Things that the Priests invented, and Superstition decreed sacred, in the Celebration of the Festivals of *Bacchus*; and they are transmitted to us, in many Antiques, which Time has spared.

81 *Pliny* says, That these Statues which were 8 in Number, were made by one of the most famous Sculptors in *Greece*, named *Pithagoras*. A different Person from the *Samian* Philosopher, tho' born in the same Island as well as of the same Name. This skilful Statuary learned to paint, when he was young, and from thence drew the Principles of his Art.

82 *Pliny* speaks of the Dedication of this Temple, but in Terms that will admit of different Constructions. *Ad Ædem Fortunæ* HUJUS QUE DIEI. Most Criticks read HUJUSCE, instead of HUJUS QUE, which they take to be an Error of the Copyists. But Father *Hardouin* retains the first Reading, after he has proved by several Instances, that HUJUS QUE has the same Signification as *Unius Cujusque*. Upon this Supposition then, which we leave to the Reader's Judgment, the Inscription can no otherwise be interpreted than to signify, TO THE FORTUNE OF EACH DAY; importing, That the Power of the Goddess was boundless, and reached to all Times. Nevertheless, the Reading which we have followed in the Text, is supported by great Names. It agrees very well with the Design of *Catulus*, who intended to transmit to Posterity, by this Monument, the Remembrance of the most glorious Day of his Life.

83 *Cicero* adds, in his *Oration Pro domo sua*, That with Part of the Spoils taken from the *Cimbri*, the *Pro-Consul* built a *Portico* in *Rome*.

84 *Diodorus* is the only Author who mentions a City in *Sicily*, called *Scirtæum*; and its true Situation is not known.

and the nearneſs of the victorious Army ſtruck *Trypho* with ſuch dread, that before the Sun aroſe the next Morning, the Coward deſerted the City which he had built.

However, *Athenio* was ſtill alive. Notwithſtanding his Wounds, he got from under the Heap of dead Bodies that covered him; and, with difficulty reached *Triocala*, and there he found a Retreat. The Remains of his Army likewiſe took Refuge there. But theſe Soldiers, who had behaved themſelves with ſo much Bravery in the Battle, loſt all their Courage after their Defeat. Being reduced to Deſpair, they thought of nothing but returning to their own Maſters. They thought Slavery preferable to the Labours and Perils of War: And if *Lucullus* had known how to make his Advantage of their Diſpoſitions, the War in *Sicily* would have been ended. But he loſt Time in Precautions, and Preparations for the Siege of *Triocala:* Which he did not begin to inveſt, till nine Days after the Battle. And then, the Fears of the Slaves were worn off, and their Courage revived. *Athenio* ſuſtained the Siege with a Valour ſuperiour to Men of his Rank; and rendered the Machines and Efforts of the *Romans* uſeleſs. *Lucullus* was obliged to deſiſt from his Enterprize, amidſt the Shouts of theſe inſolent Slaves, who inſulted him from their Walls; and it is incredible, what Uneaſineſs this ill Succeſs of the *Prætor* cauſed in *Rome*, and what Diſorders it produced in *Sicily*. The Slaves all over the Iſland were daily leaving their Maſters, and increaſing the Number of the Rebels. In the mean time, the indolent *Lucullus* took no Care to remedy the Evil, but ſate ſtill in *Syracuſe*, wholly intent on enriching himſelf at the Expence of his Province. So that as ſoon as his Year was expired, he was recalled; and being accuſed before the [85] People, of Oppreſſions, he was condemned to Baniſhment.

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§. XXXIII. The *Prætor* ſent by *Rome* to ſucceed him, made a yet more unfortunate Campaign there. This weak General, named *C. Servilius*, ſuffered the Rebels to get ſuch an Aſcendant over him, as ſunk his illuſtrious Name below that of a contemptible Slave. *Trypho* was now dead; and *Athenio*, ſtill brave and enterprizing, came and attacked *Servilius*. The *Roman* Army was defeated, and their Camp plundered. So that the *Roman* durſt not take the Field any more, but ſpent the reſt of his Year in inaction. A great Triumph indeed for *Athenio*; and as great an Encouragement to the *Banditti* about him. The Commander aſſumed the Sceptre and Crown, and his Soldiers came from the inland Countries to the Sea-Coaſts, and left behind them in all Places Marks of their Robberies and their Cruelty. At length they turned towards [86] *Meſſana*, a ſtrong Place, whither the Inhabitants of the Country had brought their Effects to ſecure them. The Booty of this rich City, was the Bait that drew them thither; and it being difficult to take it by Force, *Athenio* endeavoured to ſurprize it. He knew the Inhabitants were to aſſemble in the Suburbs, on a certain Day, to perform ſome Religious Ceremony; and he haſtened thither. But whether through the Precipitation of the Aggreſſors, or the vigorous Reſiſtance of the Beſieged, he failed in his Attempt. However, he fell on [87] *Macella*, took it, and made it as it were the Center from which he continually

Flor. L. 3. c. 19.

Diod. Sic. Eclog. 1. L. 36.

85 According to *Plutarch* and *Cicero*, it was one *Servilius*, then *Augur*, who accuſed *Licinius Lucullus*. The accuſed had two Sons whoſe Zeal he experienced after his Condemnation. In order to revenge their Father's Quarrel, they combined together, and accuſed *Servilius* of Male-Adminiſtration. And thoſe Quarrels were a ſource of Animoſity and Hatred between the *Licinian* and *Servilian* Families. *Rome* was long troubled with their Diviſions, till at length their perſonal Enmities were forced to give way to the Wants of the Republick, and *Cicero* tells us, in his *Academic. Quæſt. L. 4*, *De Officiis L. 2*, and his Diſcourſe *De Provinc. Conſular*, That a Concern for the publick Good, united the two Families; which *Plutarch* confirms, in his *Life of Lucullus*.

The Annaliſts likewiſe place in this Year, or near it, the Condemnation of one *Caius Papirius Maſo*, who was accuſed of imbezzling the publick Money, by *Coponius* a Native of *Tibur*. *Cicero* ſays in his *Oration for Balbus*, That the Accuſed was rewarded with the Right of *Roman Citizenſhip*, for his Accuſation.

It was alſo about this Time, that *Publius Sextius*, who was nominated *Prætor* for the next Year, was convicted of having made uſe of unlawful Means in canvaſſing for that Office. His Accuſer was *Titus Junius*, whom the *Conſular Annals* make one of the *Tribunes of the People* for the Year 652; and the Accuſed could not eſcape a ſhameful Condemnation. He was ſentenced according to the Rigour of the Law, and was degraded to the Condition of a private Perſon.

Before *Sextius*, one *Caius Coſconius*, who was known to have been guilty of ſeveral Crimes, had the Happineſs to recover the Favour of his Judges, by recriminating on his Accuſer *Valerius Valentinus*. The latter was thought the Author of ſome licentious Verſes, in which the Writer gloried in the moſt infamous Debaucheries. The Piece was produced and read aloud; and procured the Favour *Coſconius* had expected from it, and made a Diverſion in his Favour. The Judges being prejudiced againſt *Valerius*, did not think proper to give him a Triumph over his Adverſary, of which he might have made an ill Uſe; and *Coſconius* was acquitted. This Account is given us by *Valerius Maximus*, *L.* 8. *c.* 1.

Feſtus ſpeaks of this *Valerius Valentinus*, and aſcribes to him ſome obſcene Poems on the Pleaſures of good eating.

86 See Vol. 2.

87 *Polybius* places *Macella*, an ancient City of *Sicily*,

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continually ſent out Detachments to ravage the Country. And this Progreſs of the Rebellion, which *Rome* had not apprehended, opened at length the Eyes of the Senate.

The *Conſul Aquilius*, who was elected in the *Campus Martius*, when *Marius* was there promoted to his fifth *Conſulſhip*, had *Sicily* and the War with the Slaves for his Province. *Sicily* was laid waſte, and *Rome* ſuffered by it. A *Conſular* Army was ſcarce ſufficient to ſtop the Inſolencies of a King, contemptible in himſelf, but ſupported by ſuch Troops as had got the better of three *Prætors*. However, *Aquilius* croſſed over to the Iſland, in order to make War with the Slaves there, whilſt his Collegue was preparing to drive back the Barbarians.

§. XXXIV. It may well be imagined that theſe vile Creatures, who had no Commerce with any foreign Nation, could not long ſubſiſt in an Iſland which they had themſelves laid waſte. The Lands were left uncultivated, and the Corn was brought from the Granaries in the Country, and laid up in walled Towns; whilſt the Slaves, fell greedily to enjoying the preſent Plenty, and had no Foreſight of the future. So that they were in Want, in the moſt fertile Country in the World. Whereas the *Romans* wanted no Convenience of Life. The *Conſul*, who took as much Care to provide all Neceſſaries for his *Legions*, as to deprive the Rebels of a Subſiſtence, had Corn and other Proviſions continually brought him, both from *Africa* and *Egypt*. In ſhort, *Aquilius* made it his whole Buſineſs in his *Conſulſhip*, to ſtarve the Enemy; and the next Year, which we will here anticipate, in order to finiſh at once a War which brought ſo little Honour to the *Romans*, being left *Pro-Conſul* in *Sicily*, he entirely deſtroyed the Rebels whom he had weakened. He took the Field, inſulted the Enemy, and brought them to a Battle. Both Parties maintained it, with equal Valour; till at length, the two Generals met, and the Victory was determined by a ſingle Combat, as in the heroic Ages. *Aquilius* not diſdaining to enter the Liſts with *Athenio*, a ſtop was put to the Battle; and both Armies made way for the two Champions. The *Romans* on one ſide, and the Slaves on the other, were only Spectators of the Duel. At firſt, the *Pro-Conſul* received a Blow on his Head, but being exaſperated with the Wound, he fell at his Adverſary with ſuch Fury, that he laid him dead on the Sand, at one Blow. This diſcouraged the Rebels, and they fled. The *Romans* took Advantage of the *Pro-Conſul*'s Victory, and their Fears; and made a terrible Slaughter of them. There were ſcarce 10000 of all this Multitude left; nevertheleſs they rallied, and took refuge in their Camp. There they were ſurrounded by the *Roman* Army, and being preſſed with Hunger, they choſe rather to deſtroy and devour one another than ſurrender. Till at length, being reduced to 1000 Men, under a Leader named *Satyrius*, he capitulated with the *Pro-Conſul*, who promiſed them their Lives; and ſent them to *Rome*, to fight with *African* wild Beaſts, in the Shows of the *Circus*. But when they came there, theſe unfortunate Creatures deſiring rather to fall by each other's Hands, than to appear as Gladiators, in the Religious Ceremonies, *Rome* conſented. They all killed one another, before the Altars, till *Satyrius* only remained alive: And then the brave Captive, that he might not ſurvive his Companions, ſtabbed himſelf with his own Sword, and fell the laſt Victim to a Rebellion, which had laſted four Years, and is ſaid to have coſt the *Romans* a Million of Slaves. Nevertheleſs *Aquilius*, when he returned to *Rome*, had only an [88] *Ovation* granted him, in Reward for his Victory. In judging of his Merit, the *Romans* had not ſo much Regard either to the Services he had done the Publick, or his Valour, as to their old Cuſtoms; which had ever been, not to grant a *Triumph* to the Conquerors of Rebels, eſpecially if they were only Slaves. However, the Name and Glory of *Aquilius* were perpetuated on a [89] Medal which was ſtruck by one of his Deſcendants, in Memory of his Victory in *Sicily*.

Flor. L. 3. c. 29.
Diod. Sic. L. 38. Ecl. 1.

Cic. de Orat. L. 2.

cily, near *Palermo*, a little more inwards towards the Land. See Vol. 2. p. .

**See Pl. 10. No. 2. Page 253.*

Whether this be a different City from that whoſe Inhabitants *Pliny* calls *Magellini*, is uncertain. But we muſt not confound it with another *Macella* which ſtood on the Coaſt of *Further Calabria*. Some Geographers place it where *Strongoli* now ſtands.

88 *Aquilius*, according to *Athenæus*, had the Honour of a *Triumph*. But *Livy* and *Cicero* both ſay, That the Senate and People only granted him an *Ovation*, in the Year 654.

89 The Face of the * Medal ſtruck in Memory of the Exploits of *Aquilius* againſt the Slaves, is a *Military Virtue* armed like a Warriour; and on the Reverſe, we ſee *Sicily* in the Figure of a fainting Woman. *Aquilius* holds his Hand out to her, and raiſes her up; to ſhew that he was the Reſtorer of this deſolated Province. The Inſcription informs us, That he was the Son of one *Manius*, and the Grandſon of another.

THE

THE Roman Hiſtory.

BOOK LV.

§. I. THE Republick had now ſcarce any Enemies left abroad; but ſhe nouriſhed Vipers in her own Boſom, which in the End proved more cruel to her, than either the *Cimbri* of *Germany*, or the Slaves of *Sicily*. This I ſay with reſpect to Perſons, as well as to thoſe Vices which were now indulged to the utmoſt Exceſs. How unlike was *Rome* become to herſelf! As ſhe now ſurpaſſed the moſt wealthy Cities of *Aſia* and *Africa* in Riches; ſo ſhe exceeded them in Luxury, Delicacy, and all Kinds of Debauchery. The few Virtuous that were left in her, in vain endeavoured to preſerve in their Families the Frugality and Continence of the old Times. What could the Example of a *Metellus*, a *Scævola*, or a *Rutilius* do, againſt the Torrent of Men's Paſſions, and the Silence of the Laws? The Quarrels between the Senate and People were become more furious than ever, and rarely ended without Blows and Blood-ſhed. The *Tribunes* armed the *Tribes* at pleaſure, and Edicts were no longer paſſed without the Help of Stones, and Daggers. So that the Violences of the People in their *Comitia* authorized all manner of Wickedneſs. What Hopes of a Reformation, amidſt the Licentiouſneſs of Arms! What Power could the Magiſtrates have to effect it, in ſuch a State!

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In point of Luxury and Extravagance, the *Romans* were become as elegant in their Furniture and Dreſs as the People of *Athens*, and as effeminate as thoſe of *Antioch* and *Alexandria*. Their *Sallons* where they gave their Entertainments were very magnificent. The Beds round their Tables, which they uſed inſtead of Chairs, were made of the ſcarceſt Woods, and covered with Plates of Ivory, if not of Gold or Silver. Cuſhions and Mattreſſes adorned with Gold Stuffs, or enriched with Embroidery, were become common. And the Delicacies of the Table were anſwerable to the Richneſs of the Furniture. The common Wines of *Italy* were left to vulgar Palates; the Rich would touch only thoſe of *Falernum* and *Chios*. No Fiſh were thought fit to appear but ſuch as were of a monſtrous Size; no Meats fit for the preſent Taſte, but ſuch as were brought from far, or were the Veniſons of foreign Countries. A Barrel of ſalted Fleſh brought from *Pontus* in *Aſia*, was ſold for 400 *Denarii*; and a Slave, that was a good Cook, for [1] four *Talents*. So little was the Regard now ſhewn to the wiſe Laws formerly paſſed againſt ſumptuous Entertainments! And in Point of Dreſs, the Men carried their Profuſeneſs to Effeminacy and Indecency. Young Men appeared in Publick, not in [2] Silk (for it was then unknown to the *Romans*, or at

Diod. Sic. apud Valeſi.

1 Four *Talents* according to our Eſtimation make 12000 *Livres*. [and 755 *l. Sterling*.]

2 It appears in Fact, that till after the Republick was utterly deſtroyed, Silk-Habits were very ſcarce among the *Romans*. At leaſt, even the greateſt Men among them had not till then worn ſuch, if we may credit *Lampridius*. He tells us, That the Emperor *Heliogabalus* was the firſt who appeared in Publick in a Silk-Robe. Indeed, by a Paſſage of *Marcus Varro*, quoted by *Nonius*, it ſeems to appear, that the Women of the firſt Rank had begun to leave their Woollen Habits for more valuable ones. He is there ſpeaking of the *Roman* Ladies, who were very expenſive in their Dreſs, and were not aſhamed to appear in Robes made all of Silk. *Aliam cerneres cum ſtola Holoſerica.* But it is likewiſe probable, that Silk was not then near ſo common in *Rome* as it was in after Ages. The Scarcity made it dear, and the Price muſt have been exceſſive in the Times we are treating of; ſince in the Emperor *Aurelian*'s Time, that is, about 273 Years

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at leaſt was very ſcarce in *Italy*) but in Stuffs ſo thin, and tranſparent, that they were offenſive to Modeſty.

As to their Seditions, if they fomented the Luxury of the *Romans*, ſo did their Luxury prompt them to Seditions. They dreaded nothing ſo much, as placing at the Head of the Government Men of Credit, and deſirous of a Reformation, who might by the Authority of the Laws, deprive them of all their faſhionable Splendor, and revive the Probity of old *Rome*. And therefore they beſtowed not the higheſt Dignities on the moſt virtuous and deſerving, but on the moſt ambitious and intriguing. Beſides, they ſold their Suffrages, in order to enable themſelves to go on in their Debaucheries; and as the Competitors were divided into different Factions, their Parties not content with Shouts and Acclamations, proceeded to Blows and Murders. Hence it came to paſs, that the ſtrongeſt, and the moſt formidable were perferred to the *Curule* Dignities, before the moſt noble, the moſt wiſe, and the moſt venerable Members of the Republick: And it was eaſily to be imagined, that ſuch Promotions could not be made, without publick Broils and Diſturbances. Beſides, at the Head of the Republick was *Marius*, whoſe Ambition comprehended all Vices in one; and whoſe ſeditious Spirit contributed more towards the inteſtine Troubles that followed, than even the Reſtleſſneſs of the *Tribunes*, the Exceſſes of the debauched, and the Licentiouſneſs of the People.

On the other hand, *Sylla* was no leſs greedy of Honour, than his Enemy *Marius*; but found the latter a perpetual Obſtacle, in the Way of his Advancement. So that their Miſunderſtandings muſt ſoon break out. Two Men, who were each at the Head of a great Party, each jealous of the other, and each renowned for great Exploits in War, could not long continue in Peace and Friendſhip. When their natural Fire could no longer vent itſelf againſt the common Enemies of the Republick; nothing remained, but to turn it againſt themſelves, and againſt their Country.

Such was the Situation of *Rome*, at the End of the fifth *Conſulſhip* of *Marius*. She had not for a great while beheld more Tranquillity abroad. All the conquered Nations revered the Orders of the *Roman* Senate and People; and the Kingdoms in Alliance with them were almoſt as ſubmiſſive as if they had been reduced to *Pro-*

Years after the Birth of Chriſt, it was ſold for its Weight in Gold. This *Vopiſcus* affirms; and adds, That that Emperor refuſed the Empreſs, his Wife, a Silk Mantle, which ſhe had earneſtly deſired of him, on Account of the great Price of it. Nevertheleſs, *Pliny the Naturaliſt*, who lived long before *Heliogabalus* and *Aurelian*, inveighs againſt the Luxury of thoſe voluptuous *Romans*, who were not aſhamed to imitate in their Habits, the Effeminacy and Vanity of a Sex, who were paſſionately Fond of Finery. The Men, ſays he, envy the Women the Richneſs of their Dreſſes, and chiefly borrow all their Luſtre from the Silk that covers them. And *Tacitus* had, before *Pliny*, reproached the *Romans* with a Diſorder of this Sort; and ſays, that *Tiberius* was forced to put a Stop to it, by a Decree made for that Purpoſe. *Decretum ne veſtis Serica viros fœdaret.*

So that *Lampridius*, on one hand, ſays, That *Heliogabalus* was the firſt Man who appeared in Silk; and on the other, *Tacitus* and *Pliny* ſay, That this Luxury prevailed long before, at leaſt in the moſt wealthy Families, among both Sexes. And it would be difficult to determine, which is right, if *Lampridius* himſelf did not enable us to reconcile them. He repreſents *Heliogabalus* indeed, as the firſt *Roman*, who altered the ancient Cuſtom; but immediately adds, That till this Emperor's Time, Silk was only uſed in Mixture, to enliven Stuffs, the Woofs of which were Flax or Wool. *Primus Romanorum Holoſerica veſte uſus fertur, quum jam Subſerica in uſu eſſet.* So that we muſt explain thoſe Paſſages in *Tacitus* and *Pliny*, in this latter Senſe. To which *Pliny* adds, That the *Aſſyrian* Silk was reſerved for the *Roman* Ladies, becauſe thinneſt and ſofteſt. That which came from the Iſlands of *Cea* and *Cos*, which was much coarſer, was worn by the Men. *Nec puduit has veſtis uſurpare etiam viros, levitatem propter æſtivam. In tantum a Lorica gerenda diſceſſere mores, ut oneri ſit etiam veſtis.* Aſſyria *tamen* Bombyce *adhuc fœminis cedimus.*

Another Sort of Silk, which was made by the *Seres*, a People in the North of *China*, was alſo known to the *Romans* in the Time of *Virgil*, who expreſly mentions it in his *2d Georgic*.

Velleraque ut foliis depectant tenuia Seres.

By which Verſe it appears, that the Poet was ignorant of the Origin of Silk, as well as the reſt of the *Latins*. Neither did *Pliny the Naturaliſt* know more of this Matter than *Virgil*, but adopted, like him, the vulgar Opinion. Theſe two famous Authors thought that the *Seres* gathered a Sort of *Down* upon Trees where it naturally grew, and by ſoaking it in Water, made it more ſoft and manageable; and then winding it off, made their Silk of it. This they thought, was the Matter of that rich Stuff which was called *Serica*, from the People who had the Art of making it. And *Procopius* and *Zonaras* ſay, That this Opinion prevailed for many Years after, even to the Time of the Emperor *Juſtinian*. Then, ſay theſe two Hiſtorians, it was firſt known that the Silk which was brought into *Greece*, from the extream Parts of *Aſia*, was the Work of thoſe little Worms, which were grown numerous in many Parts of *Europe*, eſpecially in *Italy*. *Pauſanias*, who wrote in the Time of the Emperor *Marcus Antoninus Verus*, had, in his ſixth Book, already made that Remark. Indeed *Pliny* aſcribes to Worms the Silk that was brought to *Rome* from *Aſſyria*, and the Iſlands of *Cos*, and *Cea*. But the Worms he calls *Bombyces*, warped their Silk themſelves in ſtrait Lines as Spiders do; inſtead of rolling it up in Balls, as our Silk-Worms do.

vinces.

vinces. *Rome* had nothing to fear but herſelf; and would have been now raiſed to a higher Pitch of Glory than ever, if ſhe could have ſuppreſſed the Vices that infected her, and kept her vitious *Citizens* in Subjection to her Laws. Year of *ROME* DCLII.

§. II. *Marius* canvaſſed for a ſixth *Conſulſhip*, and ſcrupled nothing in order to obtain it. He was no longer wanted to repulſe Barbarians, or compleat an unfiniſhed Conqueſt; and therefore, if he had been a good Citizen, or a Man of any Moderation, he would have been content, with having had the Laws four Times violated, in his Favour. He had indeed an Excuſe for this, in the Neceſſities of the publick, and the earneſt Deſires his very Enemies had ſhewn, to continue him ſo long in that Office. But he had no other Pretence for appearing a ſixth Time [3] for the *Conſulate* than Ambition. Nevertheleſs, he ſollicited it with all the Ardour of a young Candidate, at his firſt Appearance for a publick Station. Though naturally fierce and rough, he became mild and affable. He laid aſide the Dignity he had ſo well preſerved in Arms, careſſed the meaneſt of the People, and was very little ſcrupulous of diſhoneſt Practices, in order to gain his Point. His Competitor was the great *Metellus* ſurnamed *Numidicus*. But by the Help of large Sums among the common People, he got *Metellus* ſet aſide, was himſelf choſen, and procured for his Collegue, one *L. Valerius Flaccus*, a very weak Man, whom he managed as he pleaſed.

C. MARIUS, & MANIUS AQUILIUS, Conſuls.

Plut. in Mario. Epit. Liv. 69. Val. Max. L. 9. c. 7. Flor. L. 3. c. 16. App. Bell. Civ. L. 1. Oroſ. L. 5.

The firſt Step *Marius* took, after his Election, was to unite himſelf in Intereſt with that *L. Apuleius Saturninus*, who had been his Agent in procuring him his fourth *Conſulate:* And we ſhall find great Reaſon to lament the Condition of *Rome* in this fatal Year, when we ſhall ſee all her Authority devolved into the Hands of three Men, who were given up to all Iniquity. The firſt was *Marius*, who loſt in Peace all the Glory he had acquired in War. This pernicious *Conſul*, though unwilling to appear ſuch, was really the Author of all the Evils that befel his Country. But being artful, and Maſter of ſome Diſſimulation, he concealed his Violences, and made Uſe of others, as his Agents, to put them in Execution. The ſecond was *Apuleius*, who had long been devoted to the *Conſul*, who found no Difficulty in bringing him into any Meaſures. And the third was, *Servilius Glaucia*, the *Prætor*, to whom the Cognizance of civil Cauſes belonged, and who was naturally factious and furious. *Marius* thought him a neceſſary Man for his Purpoſes; and being yet utterly unacquainted with him, reſolved to procure his Friendſhip by the Interpoſition of *Apuleius*. Year of *ROME* DCLIII.

C. MARIUS, & L. VALERIUS FLACCUS, Conſuls.

But the moſt eſſential Point at preſent was to get *Apuleius* elected *Tribune* a ſecond Time, and this therefore he attempted as ſoon as he was *Conſul* elect. Before he entered upon his ſixth *Conſulate*, the uſual Aſſembly was held for electing the ten *Tribunes*; and *Marius* uſed all poſſible Endeavours to procure one of thoſe Places for that fiery Man. But all was vain, both his Intrigues and Sollicitations were ineffectual. The People would not give the *Conſul* more Strength, by electing a *Tribune* who was entirely under his Command. Nine *Tribunes* were proclaimed, and no *Apuleius Saturninus* among them. Yet ſtill *Marius* conceived Hopes that the tenth Place would fall to his Friend. But he had the Misfortune to have [4] *A. Nonnius*, a wiſe Man, in great Eſteem, and of a noble Family, for his Competitor; and all the Voices were for him. And then, *Apuleius* giving himſelf wholly up to the Dictates of his Fury and his Friend *Marius*, reſolved to ſtick at nothing. As ſoon as *Nonnius* was nominated, *Apuleius* reſolved to murder him; and the Villain hired ſome of the meaneſt of the People, and ſome of *Marius*'s Soldiers, to execute the execrable Work. The Aſſaſſins ſurrounded the new *Tribune*, as ſoon as he was got out of the Aſſembly; and he retired to a neighbouring Inn for Refuge; but they dragged him out thence, and ſtabbed him. By his Death, there was a Vacancy in the *Tribunate*; and *Apuleius* got Poſſeſſion of it, the next Morning, by Artifice. His Clients aſſembled together very early in a tumultuous Manner, and proclaimed him *Tribune of the People*; the *Conſul* confirmed the Election; and after this, nothing more was ſaid of the Aſſaſſination of *Nonnius*. They, who had been the Authors of it, took Care to bury it in Oblivion.

3 *Velleius* differs much in Opinion from *Plutarch* and the other Hiſtorians, as to the ſixth *Conſulſhip* of *Marius*. He pretends, that the General did not owe it ſo much to Canvaſſing and Intrigue, as to the Equity of the People, who gave it him as a Reward for his Merit and Victories.

4 We find the Name of *Nonnius*, ſurnamed *Suffenas*, ſtrangely diſfigured, in *Val. Maximus*, *Florus*, and *Oroſius*. But *Plutarch* and *Appian* always call him *Nonnius*; and the Medals agree with theſe two Hiſtorians.

Year of *ROME* DCLIII.

C. Marius, & L. Valerius Flaccus, Conſuls.

Thus had *Rome* juſt Cauſe to be under the greateſt Apprehenſions from the Union of a *Conſul* and a *Tribune* who began their Year with committing Murder with Impunity; but the two Incendiaries did not think themſelves yet ſufficiently ſtrengthened, without the Addition of a third. They were indeed Maſters of State Affairs, of all Things relating to War and Peace, by the *Conſul*'s Means; and they could command the Laws, by the *Tribune of the People*: But they wanted likewiſe to have the Direction of the *Prætor*'s Tribunal, who was the Judge of all Diſputes between the Citizens. In order to this, it was neceſſary to aſſociate with them *Servilius Glaucia*, who was inveſted with this important Office; and though the Character of *Glaucia* was at bottom pretty ſuitable to their own, yet he had his Oddities, and was not eaſily to be managed. They therefore thought the beſt Way to bring him into their Meaſures would be to intimidate him. One Day, whilſt the *Tribune* was haranguing the People, the *Prætor* held his Seſſions as uſual; and whilſt he was adminiſtring Juſtice, he ſaw *Apuleius* advancing towards him with a Guard. When he came up, he pretended that *Glaucia* had drawn off the Audience from attending to the *Tribune*'s Harangue; upon this Pretence, threw every Thing about the Court, and broke the *Prætor's Curule Chair*; and this Inſult, which ſhould naturally have made them Enemies, united them. They knew one another by their Diviſions, and joined together to put in Execution the bad Deſigns which *Marius* ſhould dictate to them. In ſhort, they all agreed to make it their common Intereſt, mutually to advance each other to the higheſt Honours; and as they were all endowed by Nature with the like Paſſions and Inclinations, they were the more eaſily brought to concur in the ſame pernicious Deſigns. So that *Marius*, *Apuleius*, and *Glaucia*, formed a Kind of *Triumvirate*, whoſe whole Aim and Deſign was to procure all Power to themſelves, by humbling the Senate, and magnifying the Authority of the People.

Author. de Vir. Illuſt.

Diod. Sic. ap. Fulv. Urſin.

§. III. As to Method in their Proceedings the new Cabal followed none; but acted, as the preſent Occurrences moved them. There came to *Rome* Ambaſſadors from *Mithridates*, the King of *Pontus*, who will be very often mentioned hereafter; and who having had ſome Miſunderſtanding with the Republick, was deſirous of a Reconciliation, and to that End ſent conſiderable Preſents to the *Roman* People. But *Apuleius* received the Ambaſſadors brutally, and loaded them with Reproaches; in which, if we may be allowed to offer our Conjecture, the *Tribune* was only the *Conſul*'s Tool. *Marius* was already weary of his Repoſe, and wanted to ſtir up a War, that he might be in Action, and acquire new Glory. But be that as it will, The Ambaſſadors had Recourſe to the Senate for Satisfaction for their cruel Treatment, and laid their Complaints before them. The *Conſcript Fathers* could not but rejoice at an Opportunity of avenging themſelves on a factious *Tribune*, and puniſhing him for his Breach of the Law of Nations, and the Diſhonour he had done the Republick; and they ordered him to be proſecuted at their Bar, who were his proper Judges, and who were ready to have executed Juſtice upon him. But he had Recourſe to the People, put on a negligent Dreſs, let his Beard grow, and by his Intreaties moved their Pity. So that on the Day when Sentence was to be pronounced, the Crowds of People about the Hall where the Senate met were ſo very great, that they terrified the Judges. *Apuleius* was acquitted by a Majority of Votes, and the three confederated Magiſtrates triumphed to ſee the Senate tremble, and made ſenſible of their Weakneſs.

After this Victory over the *Conſcript Fathers* through the Aſſiſtance of the People, *Apuleius* made it his whole Buſineſs to ſhew his Reſentment to the former, and his Gratitude to the latter. He paſſed ſeveral Laws in favour of the meaneſt of the Populace, and for the Advantage of *Marius*. In order to reward the Soldiers who had procured him his Victories in *Tranſalpine Gaul*, the *Tribune* paſſed a Decree which was founded on the higheſt Injuſtice. He enacted, That all the Country which the *Cimbri* had ſeized beyond the *Alpes*, ſhould not be reſtored to its true Owners, but be divided among theſe Soldiers. Nothing could be more contrary to Equity and Reaſon; but what elſe was to be expected from a factious Cabal, who aimed at nothing but tyrannizing over the whole *Roman* State? They began with firſt oppreſſing the diſtant Provinces, in order to eſtabliſh their Dominion at laſt in the Capital itſelf. The ſame Law was likewiſe extended, to *Africa*; to all the Lands conquered in *Thrace*; by the *Prætor of Macedon*; and to thoſe which had been recovered from the rebellious Slaves in *Sicily*. Their firſt and true Owners were deprived of them, and they were given to Soldiers. It was alſo enacted, at the Requeſt of *Apuleius*, Tha

App. Bell. Civ. L. 1. Auth. de Vir. Illuſtr.

That *Roman Colonies* [5] ſhould be ſettled in all theſe Places; and That *Marius* ſhould nominate three Inhabitants of each *Colony* who ſhould enjoy all the Privileges of *Roman Citizens*. But this laſt Article appeared to be of ſuch Conſequence, that it was rejected, at leaſt after the Death of *Apuleius*. The reſt of his Laws aimed at nothing more than gaining him Credit and Eſteem among the People. *C. Gracchus*, as much devoted as he was to the Populace, had been content with getting it enacted, That the poorer Inhabitants of *Rome* ſhould pay only a very ſmall Sum *per* Buſhel, for the Corn which ſhould be given them out of the publick Granaries. But *Apuleius* propoſed, That the *Plebeian* Families, ſhould have as much Corn [6] as they wanted for their Subſiſtence, *gratis*. However, a Law ſo burdenſome to the publick Treaſury, could not paſs without ſome Oppoſition; the other *Tribunes* remonſtrated againſt it. But the People were too much intereſted in the Succeſs of it, to hearken to the Repreſentations of wiſe Men; and the *Tribes* aſſembled in great haſte to vote in Favour of it. Upon which, *Cæpio*, a Man zealous for the publick Good, tho' we don't find his Name [7] among the Magiſtrates of the Year, thought it his Duty to reſiſt with Force the Encroachments of a ſingle *Tribune*, who was going to prevail over his Collegues by Violence. He got together a Company of People well affected to the Intereſts of the Republick, overturned the Bridges raiſed for paſſing into the Incloſure, took away the Baſkets placed for holding the Billets, and by theſe Means, brought to nought the Project of the raſh *Apuleius*. From this Time, no more mention was made of this mad Bounty, of as much Corn as the People of *Rome* could conſume.

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Auth. L. ad Heren. *Cic. pro Balbo.*

§. IV. Nevertheleſs, this Diſappointment did not at all abate the Audaciouſneſs of the *Tribune*. In conjunction with *Marius* and *Glaucia*, he inſiſted on the Law for diſtributing among *Marius*'s Soldiers all the Lands taken from the *Cimbri* in *Gaul*, and added theſe new Clauſes to it. *That all* Plebiſcita *ſhould be regiſtred in the Senate within five Days; That the Senators ſhould all ſwear to obſerve them; and That if any Senator refuſed it, he ſhould be expelled the Houſe, fined* 500 great [8] Seſterces, *and in default of Payment, baniſhed out of all the Lands of the* Roman *State*. An Edict, indeed, apparently very [9] violent, but big with greater Miſchiefs than were foreſeen, till they appeared by its Effects; and this new Project was likewiſe oppoſed. The *City-Tribes* would be little the better for it; ſince they would not willingly leave their Habitations in *Rome*, to go and cultivate Lands beyond the *Alpes*. And as then it would only be of Advantage to the poor *Allies*, or at moſt, to the Mob of the *Country-Tribes*; the Inhabitants of the Capital gave themſelves little Concern about it. Beſides, many Men of Weight mounted the *Roſtra*, to diſſuade the People from paſſing the Law and Clauſes. But *Apuleius*, on the Day of the *Comitia*, brought all the Mob of the *Country-Tribes* into the City; and whenever an Orator aſcended the *Roſtra* to ſpeak againſt the Law, they pulled him down by force. Theſe baſe Proceedings enraged the *City-Tribes* againſt thoſe of the Country; and the former pretending they heard a Clap of Thunder, would have diſſolved the Aſſembly on that Account. It is well known, that it was unlawful among the *Romans*, to go on with Buſineſs, when, as they expreſſed themſelves, *Jupiter thundered*: But, *Apuleius* cried out, *Well! if it thunders now, we ſhall have a Shower preſently*. In ſhort, tho' the People of *Rome* took up Stones, and drove the *Country-Tribes* who tarried to vote, out of the *Comitium*, yet even this did not diſcourage the *Tribune*. He rallied them, armed them with Clubs, and with his Robes tucked about him, brought them back to the Battle: And being ſuperiour in Strength, he became Maſter of the Incloſure and Suffrages, and got his Law paſſed, after the *Shower* of Blows had enſued, which he had foretold.

App. de Bell. Civili. L. 1. *Plut. in Mario.*

5 It was probably in conſequence of this Law of the *Tribune Apuleius*, That the Republick ſent a Colony to *Vurea*, a City in *Piedmont*. *Velleius* places their Tranſmigration in the ſixth *Conſulſhip* of *Marius*.

6 *Aurelius Victor* adds, That *Apuleius* appropriated to the buying of this Corn, all the Gold of *Toulouſe*, which *Rome* could recover from *Cæpio*, who had carried it away.

7 The Author of the Books *De Rhetorica*, addreſſed to *Herennius*, tells us, That *Cæpio* was then *Quæſtor* at *Rome*; and conſequently had the Care of the publick Treaſury. So that, it being his Buſineſs to furniſh the Sums required for the Expences of the Publick, the zealous *Quæſtor*, adds our Author, repreſented to the Senate, That there was not Money enough in the Treaſury to buy the Corn which the *Tribune Apuleius* had reſolved to diſtribute among the People *gratis*.

8 Five hundred *Great Seſterces* *, were equal to 500000 *Little Seſterces*, as we have already obſerved Vol. 2: And theſe, at the Rate of 2 *Sols* ſix *Deniers* each, make 62500 *Livres*. *Appian* ſays, The Fine was 20 *Talents* *, That is, 20000 Crowns.

l.	*s.*	*d.*	
4036.	9.	2.	*Sterl.*
l.			
3875.			*Sterl.*

9 A more unjuſt Law could not have been made; ſince it abſolutely ſubjected the Senate to the Will of the People.

The

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C. Marius, & L. Valerius Flaccus, Conſuls.

The next Day, the new *Plebiſcitum* was brought to the Senate to be regiſtered, and to be ſworn to by the Senators; and then it appeared, with what Views the three furious Magiſtrates had cauſed this Tumult. *Marius* had hated *Metellus*, ever ſince their Quarrels in *Numidia*. *Apuleius* and *Glaucia* could never forgive him the Affront he had offered them, by having expelled them the Senate as dangerous *Citizens*, in his *Cenſorſhip*. And their chief Deſign in all this, was to lay an artful Plot for that great Man. They knew the Probity of this Hero; and were perſuaded, that he would never ſwear to the Obſervance of a Law, which had been extorted by Violence, tho' the Refuſal were attended with certain Ruin. And their Scheme was to reduce him to this terrible Dilemma, that he muſt either bring Diſhonour upon himſelf if he complied, or incur the Diſpleaſure of the People and be baniſhed, if he refuſed. The laſt was what they moſt deſired: And in order to bring him to it with ſome ſort of Dignity, *Marius* made uſe of a Deceit unworthy of a Man of his Rank. He, as *Conſul*, made a Report to the Senate of the Law in queſtion; and in order to impoſe upon *Metellus*, and the reſt of the *Conſcript Fathers*, inveighed againſt the Violences of *Apuleius*. He aſſured them, That he would never take the Oath, required by the Clauſe of this Law; emboldened them by his Example to reject a *Plebiſcitum* which was ſo unjuſt in itſelf, and ſo prejudicial in its Conſequences to the Senate; and *Metellus* fell a Sacrifice to theſe feigned Proteſtations. On the laſt of the five Days allowed for the Acceptance of the Law, the *Conſul* aſſembled the Senate in haſte, about four in the Afternoon, that they might not have too much Time to deliberate; and then declared he had altered his Sentiments. *Second Thoughts*, ſaid he, *are often beſt. Upon conſidering all Things I am now of Opinion, that we ought to accept the Law, and take the Oath preſcribed. It is, after all, a true* Plebiſcitum, *and paſſed in due Form. The only Objection againſt it, is taken from Religion; That it thundered, or at leaſt, that it was ſo ſaid, during the Aſſembly. But if the* City Tribes *ſay this, the* Country-ones *deny it; and the latter ſtill continue in the City, and will renew the Tumult. I am therefore for receiving the Law, till we are better informed, and for taking the Oath. We may, by this little Condeſcention, get rid of a Company of mutinous Countrymen, who diſturb the publick Peace.*

Marius was formidable; and after he had ſaid this with his natural Fierceneſs, all the Senators held their Peace. The *Conſul* took their Silence for Conſent, and immediately diſmiſſed the Aſſembly, reſolving to compleat the Affair without delay. It was an ancient Cuſtom in *Rome*, whenever any Oath was required of the Magiſtrates, to begin with the *Quæſtors*, who kept the publick Treaſury: And the *Conſul* went directly to the Temple of *Saturn*, where the *Quæſtors* kept their Office. A Croud of People followed him; and the weak *Quæſtor*, ſubmitting to the Authority of the *Conſul*, took the Oath, amidſt the Acclamations of the *Country-Tribes*. The reſt of the Senators, whether out of Fear, or Inclination, followed this bad Example; but *Metellus* alone ſtill perſiſted in his former Opinion. He choſe rather to ſerve *Rome*, than live there; and preferred the true Intereſt of his Country, to the innocent Pleaſures he enjoyed in it. This great Man was condemned to a Baniſhment; which in ſo glorious a Cauſe, did him greater Honour, than his Victories, or *Triumphs*, or even the Appellation of *Numidicus*. Notwithſtanding the Repreſentations of his Friends, he ſuffered himſelf to be interdicted *Fire and Water*, by his ungrateful Fellow-Citizens; whoſe Inſolence he could eaſily have ſuppreſſed, if he had ſhewn the leaſt Inclination to raiſe the *City-Tribes*. But, when his Friends preſſed him to reſiſt a Faction which he might eaſily have deſtroyed, he returned this Anſwer. *To commit Crimes deliberately and deſignedly is the Property of Villains. To do well when no Danger attends it, is no uncommon Degree of Virtue. But for a Man to maintain his Probity in the midſt of Dangers and Perſecution, is Heroic.* The illuſtrious Exile went to reſide, ſome ſay at *Rhodes*, others at *Smyrna*, where he enjoyed Tranquillity, and was wholly employed in perfecting his Heart by the Study of Philoſophy. And if his Departure was Matter of Grief to the few Men of Honour that were left in the Republick; we ſhall ſoon ſee him return with Circumſtances full of Comfort to Himſelf, his Family, aud his Friends.

Cicero pro Sextio.

Plut. in Mario.

Auth. de Vir. Illuſtr.

Plut. Ibid.

§. V. The three confederated Magiſtrates congratulated one another on having at laſt ruined their common Enemy. And they had indeed with him, taken away all the Strength and Vigour of the Senate. But nevertheleſs they profitted little by their Advantage. The Point *Apuleius* had in view, was to continue himſelf in the *Tribunate*, the third Time. *Glaucia* was deſirous of getting himſelf nominated *Conſul* for the next Year, tho' the Laws forbad the Promotion of any *Prætor* to the *Conſulate*, till three

Years after his *Prætorſhip*. And *Marius* wanted to continue himſelf in the ſame Poſt another Year, and govern the Republick, as chief Magiſtrate, the ſeventh Time. They knew theſe exorbitant Claims could not be ſupported without offering Violence to the Laws, the Senate, and all thoſe who retained any Regard for the publick Welfare. But the *Tribune* and *Prætor* made no difficulty of raiſing Tumults. They loved Faction, and ſcrupled nothing; being under no Reſtraints from the Horror of Guilt, or the Reſpect due to the Laws, or any Eſteem for particular Perſons, or any Regard even for the People themſelves, who were ready to ſhed their Blood for them. *Marius* indeed kept himſelf more within Bounds. Tho' he was the Soul of the Plot, he kept out of ſight when Violences were to be committed; and left it to the other two, to put in Execution the wicked Schemes which he adviſed. He pretended to hold the Balance even, between the popular Faction and the Senate. But it was not eaſy to conceal this doubling long, from thoſe who narrowly watched his Conduct. On one hand, *Apuleius* and *Glaucia* began to take Umbrage, at his too mean Complaiſance for the *Patricians*. On the other, the Nobility had always ſuſpected his invariable Attachment to the *Plebeians*, and were jealous of his great Intimacies with *Glaucia* and *Apuleius*. Nevertheleſs, each Party wanted him for themſelves; and his Reputation and Merit made both Sides court him. He found his Account in keeping *Rome* in a kind of *Equilibrium* between the two Parties. The Diſturbances he underhand raiſed by *Apuleius* and *Glaucia* made him neceſſary, and paved the Way for a new *Conſulſhip*. Whilſt on the other hand, it was neceſſary in order to ſecure it, that he ſhould not exaſperate, but rather pay court to the Senate. He therefore kept his Eye fixed on both theſe Points. He fomented Diviſions, in order thereby to facilitate his acquiring Dominion; pretended a great Deſire to compoſe them, in order to pleaſe the Senate; and would have gained his Point by this artful Conduct, if an Accident had not pu.led off the Maſk.

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Some Senators, who wiſhed well to the Publick, went one Evening to wait on the *Conſul*; to repreſent to him the terrible Diſorders *Apuleius* cauſed, and to intreat him to make uſe of his Power to preſerve the Republick, which was ready to ſink under the Attempts of the ſeditious *Tribune*. *Marius* received them graciouſly, and gave them Audience; and the Converſation laſted, till the Night was far advanced. At length, the Hour came, when *Apuleius* uſed to have his nocturnal Conferences with the *Conſul*; and when it was whiſpered to *Marius* that the *Tribune* was come, he ordered him to be carried into another Apartment. Then, it being uncivil, either to diſmiſs theſe Illuſtrious *Patricians*, or to ſuffer the *Tribune* to wait long by himſelf; *Marius*, in this Dilemma, pretended to have the Cholick, and under this Pretence, was continually moving backwards and forwards, from one Apartment to the other. But his Compliments were in vain in both Places; he neither deceived the Senators, nor the *Tribune*. After this Accident, the old Quarrels were revived; and *Marius* was equally ſuſpected, on all Sides. So that this leſſened his Hope of a ſeventh *Conſulate*. But it being now too late, to alter his Meaſures, he continued in the ſame neutral Conduct, between the true Lovers of the Republick, and the ſeditious Citizens, to the End of his Year. *Plut. in Mario.*

§. VI. In the mean time, *Apuleius* and *Glaucia* continued their Canvaſs, independently of the *Conſul*, one for a third *Tribunate*, and the other for the *Conſulſhip*. Nay, *Apuleius*, after the Baniſhment of *Metellus*, obſtinately ſet up the contemptible *Equitius*, the Son of a vile Slave, and who had juſtly been denied the Privilege of being enrolled among the *Citizens*, for *Tribune of the People*; and perſiſted in his being choſen. This was an odious ſtretch of Intereſt; but nothing ſeemed difficult to an Incendiary who deſpiſed the Law, and all Regard even to common Decency. *Marius* himſelf therefore was forced to puniſh the Raſhneſs of the Pretender *Equitius*, whom he ſent to Priſon; and ordered him to be kept there, till the Election of *Tribunes* was over. But when the Time for that, and the Election of *Conſuls*, drew nigh, *Apuleius* ſet to work the turbulent Populace, who were blindly devoted to him. To gratify him, they aſſembled, broke open the Priſon, took out *Equitius*, carried him in Triumph upon their Shoulders, and proclaimed him *Tribune of the People*. However, the Wretch did not enjoy his Happineſs long. He died before he entered upon his Office. *App. L. 1. De Bell. Civ. Flor. L. 3. c. 16. Cicero pro Sextio.*

At the ſame time *Glaucia*, in conjunction with *Apuleius*, carried his furious Attempts to get the *Conſulſhip* contrary to Law, to ſuch exceſs, that his Faction became inſupportable. When the *Comitia* for the Election of *Conſuls* were aſſembled in the *Field*

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of Mars, *Marius* was ſet aſide, and the famous *Orator Marcus Antonius*, choſen into the firſt Place; and *Glaucia* expected at leaſt to have the ſecond. But he had a Competitor, *Memmius*, who was infinitely ſuperiour to him, both in Birth and Probity. Had *Rome* been in Tranquillity, and the People in their Senſes, they would never have heſitated between two Men of ſo very unequal Merit. But in this tempeſtuous Seaſon, *Memmius* was afraid of *Glaucia*; and *Glaucia* vented all his Rage on *Memmius*. The cruel *Prætor*, knowing that *Rome* had been accuſtomed to ſuffer Aſſaſſinations to eſcape unpuniſhed, made no ſcruple of ſending one of his Attendants to kill his Competitor; and *Memmius*, after he had received ſeveral Blows, fell down dead in the *Forum*, in the Sight of all that paſſed by.

A Murder ſo publick and daring, that it appeared unpardonable, even to the aſſociated *Prætor* and *Tribune*, who had been the Authors of it; and in order to eſcape Puniſhment for it, they deſperately attempted to deſtroy the Republick itſelf, and uſurp a Monarchy in *Rome*. *Apuleius* took home with him, a Multitude of deſperate Men who had nothing to loſe, and addreſſed them thus. *If you have any Appearance of Liberty left, you wholly owe it to* Glaucia's *Zeal, and to my Warmth in ſupporting him. You have not found us to be any of thoſe mean-ſpirited Creatures, who meaſure the publick Good by their own private Intereſt. Such Men attempt nothing, but with a View to aggrandizing themſelves. They are very weak and timorous Defenders of a Party, advance very ſlowly, and conſult their Ambition every Step they take. Hence their great Circumſpection and Care, not to offend the Party they pretend to oppoſe. But what would become of the People of* Rome, *under the Care of ſuch fearful Protectors? Theſe timorous Men will be ſo cautious, that our Diviſions will never be at an End. The People will always labour under the ſame Oppreſſions, and never be freed from the Tyranny of the Senate. If you would procure* Rome *her Liberty, you muſt make greater Efforts, and place ſuch Men at the Head of the* Plebeians, *as are able to ſupport them. Judge of* Glaucia *and me, by what is paſt.* This ſaid, he was interrupted by the Clamours of the Aſſembly, and ſome cried out, Be you our General. Others are ſaid to have dropped the Word King; and we are told, That *Apuleius* thankfully accepted the Title. But be that as it will, it was now a ſettled Conſpiracy; and it was not long e're a ſtop was put to theſe open and violent Proceedings.

§. VII. This Aſſembly was too publick, to be kept a Secret; and the next Day, the *Roman Knights*, and all the Men of Honour that were left in the City, went to the Senate, and called out for Vengeance on the wicked Attempts of the *Tribune Apuleius*, and the *Prætor Glaucia*. Theſe Complaints from the ſoundeſt Part of the Republick were heard; and the *Conſcript Fathers* were ſenſible, that *Rome* would be plundered, if *Glaucia* was ſuffered to enter upon the *Conſulate*, and *Apuleius* to mount the *Roſtra*, as *Tribune of the People*, a third Time. They therefore immediately paſſed one of thoſe Decrees, which were never made, but in Times of the utmoſt Difficulty, and Danger; and ordered the two *Conſuls*, *C. Marius* and *L. Valerius Flaccus*, to provide for the publick Welfare, in any manner, which they ſhould judge proper. This was ordering them to Arms, and empowering them to revenge with the Sword, the Diſturbances which the Populace and their Leaders were raiſing in the Republick. *Marius*, now angry with his old Friends, accepted of the Commiſſion without Reluctance, and was pleaſed to be honoured with a kind of *Dictatorſhip*; and no Time was to be loſt. The ſeditious had already ſeized the *Capitol*; and the *Citizens* were aſſembled in Crouds round that Citadel, to be Witneſſes of a Battle, or rather, Siege. *Marius* therefore came up; commanded the aſſembled Multitude to join in avenging the common Cauſe; and this was ſufficient to make theſe volatile People forget the Intereſts of their *Apuleius* and *Glaucia*, whom they had ſo much loved. *Marius*'s Change brought all thoſe with it, who had not been of the Number of the firſt Conſpirators. By Order of the *Conſuls*, the Magazines were opened; *Marius* himſelf delivered out Arms to all who declared for the Senate; and all the *Prætors* except *Glaucia*, all the *Tribunes* except *Apuleius*, all the Senate, all the *Roman Knights*, the old *Conſulares*, the triumphant Victors, in a Word, all the chief Members of the Republick, armed themſelves againſt the two Rebels. On this important Occaſion, *M. Æmilius Scaurus*, who had been ſo long *Prince of the Senate*, and who could ſcarce ſupport his old decrepid Body, was ſeen dragging his Legs after him towards the Enemy, and rejoycing that they were too weak to enable him to flee. One *Q. Scævola*, who was grown ſo weak with Age and old Wounds, that he could not walk without ſtaggering, appeared in the middle of the *Comitium* leaning

App. l. 1. De Bell. Civ. Plut. in Mario, Cic. pro Rabirio, & in Catilin. 1. Val. Max. l. 3. c. 2.

Cic. Loc. Citatis.

leaning on a Javelin, and ſupplying his Weakneſs of Body, with the Strength of his Courage. And all the Nobility, following theſe illuſtrious Examples, marched after the *Conſuls*.

Year of *ROME* DCLIII.

C. Marius, & L. Valerius Flaccus, Conſuls.

Florus L. 3. *c.* 16.

In the mean time, *Apuleius* and *Glaucia*, accompanied with one *Sauffeius* then *Quæſtor*, the falſe *Gracchus*, and *Q. Labienus*, their only Officers, prepared to ſtand a Siege in the *Capitol*. By way of Reinforcements, they had brought from the Country, a great number of *Citizens*, of the *Country-Tribes*; and theſe Succours were obliged to fight a Battle in the *Forum*, before they could reach the Citadel. But when the Rebels were hard preſſed, *Apuleius* made a Sally, covered his Friends, and facilitated their Retreat to the *Capitol*. During this Battle, the ſeditious *Tribune* hoiſted up a Cap on the top of a Lance, to invite the Slaves to take up Arms in his Favour, in hopes of their Freedom; and then, nothing remained, but to beſiege the Citadel. *Marius* did ſo, and conducted it like a great General, and a faithful Citizen. He had firſt blown up the Fire, without foreſeeing the Conſequences of it; and he now extinguiſhed it, by his Prudence and Courage. He poſted *Marcus Antonius*, the only *Conſul* elect for the next Year, with a Body of Citizens without the Gates of *Rome*, to intercept all Convoys and Succours; whilſt himſelf, and his Collegue cloſely blocked up the *Capitol*: And by cutting off the Pipes, or Channels, that conveyed Water from the Springs to this dry Mount on which were neither Wells nor Ciſterns, he ſaved *Rome*. The Rebels were ſo oppreſſed with Thirſt, that *Sauffeius*, the moſt furious of their Leaders, adviſed the burning of the Temple of *Jupiter*, and leaving its Ruins as a noble Monument of their Revolt and Ruin. But *Apuleius* and *Glaucia* were wiſer. They ſtill entertained ſome Hopes of *Marius*, which kept them from Deſpair. They believed him to be too much their Friend, to carry his Revenge to the utmoſt Extremity. And therefore, tho' *Sauffeius* perſiſted in his mad Scheme, they ſent a Deputation to the *Conſul*, with Proteſtations of a ſincere Repentance; and found him not inexorable. It was, after all, at his Inſtigation, that the Confederacy had been formed; and he was under Obligations to *Glaucia*. His Friendſhip revived, and he not only promiſed them, upon the publick Faith, to ſave their Lives, but ſincerely endeavoured to perform his Promiſe. The Treaty was indeed in itſelf unlawful and null; ſince the *Conſul* had not Authority to ſoften the Sentence which had been pronounced againſt the guilty, by the Senate. But *Marius* was reſolved to preſerve his Friends, and ſave the Lives of a Body of deſperate Men, whoſe Fury might be of Uſe to him on ſome other Occaſion. To this end, he gave them leave to march out of the *Capitol*, and *Glaucia* retired to the Houſe of *Claudius* for Refuge. But the People ſoon dragged him out, and cut off his Head; and his Brother *Dolabella* and one *L. Geganius*, who retired to the Herb-market, were murdered there. Then *Marius* ſhut up the reſt, with *Apuleius* their Chief, in the old Palace of *Tullus Hoſtilius*, in order to preſerve them from Inſults; but this likewiſe proved a vain Precaution againſt the Rage of the People, who were bent on puniſhing the Criminals whom he would have ſpared. Notwithſtanding all the *Conſul*'s Aſſurances, That he only confined them there, in order to bring them to condign Puniſhment; they ſaw through the Deſign, and reſolved to do themſelves Juſtice. The *Roman Knights* aſſembled in Companies, the People followed, and all together with their Levers, broke open the Gates of the Palace; and then threw ſuch a Shower of Stones and Tiles on the Rebels who were ſhut up in a narrow Compaſs, as proved fatal to many of them. They killed *Sauffeius*, *Labienus*, *Equitius*, and in ſhort, *Apuleius* himſelf, and all the Chief of his Accomplices. Nor were they ſatisfied with his Death only; they tore his Body into a thouſand Pieces; and *C. Rabirius* ſeized his Head, and carried it from Houſe to Houſe, for the Diverſion of the Spectators at their Meals. This Slaughter was made on *The Nones of December*, when the *Conſuls* were almoſt ready to lay down their Office.

§. VIII. The next Day, the *Comitia* were aſſembled, and began again to be held with Tranquillity and Silence. *Apuleius* had raiſed the late Storms in them; and at his Death, they ceaſed. The Orators were heard with Patience; and the Suffrages given, without Confuſion or Violence. The firſt Thing done, was to give Freedom to a Slave, named *Scæva*, who had ſplit the Scull of the ſeditious *Apuleius*. After this, all the Acts of the preceding *Tribunate* were cancelled, and declared abſolutely null and of no Force, for want of Liberty in the Suffrages; and this was thought a very favourable Opportunity, for procuring the Return of *Metellus*, who had been unjuſtly baniſhed. Two of the *Tribunes of the People*, *Pompeius Rufus* and *Porcius Cato*, moved

Year of ROME DCLIII. C. MARIUS, & L. VALERIUS FLACCUS, Conſuls.

Oroſius. L. 5. c. 17. App. Bell. Civ. L. 1. Cic. pro Rabirio.

for it, and made Panegyricks on the Exile. But there happened unfortunately to be one *P. Furius*, in the College of *Tribunes*, who had been perſonally diſobliged by *Metellus*. The rigid *Cenſor* had formerly degraded him from being a *Roman Knight*, and the Affront ſunk deep in his Heart. Though the Son of *Metellus Numidicus* appeared in deep Mourning, with his Beard and Hair in diſorder, fell proſtrate before the *Tribes*, and did all for the recalling his Father, which Perſons accuſed of capital Crimes uſed to do, to ſave their own Lives; the inſolent *Furius* rejected him with Scorn. This *Tribune*, who was the Son of a *Freed-man*, a Child of Fortune, and blindly devoted to *Marius*, had Intereſt enough to render the Attempt of young *Metellus* fruitleſs. The Republick, though not ſo tempeſtuous as before, ſtill felt ſome Shocks of the late Storm, and was not yet compoſed enough to adminiſter ſtrict and impartial Juſtice.

Year of ROME DCLIV. M. ANTONIUS, & A. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS, Conſuls.

Euſeb. in Chron.

In the mean while, the Time came for aſſembling the *Tribes* to choſe a Collegue for *Marcus*[10] *Antonius* in the *Conſulate*; and they gave him *A. Poſthumius Albinus*: And it may be obſerved, That *Rome* was no longer at reſt, than while *Marius* was out of Office. This Hero in War, was a Fury in Time of Peace. He raiſed up Enemies againſt *Rome* in her own Boſom, and ſowed Diviſions among her own *Citizens*, as if they had been *Cimbri* and *Teutones*. But the Adminiſtration of *M. Antonius* and *Poſtumius Albinus*, was of a very different Kind. The former continued in *Rome*, to appeaſe the Commotions which the late Government had raiſed; and one Author tells us, That the latter ſet out for *Macedon*, to finiſh an expiring War with thoſe troubleſome Neighbours, the *Thracians*; though he does not inform us what Succeſs attended his Arms.

Jul. Obſ. c. 106.

§. IX. The new *Conſular* Year was begun with purifying the City, which had been polluted with ſo much Blood in the late Troubles. Beſides, *Rome* was terrified with the Accounts given of the many late Prodigies. An Owl was ſaid to have perched on one of the Houſes in the City. Lightning had often fallen upon it. At *Lanuvium*, the Temple of *Jupiter Soſpita* had appeared ſtained with Blood. A Temple had been thrown down at [11] *Nurſia*, by an Earthquake. All theſe terrible Prognoſticks conſidered together, it was thought proper to avert the ill Effects of them, by one religious Ceremony. Every Citizen made his Offering to the Gods. The Ladies gave ſome of their Jewels, and the young Women made Preſents to *Ceres* and *Proſerpine*. An Hymn was compoſed in Honour to the Tutelary Divinities, and ſung in different Choirs, by twenty-ſeven young Girls, of the firſt Nobility. And laſtly, two Statues of Cypreſs, which was thought an unperiſhable Wood, were erected, at the Expence of the pub-

10 *Marcus Antonius*, the Grandfather of the *Triumvir*, was even more famous for his extraordinary Eloquence, than for his great military Virtues. *Rome* had never produced a greater Orator, ſince the Birth of the Republick. *Cicero* himſelf was of opinion, that *Italy* was indebted to this great Man for having equalled old *Greece*, in the Art of Speaking. In a Word, the Beauties of his Speeches and the Nobleneſs of his Manner, were ſuch, that he charmed all his Hearers, and could command the Suffrages of both Magiſtrates and People. We have ſeveral very remarkable Proofs of both, diſperſed about in *Cicero's* Works: And we are there told, what *Val. Maximus* confirms, that *Marc. Antonius* made it a Rule never to publiſh any of his Speeches; that it might not appear, that he had advanced any Thing in one Cauſe, which might be turned againſt him in another. He thought that an Orator ought to reſerve to himſelf, the Liberty of contradicting himſelf, when the Intereſts of his Clients required it. *Cicero* ſays, He was ſo far from making a Show of Learning, that he took Pains not to paſs for a Scholar. But this was perhaps more Policy than Modeſty. It was to his Advantage to have it thought, that his Eloquence was not ſo much the Fruit of great Study, as the Gift of Nature, and the Effect of Genius. Nevertheleſs *Cicero* agrees, that *Anthony* dedicated his leiſure Hours to the Study of the *Greek* Authors, eſpecially the Hiſtorians and Orators. He had no reliſh for Philoſophy: And he looked on the Poets as a Set of Men, whoſe Language was ſo much above Mortals, as to be intelligible only to the Gods; and therefore thought Poetry of no Uſe to an Orator, who was to ſpeak to Men. His Voyage to *Cilicia* led him to *Rhodes* and *Athens*; and in theſe two famous *Greek* Univerſities, he perfected his excellent Taſte for Eloquence, under the Direction of the greateſt Maſters. And *Cicero* laments his having left only one very ſhort Book, in the Oratorical Way, to Poſterity.

The *Antonian* Family, of which *Marcus Antonius* the Orator, was one of the greateſt Ornaments, was divided into two Branches. One was *Patrician*; and of this were *Titus Antonius Merenda*, one of the *Decemviri* in the Year 304; and *Quintus Antonius Merenda*, who was *Military Tribune* in the Year 333. The other, tho' *Plebeian*, was famous for the many Offices and *Triumphs*, that the Deſcendants from it enjoyed. We ſhall, hereafter, ſee *The Anthony's*, reckoning from the Orator, filling the greateſt Offices, and raiſed to ſo high a Pitch of Power, as to reſtore the Monarchical Government in *Rome*. *Plutarch*, to do the more Honour to the *Antonian* Family, carries up its Origin, upon the Credit of a fabulous Tradition, to one *Anto*, one of thoſe imaginary Heroes, who paſſed for the Sons of *Hercules*.

11 *Nurſia*, now *Norſia*, was formerly a City of the *Sabines*. It is now in the *Dutchy of Spoleto*. *Virgil* calls it *Frigida*, becauſe being near the *Apennines*, it felt the chill of the Snows that cover the Tops of thoſe Mountains.

lick. It was not then known, that in this Year, when theſe Prodigies happened, the Effects of which the *Romans* endeavoured to avert with ſo much Care, a Child was born in *Rome*, who would, one Day, overturn the Republick. *Julius Cæſar* came into the World, on the twelfth Day of the Month *Quintilis*, in the ſixth *Conſulate* of *Marius*; and for this Reaſon, this *fifth* Month of the old *Roman* Year was afterwards, from his Name, called *July*. And according to the prevailing Prejudices of that Time, the Day of his Birth would have been thought an *unlucky* Day, as diſtinguiſhed by the Birth of a Monſter. But he was in Truth an Hero, and a neceſſary Inſtrument in the Hands of Providence to reſtore Tranquillity to *Rome*. If we judge only by the Troubles that preceded his Birth, it will be very evident, that the Republick could not ſubſiſt long. It was grown too mighty a Body to be well governed by a Multitude of Heads, and already ſuffered ſtrange Convulſions. So great a State was only to be kept in Order by one Man; and Providence raiſed up one, adapted to its own Deſigns, in the Perſon of *Julius Cæſar*. So that, if Things are rightly conſidered, he ought rather to be eſteemed the Reformer of the *Roman* Government, than the Tyrant of *Rome*. The Truth of theſe Reflexions will appear hereafter. The Diſſenſions among theſe Republicans, will convince us of the Neceſſity they were under, of being governed by a Monarch.

Year of *ROME* DCLIV.

M. ANTONIUS & A. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS, Conſuls.

The *Conſul M. Antonius*, did all he could, to calm the Minds of the People after the late Troubles, and he in Part ſucceeded. The firſt Inſtance of the Reſtoration of the Publick Tranquillity he ſaw with Pleaſure at the Publick *Shows*. *Caius Claudius Pulcher* was *Ædile*; and the *Shows* he gave were more ſplendid than uſual. Hitherto Elephants had only been ſhewn in the *Roman Games*, as uncommon Animals, and of a ſurprizing Addreſs. But now they were, for the firſt Time, made to fight with one another, and with armed Gladiators. The Scenes on the Stage had hitherto had no other Decorations than plain Curtains; But *Claudius Pulcher* had them painted with Palaces in a *Forum*, ſo artfully, that the Birds were deceived by it. They ſcraped the Cloth on which the Tops of the Houſes were painted, and ſtopped, as if they were to perch upon them. Nor was the producing new Sights in the *Arena*, and the decorating the Theatres, the only Works for which the *Ædileſhip* of *Pulcher* is famous. He adorned all the *Forum Romanum*, with a Magnificence, beyond any Thing that had yet been ſeen; and to grace his Feaſt as much as poſſible, he borrowed of foreign Countries, where his Family had Intereſt, all thoſe Maſter-pieces of Art, which ſome travelled far to ſee. Among others, he borrowed of a *Meſſanian*, the famous Statue of *Cupid*, the inimitable Workmanſhip of *Praxiteles*[12]; and after the Ceremony, he faithfully reſtored both to Cities and private Perſons, all the Rarities they had lent him. The *Romans* having much improved their Taſte, ſince their Conqueſts in *Greece*, had learnt to admire the Wonders of Art; and the [13] *Ædile*'s Liberality did not paſs unrewarded. In a few Years, we ſhall ſee him promoted to the [14] *Conſulſhip*.

Plin. L. 8. *c.* 7. *Val. Max. L.* 2. *c.* 1. *Plin. L.* 35. *c.* 7.

Cicero de Signis contra Verrem.

§. X. Thus were the firſt Months of *Antonius*'s Government quietly ſpent in religious Ceremonies, and in *Shows*; but *Marius* had left the Leaven of Sedition among the *Tribunes*, and it was not long before it ſhewed itſelf. *Sextus Titius*, who was one of them, attempted to revive the *Gracchian Law*, for the Diſtributions of Lands. This was the common Game of the ſeditious *Tribunes*, when they wanted to make their court to the People, and ſtir them up to Tumults by their Avarice. *Titius* could talk

Jul. Obſ. c. 106. *Cic. de Orat. L.* 2.

12 *Praxiteles*, one of the moſt skilful, and moſt eminent Sculptors of *Greece*, flouriſhed about the 104th *Olympiad*, ſome Years before the Conqueſts of *Alexander the Great*. Among the other Statutes that came from the Hands of this great Maſter, the Ancients boaſt of the *Venus of Cnidus*, which *Lucian* mentions as a Maſter-piece; and which the *Cnidians* refuſed to part with to King *Nicomedes*, who, according to *Pliny*, *B.* 7, offerred to forgive them all their Taxes for it. *Pauſanias* celebrates the Memory and Works of this famous Statuary, in his *Atticks*.

13 *Feſtus* aſcribes to *Caius Claudius* the *Ædile*, the Art of imitating Thunder, in Theatrical Performances, as if it had been an important Diſcovery; and ſays, that from thence the Terms *Claudiana Tonitrua* became proverbial, to expreſs any great Noiſe.

14 *Caius* had for his Collegue in the *Curule Ædileſhip*, one *Lucius Valerius Flaccus*, who was cited to appear before the *Comitia* by *Caius Decianus*, one of the *Tribunes of the People* in the *Conſulate of Marcus Antonius*; but it is not known what was laid to his Charge. All that appears is, that the accuſed having been very honourably acquitted, triumphed over his Accuſer, and was afterwards promoted to the firſt Dignities in the Republick. This *Decianus* was the Father of another *Decianus*, who accuſed the Son of the *Ædile Valerius* of publick Oppreſſions. *Cicero* undertook the Defence of the accuſed, and forgot nothing that could be ſaid in his Juſtification, in the fine Oration he made for him, which we ſtill have, and from which we have taken this Fact. The Sons of the two Families ſeem to have inherited the Prejudices and Hatred of their Fathers.

Year of ROME DCLIV.

M. Antonius, & A. Postumius Albinus, Conſuls.

plauſibly enough to impoſe upon a Mob; and as whenever he harangued them, they applauded him, his Succeſs made him enterprizing. But the Senate ſet up againſt him a dangerous Rival, whoſe Office gave him a right to mount the *Tribunal*, and harangue the People with Authority. This was the *Conſul* himſelf, the celebrated Orator *M. Antonius*, who was famous both for his Eloquence, and his Integrity; and he often made Speeches to the aſſembled People, and ſhewed them the Difference between a trifling Declaimer and a true Orator. By this means the Attacks of *Titius* on the Senate proved very weak, whilſt *Antonius* diverted them with his great Addreſs. The latter only was heard with Attention, and all the Reflections of the former proved fruitleſs. The *Tribune* was mad enough to complain of this himſelf to the People, and formally to addreſs himſelf to them in this manner: *Where is the Regard you formerly ſhewed your* Tribunes *in your* Comitia? *You will ſcarce give me a Hearing, when I tell you wholſome Truths. I am reduced to the Fate of* Caſſandra, *the famous Daughter of* Priam, *the Prophetеſs, who always truly foretold Misfortunes, but could never be believed!* To which *Antonius* immediately replied, *The Compariſon is juſt.* Titius *is a true* Caſſandra, *in this Particular; that one* Ajax *has not ſufficed him.* Which was reprimanding his Adverſary with the moſt infamous Practices of which he could be guilty.

But, notwithſtanding the decline of his Reputation, and the ſevere Jeſts he was forced to ſtand, *Titius* ſtill perſiſted in propoſing his Law, for the Diſtribution of the Lands. The People were too nearly concerned in it, abſolutely to reject it, and all that *Antonius* could do, by the force of his Rhetorick, was to moderate their Paſſions, and prevent their breaking out into Tumults, till at length, their Superſtition came in aid to his Eloquence. As he was one Day haranguing the People againſt the Law, two Ravens flew over the *Comitium*, fighting. The People were alarmed at the Omen; and the *Augurs* being inſtantly conſulted, they anſwered, That the Gods diſapproved of the Law. And then, *Titius* loſt all Hopes of Succeſs, and at the ſame Time, all Credit, among the People. As ſoon as he was out of his Office, they ſhewed him no manner of Regard. He was accuſed before the Tribunal of the *Roman Knights*, of having kept in his Houſe the Picture of the ſeditious *Apuleius*; and being convicted of numberleſs Beſtialities, was condemned to be baniſhed. The only Memorial he left behind him at *Rome*, was a Dance, which, being a fine Dancer, he had invented, and called after his own Name. Thus *Antonius* by degrees purged the City of the Remains of the Faction which *Marius* had raiſed. It was literally true of this wiſe *Conſul*, That in his Hands Eloquence was more powerful than Arms; and That, by his Diſcourſes, and Authority, he got the better of a Conqueror, and a triumphant Victor. Tho' *Marius* was out of Office, he ſtill endeavoured to keep up his Authority over the People, by ſome of the *Tribunes* who were his Agents. But *Antonius* made Head againſt him; and prevented all the Troubles which he would have raiſed. It was likewiſe, at the Inſtigation of this *Conſul*, that *P. Furius*, who in his *Tribuneſhip* the laſt Year had ſo violently oppoſed the recalling of *Metellus*, and ſo haughtily rejected the Supplications of his Son, was now in his turn accuſed before the People. *C.*[15] *Canuleius*, his Accuſer, charged him with ſo many Crimes, and repreſented to the Aſſembly the Inſults he had offered to young *Metellus*, in ſo ſtrong a Light, that before he could make his Defence, he was torn in Pieces by the Rabble.

Cic. pro Rabirio.

Val. Max. L. 8. c. 1.

Cic. in Bruto.

§. XI. Thus were *Marius* and his Cabal diſappointed. And as this was the fineſt Opportunity that had offered for recalling *Metellus Numidicus*, and diſannulling the Decree of his Baniſhment; all the *Cæcilian* Family, of which the *Metelli* were a Branch, intereſted themſelves in the Cauſe of their Relation. The Exile's Son ſhed Floods of Tears, fell proſtrate at the Feet of the People aſſembled, and before many particular *Citizens*, as they entered the *Comitium*; and by this affectionate Conduct towards his Father merited the Surname of *Pius*, which he bore all the reſt of his Life,

Plut. in Mario.

15 The *Tribune Caius Decianus*, mentioned in the foregoing Note, joined with his Collegue *Canuleius*, in reſtraining the Audaciouſneſs of *Publius Furius*, and in accuſing him. But *Decianus* imprudently dropped ſome Terms of Compaſſion, with Reſpect to the tragical Death of the ſeditious *Apuleius*; and his unſeaſonable Expreſſions coſt him dear. It was charged upon him as a high Crime to lament the Fate of a Villain, whoſe Memory was execrable among the People; and it was in vain for him to declare the Uprightneſs of his Intentions. The *Comitia* were all againſt him, and without any further Hearing, they immediately condemned him to be baniſhed. This we find in *Val. Maximus*, *L.* 8. *c.* 1; who at the ſame Time confeſſes, that *Decianus* was a Man of known Probity, and blameleſs in his Conduct as a Magiſtrate.

to

to his great Honour. *Q. Calidius*, a *Tribune of the People*, had Courage enough to repreſent to them, the unjuſt Steps taken, in order to extort from them the Condemnation of an Hero, whoſe Abſence was a great Injury to his Country. All Men were moved at the Recital of the ill Uſage that great Man had met with in thoſe Times of Confuſion; and when her Eyes were opened, *Rome* acknowledged her Injuſtice. Nevertheleſs, *Marius* made new Efforts to prevent the Return of a *Patrician*, who was the Support of the Senate, a Pattern of the old *Roman* Probity, and the Dread of the ſeditious. So that the Repeal did not paſs without Contradiction. Some were afraid of the Conſequences of ſuch a Step, and did not care to make a Precedent of recalling an Exile. But at laſt Equity prevailed. By a ſecond *Plebiſcitum*, the former one was diſannulled, and the Return of *Metellus* was carried by a Majority of Suffrages.

Year of *ROME* DCLIV.

M. Antonius, & A. Postumius Albinus, Conſuls.

Cic. ad Quirit. poſt redit. & De Finib. L. 5. Vell. Pat. L. 2.

Whilſt all *Rome* was declaring in his Favour, he was living in Tranquillity in *Aſia*. There he made the Loſs of his Country ſit eaſy, by the Study of Wiſdom; and was, by Reflexion, grown ſo moderate in his Deſires, that he was indifferent whether he returned or not. He was at a publick Show, at [16] *Trallis* in *Lydia*, when he received Advice of what had been done; and the Meſſenger, when he gave him the Letter, whiſpered him that it contained joyful News. Nevertheleſs, the Philoſopher received it coldly. He continued his Attention to the Show, without any Change of Countenance, and did not open the Packet, till the *Games* were ended. Thus the wiſe *Roman* preſerved his Gravity, even in this ſudden and unexpected Change. The ſame Conſtancy which had kept him from Dejection in his Diſgrace, guarded him againſt any extraordinary Exultations, at his Proſperity. His Equanimity was great in both Situations. He returned to *Rome* with the ſame compoſure of Mind with which he had left it; and was ſo ready to have continued ſtill in *Aſia*, that he would not himſelf have taken any Steps towards that Return. A Greatneſs of Soul which is much extolled by all the Ancients, and which reflected great Diſhonour upon his Enemies, and filled *Marius* with dread. At his Return, *Metellus* was received at the Gate of the City, with the Acclamations of all the People. His Houſe was crowded from Morning till Night, with thoſe who came to ſee and congratulate him. And in ſhort, his Baniſhment and Return, as one of the Ancients has obſerved, did him more Honour, than he could have received from the moſt glorious Victory, or the moſt pompous *Triumph*. *Marius* burned with Jealouſy at it, and condemned himſelf to a voluntary Baniſhment, to avoid the Mortification of ſeeing a triumphant Enemy. He left *Rome* under Pretence of having made a Vow, during the War with the *Cimbri*, to go, and pay his Homage to *The Mother of the Gods*, in her Temple at *Peſſinuntus*, in *Aſia*. But the Sequel will ſhew that he had other Deſigns in View.

Cicer. Orat. poſt redit.

§. XII. Immediately after his Return to *Rome*, the great *Metellus* had a ſenſible Proof of the Regard the Republick had for him; for upon his preſenting to the aſſembled *Tribes*, a Relation of his own Name, *Q. Cæcilius Metellus*, the Son of that *Metellus*, who from having ſubdued the *Baleares* Iſlands, was called *Balearicus*, the People very readily choſe him *Conſul*. The Collegue given him was *T. Didius*, who had ſignalized himſelf in his *Prætorſhip* by the Defeat of the *Scordiſci*, and a *Triumph*; though he had not been able to obtain the *Conſulate* for 14 Years. Such was then the Prevalence of Faction! But the Spirit of Equity ſeemed to be returned to *Rome* with *Metellus Numidicus*; and the *Conſuls* concurred in making two Laws before they drew Lots for their Province, which wholly tended to promote Juſtice, and the publick Peace. The firſt, revived an old Cuſtom, which the late *Tribunes* had cauſed to be neglected, by their Intrigues; which was, That any Edict which was deſigned to be paſſed, ſhould be proclaimed to the People, three ſucceſſive Market-days, before the Time of paſſing it. By this means the Publick were informed of the Nature of the Thing propoſed, and were not forced to come into any ſudden Reſolutions, before they knew the Thing for which they voted. And by the ſecond Law, the ſeditious *Tribunes* were deprived of another Artifice, they took to get many Things paſſed which were prejudicial to the Publick; which was, to blend together in the ſame Edict ſeveral Articles, ſome of which were advantageous to the Publick, and others calculated only to promote the Intereſt of their Faction. The *Conſuls* got it enacted, That for the future, the People ſhould have a Right to ſeparate the different Articles, and reject or accept ſuch only, as

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16 The ancient Geographers place the City of *Trallis* in *Lydia*, between the Rivers *Caiſter* and *Meander*. See Vol. 4. p. 218. Note 47.

they

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they disliked, or approved: And these Beginnings greatly raised the Expectations of the People, from the wise Administration of *Metellus* and *Didius*.

In the mean time, *Marius* was not gone on his pretended Pilgrimage to *Pessinuntus*. Before his Departure, he was chosen one of the Judges, in the Cause brought on against that *Manius Aquilius*, who had subdued the revolted Slaves in *Sicily*. The Crime laid to his Charge, by *Fusius Calenus*, his Accuser, was but too justly founded. *Aquilius* had turned his Victory to his own private Interest, and had compleated the Ruin of *Sicily*, by his Oppressions. He had been *Marius*'s Collegue in his fifth *Consulate*, but was a *Patrician*, and of a Family in a different Interest. *Marius* therefore did not incline to favour him; but his Credit was not the same as formerly. Besides, *Aquilius* had chosen the famous Orator *M. Antonius*, the late *Consul*, to defend him; and this great Man, knowing that the Rapines of his Client were notorious, did not attempt to defend him by an Appeal to the Understanding of his Judges, but applied himself to their Passions, in so effectual a manner, that he drew Tears from *Marius* himself. *Aquilius* had, out of mere Pride, affected not to change his Habit, or let his Beard grow, or shew any Mark of Fear; and the Orator brought him before his Judges, in his usual Dress, and addressed himself to him in this manner. *At least*, Aquilius, *vouchsafe to supplicate your Judges! It does not misbecome the bravest of Men to humble himself before the Gods. Alas! he is silent and unmoved! A Warriour, accustomed to make himself obeyed, knows not how to implore. Shall then this martial Spirit help to condemn him? Oh that he had been a little more afraid of Danger! But he knows not what Fear is. The View of immediate Death could not extort one Sigh from him. He can more easily spill his Blood, than drop a Tear. Be not therefore surprized* Romans, *either at his Steadiness, or his Silence. And since he will not speak for himself, let his Wounds speak for him.* Which said, *Antonius* tore off the *Tunic* the grave *Roman* had on, and shewing the Assembly the Scars of the Wounds with which his Body was covered, added; *Judge ye*, Romans, *whether it be for the Interest of the Republick, to deprive her self of such Citizens, as have been the Defence and the Support of their Country.* And this Sight, and these Words in effect made the Decree. *Aquilius* was acquitted, and *Marius* immediately set out for *Asia*.

Epit. Liv. Cic. in Brut. Quintil. L. 2. c. 16.

Liv Epit. L. 70. c. 5. Ibid.

§. XIII. Then the *Consuls* drew Lots for their Provinces. The Government of *Italy* and the City of *Rome* fell to *Metellus*; and *Didius* set out for *Spain*, where new Troubles had been raised. After the *Cimbri* had put a stop to their Ravages in *Celtiberia*, *Rome* had been too negligent in sending Troops and Generals thither, to keep it in subjection. The People of *Spain*, who were naturally mutinous, as soon as they found themselves strongest, had revolted; and the Affair was now come to be of such Importance, that it was necessary to send a *Consular* Army thither. *Didius* commanded it, and carried with him *Sertorius*, a young *Roman* Citizen, a Native of *Nursia*, in the Country of the *Sabines*. His first Exploits in the War with the *Cimbri*, in the *Consulate* of *Cæpio*, had made him resolve to leave the Bar, where he had first appeared with some Success; and he now devoted himself wholly to Arms. But as he was not a Man of Family, he could advance but gradually to the Generalship; and tho' he had already given many Proofs of his Valour, he attended *Didius* into *Spain*, only as a Subaltern, in Quality of *Legionary Tribune*, with the Command of 1000 Foot. However, the Success of the first Battle the *Consul* fought in *Hither Spain*, was probably owing to him; and as he afterwards, greatly increased his Reputation under *Didius*, who continued in *Celtiberia* several Years, with the Title of *Pro-Consul*, we will give the Reader a View of the Exploits of both together, lest we should lose sight of them, by relating them in Parts, under the different Times when they were performed.

Plut. in Sertorio,

Sertorius led his Men into Winter-Quarters to [17] *Castulo*, a City of the [18] *Oretani*; and being very young, had not Authority enough to keep them to strict Discipline. They gave themselves up to Debauchery, and became both odious and contemptible to the *Castulonians*. They entered into a Conspiracy with the [19] *Gyrisoenni*, their Neighbours, to extirpate this Body of *Roman* Troops which was now become insupportable; and the *Gyrisoenni* entered *Castulo* by Night, through a Gate which was opened for

17 See Vol. 3. p. 238. Note 57.

18 The *Oretani* inhabited a Part of those two Cantons of *New Castille*, one of which is called *La Mancha*, and the other *Sierra*. See the preceding Volumes.

19 The Territory of the *Gyrisoenni*, is made by *Mariana* and *Ambrose Novales* the same with that of *Jaen*.

them, and cut in pieces all the *Romans* they found aſleep. However, *Sertorius* eſcaped with as many of his Men as he could get together, rallied them, and after he had marched round the Town, returned into it through the Gate left open for the *Gyriſæni*, made himſelf Maſter of it, and put all he could find to the Sword, whether Inhabitants or Strangers. Nor did this content him. He ordered his *Romans* to put on the Cloaths of the *Gyriſæni* and *Caſtulones*, that were ſlain in the Battle, and marched them directly to *Gyriſænium*. In this Diſguiſe, the *Gyriſæni* took them for their Countrymen and Neighbours, and they entered the City amidſt the Acclamations of the People. But the Scene was ſoon changed. The *Romans* made themſelves known by their Blows. Such of the unfortunate Burghers as reſiſted them were killed upon the Spot. The reſt who ſurrendered at Diſcretion, were ſold to the beſt Bidder, and reduced to Slavery. And from this firſt piece of Conduct, it was readily concluded, that *Sertorius* would ſoon become one of the greateſt Generals in his Republick.

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After ſome time, *Didius*, aſſiſted by the Advice of this brave *Tribune*, forced the *Spaniſh* Rebels to be quiet. After he had ſlain above 20000 [20] *Vaccæi* in a pitched Battle, he obliged the Inhabitants of [21] *Termantia* to quit their City which he razed, and ſettle in the Plain, in a great Village without Walls or Fortifications. From thence he went to the City of [22] *Colenda*, a ſtrong Place, which ſtood a Siege of near nine Months; and at laſt, when he had forced the Inhabitants to ſurrender, he reduced them to Slavery. By theſe Conqueſts the Peace was far advanced; but *Didius* made an ill Uſe of his Victory. There was near *Colenda*, a Colony of *Spaniards*, which one of the *Roman* Generals had ſettled there five Years before, and aſſigned them Lands to cultivate. They had been obliged to change their firſt Habitations, in order to prevent the Robberies they committed in all Parts of *Spain* without diſtinction; and *Didius* now ſuſpecting them of ill Deſigns, this was Motive enough for him utterly to deſtroy them. He made them quit the Lands they were poſſeſſed of, and promiſed them thoſe of *Colenda* which he had juſt conquered; and the poor People, depending on the General's Promiſes, came with their Wives and Children to the *Roman* Camp. But the *Romans*, under Pretence of accommodating them the better, brought them within their Entrenchments which the *Legionaries* left; then divided them into Companies, the Men by themſelves, and the Women on one ſide, and the Children on the other; and then by *Didius*'s Orders fell upon them, and put them all to the Sword. Not one eſcaped, becauſe they were all ſhut in. A deteſtable Artifice, and a moſt horrible Cruelty! But nevertheleſs it was approved of at *Rome*. So ſmall were the Remains now left, of her ancient Probity!

App. in Iberic. Strabo L. 3.

This Maſſacre exaſperated the *Celtiberians*, and the War was renewed. Rage inſpired the Rebels with new Courage. They fought a Battle like Men deſperate, till Night ſeparated the two Armies; and made the Loſs of the *Romans* equal to their own. So that not to have ſuffered more in an Action than the *Romans*, was a kind of Victory for them; and had they been ſenſible of this Equality, it would have encouraged them to continue the Rebellion. But *Didius* made uſe of a Stratagem to make them believe that they had been worſted. He ordered moſt of the Bodies of the *Romans* that had been ſlain, to be carried off from the Field of Battle in the Night; and when the *Spaniards* came early the next Morning to bury their Dead, they were greatly terrified at ſeeing ſo many *Celtiberians* ſlain, and ſo few *Romans*. This Terrour diſcouraged them, and they ſubmitted to *Didius* upon his own Terms. Thus partly by Force, and partly by Artifice, the *Roman* General ſettled *Hither Spain* in Peace; and returned to *Rome* to *triumph*, five Years after his *Conſulſhip*. It appears likewiſe, that *Cornelius Dolabella*, gained ſufficient Advantages in *Further Spain*, to deſerve a *Triumph*; tho' the Hiſtorians have not given us a particular Account of his Exploits. We find his Name in the *Triumphal* Tables, under this preſent Year.

Frontin. Strat. L. 5. c. 11.

20 A Part of the Kingdom of *Leon*, and of *Old Caſtile* belonged to the *Vaccæi*; whom we have already mentioned, in the preceding Volumes.

21 According to the Conjecture of *Morales*, *Termantia* formerly ſtood near the River *Duero*, in the Country of the *Arevacæ*, not far from the Place where *Notre Dame de Tiermes* now ſtands: Which is in the Neighbourhood of *Oſma*. Theſe People took their Name from the little City of *Areva*, which the Natives now call *Arlanze*.

22 As far as we can judge by *Didius*'s Expedition, *Colenda* could not be far from *Termantia*; but its Situation is not known by the Geographers.

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§. XIV. Whilſt one of the *Conſuls* was thus acquiring Fame by his Victories abroad, the other was maintaining Peace at Home. The Preſence of *Metellus* and the Abſence of *Marius*, equally contributed to promote Tranquillity. Seditious Harangues made to the People, were no longer ſuffered to eſcape with Impunity. *C. Plautius Decianus*, a *Prætor*, who otherwiſe acted peaceably, and whoſe Probity was untainted, having in a publick Speech, dropped ſome Expreſſions in favour of *Apuleius Saturninus*, the furious *Tribune* who had been killed; he was accuſed of Treaſon, and condemned to be baniſhed. The *Tribunes of the People* themſelves, durſt no longer propoſe ſeditious Laws, in order to gain the Good-will of the Populace. Indeed one of them, named *Plautius Sylvanus*, brought before the People the Affair ſo often agitated, about the Diſtribution of Lands; but with ſuch Moderation, that it gave Offence to nobody. He only deſired, That either the Rich ſhould be paid out of the publick Treaſury, for the Lands taken from them in order to be given to the poor *Citizens*, or, That Lands ſhould be bought elſewhere for thoſe that were indigent, and the Purchaſe of them be paid out of the Tributes of the Provinces. This was a Method of Accommodation, which tended towards healing all Breaches.

Cic. Orat. pro Flacco.

Another *Tribune of the People*, named *Marcus Duronius*, uſed more Freedom in his Speeches, but ſaid nothing that could endanger the Peace of the Publick. He loved Feaſting and Mirth [23]; and was therefore ſurnamed *Nepos*, that is, *The Prodigal*, or *The Squanderer*. And as he thought it would be making his Court to the People, at leaſt the Men of Pleaſure who promoted him, as well as taking off Reſtraints from himſelf, if he could get the Law diſannulled, which forbad expenſive Entertainments; he made an uncommon Speech in the *Comitium*, with the Sprightlineſs and Pleaſantry of a free Liver. *I leave it to the* Tribunes, *my Collegues*, ſaid he, *to take care to correct the Abuſes of the Government, and enquire into the Cauſes, of our inteſtine Diviſions, and foreign Wars; and for my own part, I turn my Thoughts on what more nearly concerns me, my ſelf. I confeſs, I am more concerned for the Happineſs of Particulars, than for the Intereſt of the Publick; and therefore think we have had ſome ſtrange Laws introduced amongſt us! Our Reformers have extended their Cenſures even to our Tables. Rome has always pretended to abhor Tyrants; and yet theſe rigid Legiſlators have made the moſt violent Encroachments on the publick Liberty! They have uſurped a Dominion even over our Palates; and would make us temperate, in ſpight of our ſelves. What ſignifies it to the Publick, whether the Wine we drink be exquiſite, and our Meats far fetched, or not? Are not we Maſters of our own Eſtates? By what Right then have they pretended to regulate our Expences? If a Man has a Mind to kill himſelf with good eating, Let him. Every* Roman *is born free.* This was a new Way of talking, and it diverted the Aſſembly; but wiſe Men were offended at it: And as ſoon as *Duronius*'s *Tribunate* was expired, the *Cenſors* branded him with Infamy, and ſtruck him out of the Number of the Senators. As for the Law which regulated the Expence of Entertainments, it continued in Force; tho' through the Licentiouſneſs of the Times, the non-obſervance of it was connived at.

Val. Max. L. 2. c. 9.

§. XV. However, the Diſſoluteneſs of the People of *Rome* was not univerſal. There were ſtill ſome Magiſtrates of Integrity left, who were Patterns for the vicious, and to whoſe Virtue the Republick was indebted, for being able to ſubſiſt ſo long, in the midſt of Storms. About this time, *Q. Mucius Scævola* ſet out for *Aſia*, in Quality of *Pro-Conſul*, reſolving to put an End to the Diſorders among the *Romans*, that were tranſplanted into this rich and delicious Country. To this end, he took with him *P. Rutilius Rufus*, a Man of ancient Probity, for his Advice; and the Condition in which he found his

Died. Sic. apud Valeſ.
Cic. ad Attic. L. 6.

[23] For near a Century, the Luxury of the *Romans* had got Ground of the old ſevere Laws. In the Time of *Duronius*, one *Sergius*, who had the two Surnames of *Silus*, and *Orata*, had ſurprized the *Romans*, with the Magnificence of one of his Country-Houſes near *Baiæ*, where Art ſeemed to triumph over Nature. He had let the Sea into ſeveral very large Baſons, through Mountains; had turned the Courſe of Rivers to ſupply his Fiſh-Ponds; and had adorned his Seat with ſtately Baths, and ſpacious Portico's, and Gardens finely watered by ſeveral Canals. One *Lucius Conſidius* charged him with this Profuſeneſs and Delicacy as a great Crime; *Lucius Craſſus* accuſed him, and ſaid merrily, That tho' *Orata* had not the *Lake Lucrinus* at his Houſe, he could find Oyſters at the top of it: Alluding to the exceſſive Expences he had been at, in raiſing the Sea-Water to a conſiderable heighth. Nevertheleſs, *Cicero* ſays, *De Offic. L. 3*, and *De Orat. L. 1*, That *Lucius Craſſus* had a Friendſhip with this Man, who was ſo famous for his Prodigality. Whilſt *Pliny*, on the other hand, repreſents *Sergius* as a covetous Wretch, who by a baſe kind of Traffick bought old Houſes at a low Price, ſlightly fitted them up to deceive the Eye, and then ſold them again for double what they had coſt him.

Pro-

Province, ſtruck him with Horrour. The *Roman Knights* had corrupted it by the Diſſoluteneſs of their Manners, and ruined it by their Exactions. This ſecond Order of Men in the Republick, were in high Credit at *Rome*, and very powerful in the Provinces. Juſtice was adminiſtred by them in the Capital; and all the Finances of the Republick were raiſed and managed by them throughout the whole *Roman* State. Hence the Impunity of the *Publicans*, who were ſupported by Men of their own Body, to which the Judgment of all Cauſes was aſſigned; inſomuch, that no *Pro-Conſul*, or *Prætor*, or Deputy of the Republick, had hitherto dared to ſuppreſs this Licentiouſneſs, and oppoſe the Uſurpation of ſo formidable a Body. But *Scævola* undertook it, and ſucceeded. In the firſt Place, he declined the Succours his Predeceſſors had drawn from the Nations ſubject to their Government; and neither required the uſual Guards or Officers to attend him, nor the uſual Sums for the Support of his Houſhold. On the contrary, he bore all his own Expences, which he managed with exceeding great Frugality; and adminiſtred Juſtice with great Impartiality. All the *Knights* whom he found guilty of any Miſdemeanours, were puniſhed with Severity; and as he required the Receivers of the publick Money, to perform all the Contracts they had with the People of their reſpective Provinces, he took Care to ſee his Orders executed with Rigour. He appointed Men of Integrity and well verſed in Money-Affairs to be the Judges, to examine the Books of the Accomptants: He crucified a Slave, who was the Agent of an oppreſſive *Publican*, for having been an Accomplice in his Maſter's Knavery. Had the *Pro-Conſul* delayed Sentence but a little while, the Slave would have been enfranchiſed, and thereby eſcaped Puniſhment; and therefore he haſtened his Execution, for Example ſake. In ſhort, nothing was now more common than to ſee *Roman Knights* carried to Priſon, upon the Accuſations of the *Aſiaticks*. *Scævola* did them ſtrict Juſtice, and thereby reformed his Province, in leſs than nine Months; and at his Departure, *Aſia* inſtituted a Feſtival to his Glory, under the Name of *Mucia*, which did him more Honour than a *Triumph*.

Year of *ROME* DCLV.
P. Cæcilius Metellus, & T. Didius, Conſuls.

And now, many of the Governours of Provinces followed the Example of *Mucius Scævola*; and the Senate ſtrongly recommended it to the *Conſuls* and *Prætors*, to do ſo. Among others, [24] *L. Domitius* did himſelf the Honour to imitate him, in his Province of *Sicily*, which he found in great Confuſion. The Rapines of the *Publicans* there, had cauſed an Inſurrection among the Slaves, and the War had cauſed new Diſorders. But *Domitius* put a ſtop to theſe Evils, with a Steadineſs equal to that of *Scævola*. After he had aſſociated with him all the *Romans* of Reputation and Honour that he found there, he aſſumed to himſelf alone the Guardianſhip of Widows and Orphans, and underwent all the Labour and Fatigue of that painful and extenſive Charge. At the ſame time, he was very watchful over the Crimes and Miſdemeanours that were committed in his Iſland; and made it his firſt Care to eſtabliſh Peace. To this End he publiſhed a Declaration, forbidding all Slaves to bear Arms, upon Pain of Crucifixion; and having been informed, That a Boar which was preſented to him, had been killed by a Shepherd, who minded Hunting more than the Care of his Flock, he would not ſuffer him to eſcape unpuniſhed. The *Prætor* ſaw that the Beaſt had been wounded with a Spear; and thought this ſufficient Grounds for having the Slave tried, and hanged on a Croſs. Thus was the *Roman* State preſerved in Tranquillity, both in the City and the Provinces, by a ſtrict Severity. The only War that remained was in *Macedon* with the *Thracians*, whoſe Attacks were eaſily repulſed by *Caius Sextius Calvinus*, with only a *Prætorian* Army.

Cic. in Verr. Action. 7.

Id. in Piſon.

§. XVI. The ſucceeding *Conſulate* was likewiſe as peaceable as the preceding. *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus*, and *P. Licinius Craſſus* the new *Conſuls*, maintained good Order and Peace in the Republick; tho' *Marius* was now returned from his Travels in *Aſia*, where he had been uſing his utmoſt Endeavours to kindle a War. He lived by Troubles; Diſcord was his Element. He owed his Grandeur wholly to Arms, and could no longer maintain it, than while he was fighting. For this Reaſon, he had endeavoured to provoke the King of *Pontus*, who received him with all the Honour due to his Reputation; He careſſed him in the moſt obliging manner, and laboured to gain over to his Intereſt a Man of ſo much Weight in his Republick. But he could draw nothing from him but inſolent Treatment, and Marks of Contempt. The

Year of *ROME* DCLVI.
Cn. Cornelius Lentulus, & P. Licinius Craſsus, Conſuls.

[24] *Diodorus Siculus* aſcribes to one *Publius Aſillio*, what *Cicero* and *Valerius Maximus* ſay of *Lucius Domitius Ænobarbus*; but the two latter ſeem to be the beſt Authority.

Year of *ROME* DCLVI.

Cn. Cornelius Lentulus, & P. Licinius Crassus, Conſuls.

proud *Roman* was very haughty in all his Deportment to a young, brave, and powerful King; in order thereby to provoke him to take up Arms, that he might afterwards overcome him, and enrich himſelf with the Spoils of his Dominions. One Day, he addreſſed himſelf to *Mithridates* with a very fierce Tone of Voice, in theſe ſhocking Terms. *Prince, there is no Medium. You muſt either be ſubject to the Will of* Rome, *or maintain a War with her.* And it was theſe Expreſſions and this Behaviour, that firſt alienated the King's Heart, and afterwards made him an irreconcileable Enemy to *Rome*. Indeed he did not think this a proper Time to declare his Reſentments; and he therefore ſuffered *Marius* to depart. But he judged of all the *Romans*, by this fierce General, whoſe Exploits were celebrated even to the Banks of the *Euxine* Sea. As ſoon as he returned to the Capital, *Marius* built him an Houſe in the *Forum*; that he might have the Pleaſure of a larger Court there, than he had had in a more diſtant Part of the Town: but he found that his rough Behaviour kept People from him, wherever he lodged. Beſides, the Regards the People had for him were much abated; as appeared at the enſuing Election of *Cenſors*.

Plut. in Mario.

He ſeemed to want nothing to compleat his Glory, but to have been thought worthy of the *Cenſorſhip*. This important Poſt was the laſt to which great Men were advanced, after they had enjoyed *Conſulſhips*, and *Triumphs*. But ſcarce any body was ever promoted to it, except *Citizens* of a perfect Character, and eſteemed both for their Probity, and their Attachment to the publick Good: Whereas *Marius* could pretend only to military Services, and the Publick were tired with ſeeing him continually at the Head of Factions. Nevertheleſs, he was long in ſuſpence, whether he ſhould appear as a Candidate; and at laſt, the little Inclination the People ſhewed for him, determined him. For fear of a Refuſal, he choſe to deſiſt, and pretended to deſpiſe an Employment, which he thought he could not obtain. *Every* Cenſor, ſaid he, *is a Bugbear to the Publick; and I had rather gain the Love of the People than be their Reformer.* Upon this, the Perſons choſen were *L. Valerius Flaccus*, and the famous Orator, *M.*[25] *Antonius*, who was as commendable for his Wiſdom as his Eloquence; and they, as has been obſerved, would not ſuffer the *Tribune Duronius* to eſcape; but degraded him from the Rank of a Senator, for his Attempt to repeal the Law, that regulated the Expence of Entertainments. On the other hand, *Duronius* cited the *Cenſor Antonius* to appear before the People, upon an Accuſation of having unlawfully canvaſſed for Offices; and his Enemies already ſaid, that he would be obliged for the future, not to meddle with any body's Buſineſs but his own. But they were miſtaken. The Accuſation was adjudged groundleſs, and the accuſed *Cenſor* continued in his Office with his Collegue. They joined in making a new *Cenſus* of the People, but we know not what the Number of the *Citizens* then appeared to be; and they concluded their *Cenſorſhip*, with a *Luſtrum*, which is reckoned to have been the ſixty fifth.

Faſt. Capit.

Cic. de Orat. L. 2.

Year of *ROME* DCLVII.

Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, & C. Caſſius Longinus, Conſuls.

§. XVII. Under the new *Conſuls*, the Tranquillity of the preceding Years was continued at *Rome*, and in the Provinces. *Cn.*[26] *Domitius Ahenobarbus*, and *C.*[27] *Caſſius Longinus*, were choſen in *The Field of Mars*, rather to govern the Republick as chief Magiſtrates, than to defend or enlarge it, by Feats of Arms. By its ancient and late Conqueſts, it was now become very powerful, in all the three Parts of the known World. In *Europe*, from *Gallia Narbonenſis*, *Provence*, and *Spain*, to the *Thracian Boſphorus*, all the Coaſts of the *Mediterranean* acknowledged her Dominion. In *Aſia*, the Kingdom of *Pergamus* was ſubject to her, and all the reſt of the Nations trembled at her Orders. And in *Africa*, the Conqueſt of the *Carthaginian State* and *Numidia*, had extended her Power from the *Numidian*[28] *Gulph*, to[29] *Cyrenaica*, which was the next Kingdom to *Egypt*, and at preſent a free State. It had long been Part of the Do-

[25] *Cicero* obſerves, *De Orat. L.* 2, That *Marcus Antonius* adorned the *Roſtra*, or *Tribune of Harangues*, with the richeſt Spoils the *Roman* Generals had brought from their Conqueſts.

[26] This *Cneius Domitius* was the Son of him, who was raiſed to the *Conſulate*, and honoured with a *Triumph*, after he had conquered the *Allobroges* and *Arverni*. *Cicero* ſays, That he had a popular Way of ſpeaking in publick, and that tho' his Style was familiar, yet his Diction was pure: And adds, That he had as much Merit as was neceſſary to fill the higheſt Magiſtracies with Honour.

[27] *Caius Caſſius* was the Son of the famous *Lucius Caſſius*, who was the Author of the Law about voting by *Tablets*, of which we have before given an Account.

[28] *The Numidian Gulph* which *Mela* calls *Laturus*, reaches along the weſtern Coaſt of *Numidia*, as far as to the Mouth of the *Ampſaga*. Some now call it *The Gulph of Stora*, others *The Gulph of Colla*.

[29] See our Account of *Cyrenaica*, which *Marmol* ſays is now the Province of *Meſrate*, in the State of *Tripoli*, Vol. 4.

minions

minions of the *Egyptian* Kings; but *Ptolomy Philometor* had diſmembered it from the Crown, to give it to his Brother *Phyſcon*, who afterwards ſucceeded him in all his Dominions. *Phyſcon*, after a Reign [30] of 28 Years, left the Kingdom of *Egypt*, at his Death, to one [31] of his two Sons *Ptolomy Lathurus* and *Alexander*, at the Choice of their Mother *Cleopatra*; and gave *Cyrenaica*, by *Will*, to *Ptolomy-Apion*, one of his natural Children, whom he had by a Concubine, named *Irene*.

Apion maintained Peace in his Territories, during all the Troubles that diſturbed *Egypt* and *Syria*; and at length, after a Reign of 21 Years, in mere Compaſſion to his Subjects, and in order to ſecure them from the Miſeries of the *Egyptian* Government, deviſed his Kingdom by *Will*, to the *Romans*. So that *Cyrenaica*, which among other Provinces, comprehended [32] *Pentapolis*, was thereby ſo far made Subject to the *Romans*,

Year of *ROME* DCLVII.

CN. DOMITIUS AHENOBARBUS, &C. CASSIUS LONGINUS, Conſuls.

Juſtin, L. 39. *c.* 5.

30 The ancient Chronologiſts, particularly *Euſebius of Cæſarea*, *St. Epiphanius*, *St. Jerome*, *Clemens of Alexandria*, *Beda*, and after them the Moderns, all agree, That *Ptolomy* ſurnamed *Euergetes* and *Phyſcon*, governed *Egypt* at leaſt 28 Years. So that the laſt Year of his Reign coincides with the 636th Year of *Rome*, the 195th Year of the Empire of the *Greeks*, and the 4th Year of the 165th *Olympiad*. He was about 67, when he died; and was 4 or 5 Years Old, at the Death of his Father *Ptolomy Epiphanes*. His Brother *Ptolomy Philometor* reigned 34 Years. To which if we add the 28 Years Reign which the *Roman* Hiſtorians give him, he will be found to have been about 67.

31 *Ptolomy Phyſcon*, as we have elſewhere obſerved, had divorced his Siſter and Wife *Cleopatra*, in order to take for his ſecond Wife his Niece, who was of the ſame Name. By this ſecond Wife he had two Sons, *Ptolomy* and *Alexander*, and three Daughters, *Tryphena*, *Cleopatra*, and *Selena*. The Crown belonged, by Right of Inheritance, to the eldeſt Prince; but *Phyſcon*, either from an ill-judged Policy, or from an exceſſive Condeſcention to his Wife, gave her by his *Will* the abſolute Diſpoſal of the Throne. She, having the two Princes in her Power, excluded the eldeſt to whom ſhe bore a mortal Hatred, and who was then, as it were, baniſhed into the Iſland of *Cyprus*, and gave it to the Younger; and upon this unjuſt Preference, the People of *Alexandria* took up Arms, and forced the Queen Mother to give the Crown to *Ptolomy*. But the imperious Dame would not promiſe to give the Crown to the preſumptive Heir, unleſs upon this Condition, That he ſhould divorce *Cleopatra*, who was his Siſter as well as Wife; and as he could not purchaſe the Kingdom at any other Price, he was forced to ſubmit to the Caprice of an haughty Mother-in-Law, whoſe Fury he dreaded. Under this cruel Neceſſity, he durſt not refuſe marrying his youngeſt Siſter, but complied; whilſt his firſt Wife, highly exaſperated at the Indignity put upon her, went from *Cyprus* into *Syria*, and there married young *Antiochus*. At the ſame time the too blind Obedience of the Son, did not at all ſoften the Mother's Heart, who ſtill grieved to ſee him poſſeſs a Throne which ſhe deſigned for his younger Brother; and at length, being able to diſſemble no longer, ſhe found Means by baſe Artifices, to gain over the People of *Alexandria* to *Alexander's* Intereſts. Then *Ptolomy*, being abandoned by his Subjects, was forced to ſave his Life, on board a Ship; and his Wife *Selena*, by whom he had now had two Sons, durſt not accompany him in his Flight, for fear of diſpleaſing *Cleopatra*.

The fugitive King landed in *Cyprus*, and was there waiting for an Opportunity to reaſcend the Throne of *Egypt*, when ſome Troops arrived from *Alexandria*, and forced him to leave that Retreat. And he was indebted for his Safety to the General of the *Egyptian* Army, who purely in Reſpect to Majeſty, ſet him at Liberty after he had taken him Priſoner. But it coſt the General his Life. *Cleopatra* charged it as a Crime upon him, That he had favoured the eſcape of a dethroned King, and condemned him for Treaſon, to be executed by the common Hangman. When the Prince had eſcaped out of the Hands of this cruel Mother, he had gone into *Syria*, hoping to find there a Retreat from his Misfortunes. But *Cleopatra* had raiſed up againſt him *Alexander Jannæus* the King of the *Jews*. However, *Ptolomy* did not wait for the Enemy. He marched, at the Head of a numerous Army, conſiſting of *Cypriots* and Auxiliaries, into *Judæa*, made himſelf Maſter of *Azotus*, fought *Jannæus* on the Banks of the *Jordan*, made a terrible Slaughter of the *Jewiſh* Troops, and ſtruck Terrour all over the Country. Nor did the Repentance and Submiſſion of the *Jews* abate his Vengeance. He committed unheard-of Cruelties wherever he came. After this he marched his victorious Army to the Frontiers of *Egypt*; but the Attempts he made to re-enter his Dominions were fruitleſs. He had nothing more to do, but to return to the Iſland of *Cyprus*, which his Mother's Troops had abandoned; and there he ſpent ſeveral Years, till the Death of *Alexander*.

This Prince, who was at firſt too ſervilely obedient to the imperious *Cleopatra*, acted the baſe Part of a Slave, under the ſpecious Appearance of a Sovereign. But at laſt, being tired out with the Indignities he was forced to ſuffer from this Fury, he ſtole away privately from *Alexandria*, to taſte the Sweets of a Life of Tranquillity, far from the Court. His Flight alarmed the Queen-Mother. She had Reaſon to fear the utmoſt Danger from the Enterprizes of *Ptolomy*, and the Revolt of the Inhabitants of *Alexandria*, when they ſhould be no longer kept in awe, by the Preſence of the Sovereign. And foreſeeing the fatal Effects of Anarchy, ſhe tried all Artifices to prevail on her Son to return to *Alexandria*; and he hearkened to the flattering Promiſes of his Mother. But, finding, upon his Return, that this reſtleſs Woman was entering into the moſt perfidious Plots againſt him; he, to ſecure his own Life, did not ſcruple taking away that of his own Mother. She was aſſaſſinated by his Orders, and the Enormity of the Crime led his Subjects into a Revolt. They would no longer obey a Parricide, but drove him out with Ignominy. He led a rambling Life for ſome Time, in the Iſland of *Co*, whilſt his Brother returned triumphantly into his Dominions, amidſt the Acclamations of his People. *Alexander* had no *Aſylum*, but the Iſland of *Cyprus*, which *Ptolomy* had left, to return into *Egypt*. And he turned his Thoughts that Way. But when he was juſt ready to land in the Iſland, he was cruelly murdered, with his Wife and one of his Daughters, by a Traytor named *Choereas*, the Captain of the Ship that carried him. *Ptolomy*, now delivered from a formidable Competitor, governed peaceably after the Death of his Brother, ſeven Years and a half. He had already reigned ten, before his Baniſhment, which was about 19 Years. The generality of Chronologiſts prolong his Reign to the Year of *Rome* 672. To the Surname of *Soter* or Saviour, the Hiſtorians add that of *Laturus*, which is ſaid to have been taken, from his being marked with a Chick-Pea in his Face.

32 The Cities of *Cyrene*, *Berenice*, *Arſinoe*, *Ptolemais*, and *Apollonia*, gave *Pentapolis* in *Africa* its Name.

Year of *ROME* DCLVII.
Cn. Domitius Aheno-barbus & C. Cassius Longinus, Conſuls.
Euſeb. in Chron.
Epit. Livian.

Romans, that *Egypt* durſt not reclaim it; and when *Rome* had taken Poſſeſſion of this only Part of *Lybia* that ſhe wanted, all the Weſtern and Northern Part of *Africa*, from *Mauritania* to the [33] Frontiers of *Egypt* received Law from her. But the Senate were at firſt very moderate in the Exerciſe of their Power over this deviſed Country. They did not reduce it to the State of *a Province*, under the Government of a *Prætor*, but declared the People a free Nation; and only obliged them to pay a Tribute of [34] *Laſer*, which is better, and in greater Quantities here, than in any other Part of the World. By this Means the five Cities of *Pentapolis*, *Cyrene*, *Berenice*, *Arſinoe*, *Ptolemais*, and *Apollonia*, enjoyed the Privileges of a perfect Freedom, and acknowledged no foreign Dominion. The Republick was content with having conſiderably leſſened the Power of *Egypt*.

Year of *ROME* DCLVIII.
L. Licinius Crassus, & Q. Mucius Scævola, Conſuls.

§. XVIII. Thus *Rome* enjoyed all the Advantages of Proſperity and Plenty, as long as ſhe was governed by pacifick *Conſuls*; and ſhe was ſo ſenſible of her Happineſs, that without Regard to the many Warriors who appeared for the *Conſulate*, ſhe again gave it to Men who had been brought up in peaceful Employments. *L. Licinius Craſſus* [35], the famous

Name. The firſt, which was the Capital of the Country, though built in a ſandy Plain, was one of the wealthieſt Cities in *Africa*. It is mentioned in the 9th Chapter of *Amos*, and the ſecond Book of *Kings*, under the Name, of *Kir*. It is now called *Corene*, and *Cairan*. Near this City was the Fountain *Cyre*, according to the Poet *Callimachus*; and Mount *Cyra*, which *Juſtin* mentions, and in which the Fountain roſe. *Ariſtippus*, the Founder of the Sect of the *Cyrenaicks*, *Eratoſthenes* the Geographer, and *Carneades* the Philoſopher, did great Honour to this City, which gave them Birth.

The ſecond of the five Cities took its Name from *Berenice*, the Daughter of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, and Wife of *Ptolomy Euergetes*, the third King of *Egypt*. It is this Queen whom *Conon* the Aſtronomer has immortalized, by making her Hair one of the Conſtellations. This City, which ſtood but a little Way from *The Great Syrtis*, was at firſt called *Heſperis*, as *Pliny* and *Solinus* obſerve. There was a fabulous Tradition current, that in its Territory was the Garden of the *Heſperides*, which others have placed in *Magneſia*, a Province of *Macedon*, or in the Iſles of *Cape Verd*, or near *The Streights of Gibraltar*. *Berenice*, is now only a miſerable Village called *Bernichio* by the Moderns. It was watered by the *Lethon*, or *Lethe*, a famous River, which has furniſhed the ancient Poets with many Fictions.

Arſinoe, another conſiderable City of *Cyrenaica*, took its Name from the Wife of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, whom the *Egyptians* equalled to the *Venus* of the Pagans: And, *Callimachus* tells us, that they paid divine Honours to her after her Death. *Ferrarius* gives this City the Name of *Sues*, and the *Saracens* call it *Barraru*.

Ptolomais was anciently called *Barca*, according to *Strabo*, *Pliny*, and *Stephen of Byzantium*. But *Ptolomy* makes it two different Cities. One of the Kings of *Egypt* repaired it, and changed its firſt Name. It ſtill retains the ancient Name of *Barca*, which it has given to *Marmorica*, which was formerly contained in *Cyrenaica*. The Mariners now call this City *Toléméta*.

Apollonia was 170 *Stadia* North of the City of *Cyrene*, on the Shore of the *Mediterranean*. It is now the Place which the late Geographers call *Bonandré*, and *Bondaréa*.

[33] That is, to *Catabathmos*; which is a long Valley, the Eaſtern Part of which borders upon *Egypt*, over-againſt the Temple dedicated to *Jupiter Hammon*. There ended *Marmorica*, or the *Deſert of Barca*. This Province reached from the Province of *Meſraté* and Cape *Rexaltin*, called by *Ptolomy*, the *Great Cherſoneſus*, to the Territory of *Alexandria*. The beſt Geographers make it about 168 Miles long from Eaſt to Weſt, and 30 broad, from North to South. It is at preſent contained within the Kingdom of *Tripoli*.

[34] The *Laſer* of *Africa*, which ſome Moderns by Miſtake, think to be *Benjamin*, was a viſcous and medicinal Juice, which was drawn by Inciſion from a Plant which the *Latins* called *Laſerpitium*, and the *Greeks* Σίλφιον. It grew in ſome Paſtures in *Cyrenaica*; and the Liquor it produced was, according to *Pliny*, worth its weight in Silver. *Strabo* ſays, that in his Time, the Species was loſt, after the Irruption of ſome *Nomades* into the Country, who tore up all the Roots of this Shrub. But *Pliny* aſcribes the Loſs of it, to the Avarice of the publick Farmers, who waſted the *Laſerpitium*, by fatting their Cattle with it. Nevertheleſs, in *Nero*'s Time, there was one Bud of it left, which the Natives ſent as a Rarity, to the Emperor. *Pliny*, *B.* 9. *c.* 3. deſcribes at length the Properties of the *Laſer*, and the Manner of preparing it. Formerly it was of great Uſe in Medicine, and the *Romans* thought it a ſovereign Remedy againſt ſeveral Diſtempers. But above all, it was thought an excellent Purgative. The Stalks baked under Aſhes, and eaten faſting, for forty Days together, purified the Blood, corrected the Humours, and was a great Reſtorative of the Strength and Conſtitution. And *Pliny* ſays, it had the ſame Effect in Cattle. This alone fatted Sheep and Oxen, according to him; and at the ſame time, gave their Fleſh an exquiſite Flavour. To which he adds, That in the Year 660, the *Conſulate* of *Valerius* and *Herennius*, the firſt Quantity of it that ever came, was brought from *Cyrenaica* to *Rome*, which was 30 Pounds weight; and that, this *Simple*, or rather Gum, was much admired and ſought for by all the Citizens. From that Time it became ſo valuable a Medicine, that the Care and Sale of it was committed to the *Quæſtors*. At leaſt, its certain, that *Julius Cæſar*, in the Beginning of the *Civil War*, took out of the publick Treaſury, which he ſeized, 1500 Pounds of *Laſer*. Afterwards *Rome* was ſupplied with *Laſerpitium* Plants, from *Perſia*, *Syria*, and *Media*, but this had much leſs Virtue, than that of *Cyrenaica*. But by *Pliny*'s Deſcription of this famous Specifick, it is plain, we ought not to confound it, as ſome Botaniſts have done, with *Aſſa Fœtida*; which is a cloſe pliant Gum, that ſmells like Garlick, but is more offenſive. But this ſtinking Drug is not the *Laſer* of the *Ancients*; and much leſs the *Benjamin*, a very valuable Sort of Roſin, which is brought from the Kingdom of *Lao*, and ſeveral Parts of the *Eaſt-Indies*. *Theophraſtus*, in his *Hiſtory*, *B.* 3. has given us a large Account, of the Properties, and Uſes, of the Roots, Leaves, and Stalks, of *Laſerpitium*, and of the Form of its Parts; and *Pliny* ſeems to have taken from this ancient Botaniſt, the Account which he has given us, in his 19th Book.

[35] This is that *Lucius Licinius Craſſus*, who is highly

mous Orator, and *Q. Mucius Scævola* [36], a Civilian, of great Reputation, were preferred to their Competitors; and War ſeemed to be baniſhed from the *Roman* State, for a long Seaſon. *Spain* only, which was ever rebelling, ſtill kept up ſome Sort of Independence againſt the Arms of *Didius*, whoſe Exploits have been already related. But as ſtrange as it may appear, even the pacifick *Licinius Craſſus* and *Q. Scævola*, ſowed the Seeds of one of the moſt cruel Wars that had ever broke out in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*. In the midſt of Tranquillity and Concord itſelf, thoſe Sparks were kindled, which put all *Italy* in a Flame. Indeed the *Conſuls* had nothing in view, but to correct an Abuſe in the Government, by the ſtricteſt Rules of Equity; and they did not foreſee the Conſequences of their Reformation, which put the *Colonies*, *Municipia*, and at laſt almoſt all the *Italian Allies* in a ferment. The Inhabitants of the *Provinces* near the Capital, had long had nothing more at Heart than acquiring a Right of Voting at the Elections, and of being promoted to the higheſt Stations; and tho' ſome *Tribunes of the People*, who were exceſſively fond of Popularity, had at different Times, flattered them, with Hopes of being enrolled in the *Tribes* with the *Citizens* of *Rome*, yet hitherto, their hopes had been fruſtrated, and all Propoſals of that Kind from the *Tribunes* rejected. But nevertheleſs, ſome of them had had the Addreſs to get themſelves enrolled in the *Cenſors*'s Liſt; whilſt others had actually taken Lodgings at *Rome*, and uſurped the Right of Suffrage; and the *Conſuls* thought theſe Abuſes called for a Reformation. By the Help of theſe Intruders, ſome ſeditious *Tribunes of the People* had ſown Diſcord among the real *Citizens*; and it was indeed but juſt, to ſend theſe Strangers home to their own Countries.

Year of *ROME* DCLVIII.

L. Licinius Crassus, & Q. Mucius Scævola, Conſuls.

Pædian. ad Orat. pro C. Cornelio. Cic. in Orat. pro Balbo.

To this End therefore, *Marcus* and *Licinius* made a Report to the Senate of the Inconveniencies that would ariſe, from ſuffering them to be any longer confounded with the native *Romans* in the *Comitia*; and no Regard on this Occaſion was had to the Services theſe *Allies* had done the State. Though it was by their means that *Rome* was become Miſtreſs of the World; yet *The Conſcript Fathers* paſſed, and the People ratified, the following Law, which was drawn up by the *Conſuls*. *That Informations ſhould be given againſt thoſe who pretended to be* Roman Citizens, *and were not*; *and That even thoſe who had been born in* Rome, *and enjoyed the Rights of Citizens without a Title to them, ſhould be ſent to the Places from whence they originally came.* But notwithſtanding, that this was very equitable in itſelf, it created great Uneaſineſs. The People of Figure in *Latium*, and elſewhere, thought themſelves injured by it; and though they did not immediately break out into a Rupture, they harboured great Reſentments in their own Breaſts. Theſe, after three Years Time, gave birth to *The War of the Allies*, of which much will be ſaid hereafter. The Law called *Mucia-Licinia* unhappily produced it; contrary to the Intentions or Inclinations of the two Law-givers, who were both wiſe and pacifick Men.

But all the *Tribunes* were not ſo moderate as the *Conſuls*. *C. Junius Norbanus* brought an Accuſation before the People againſt that *Servilius Cæpio*, who had ſome Years ago robbed the Temples of *Toulouſe*, and ſuffered himſelf to be beaten by the *Cimbri*. This was the ſecond Time that unfortunate General was tried, and *Norbanus* had no other Reaſon for reviving the publick Hatred againſt him, but the Diſlike he had ſhewn to the wicked Attempts of the ſeditious *Apuleius*. However, he was again cited to appear before the People; and the *Conſul Licinius Craſſus*, who, out of a pure Regard to Equity, undertook his Defence, exerted all his Eloquence to demonſtrate, that it was unjuſt to puniſh a Man twice, for the ſame Fault. All Men of Honour declared in favour of *Cæpio*, and *L. Aurelius Cotta*, and *L. Antiſtius*, two of the *Tribunes of the People* oppoſed the Proſecution. But *Norbanus* had formed a Plot againſt

Cicer. in Bruto. Val. Max. L. 3. c. 7.

highly extolled in *Cicero*'s Works, and was, for his Eloquence, the Wonder of his Age. He was the Son of *Publius Licinius Craſſus Mucianus*, who was *Conſul*, in the Year of *Rome* 622; and had naturally a wonderful Facility in learning Languages. The *Greek* Tongue in particular, ſoon became ſo familiar to him, that in ſeveral Negotiations, on which he was ſent by his Republick, he treated with ſeveral of the *Greek* Nations, without an Interpreter. Nevertheleſs, his Son was endowed by Nature with much greater Talents. *Cicero* tells us, That this famous Orator was *Quæſtor* in *Aſia*, and ſpent ſome Time at *Athens*, there to learn a Taſte for true Eloquence.

36 This *Quintus Mucius Scævola*, was the Son of *Publius Scævola*, the *Pontifex Maximus*, who was *Conſul*, in the Year of *Rome* 620. After his Death, his Son was honoured with the ſupreme Pontificate. A reſemblance of Characters, and ties of Blood, had united *Quintus* in Friendſhip, with the Orator *Licinius Craſſus*; and Accident, or rather publick Honours, ſtrongly cemented it. *Cicero* obſerves, that theſe two great Men were Collegues in all the publick Offices of the Republick except the *Tribuneſhip* and *Cenſorſhip*; and the *Roman* Orator, has enrolled, in ſeveral Parts of his Works, the ſingular Merit, profound Learning, and great Probity, of *Scævola*.

the

Year of *ROME* DCLVIII. L. Licinius Crassus, & Q. Mucius Scævola, Conſuls.

the accuſed. He armed with Stones all the ſeditious Men of his Party, who drove all *Cæpio*'s Friends, out of the *Comitium*; and then, voting in a tumultuous Manner, condemned him a ſecond time to Baniſhment. However, when *Cæpio* left *Rome*, he had the Comfort to carry with him a faithful Friend, who voluntarily baniſhed himſelf, in Affection to him. *L. Antiſtius*, the *Tribune of the People*, who had openly declared for him, accompanied him in his Misfortunes; and thereby ſhewed, That Friendſhip in a generous Breaſt was able to do more, than the Republick, with all her Power, even dared to attempt. It, in effect, condemned to Baniſhment a *Tribune of the People*, whoſe Perſon was inviolable.

§. XIX. By theſe means the *Conſuls* were detained too long in the Capital, after they had drawn Lots for their Provinces, which were the two *Gauls*. *Ciſalpine* had fallen to *Craſſus*, and *Tranſalpine* to *Scævola*. But the latter found ſo little Buſineſs in his, that to ſave the Publick Expence, he brought back his Legions to *Rome*, before his[37] *Conſulſhip* expired. Other Generals would have been pleaſed to have enjoyed the Advantages of ſuch a Government as long as poſſible. But *Scævola* was Probity itſelf. He ſhewed the ſame Temperance, Moderation, and Equity in *Gaul*, as he had done in *Aſia*; and abdicated his Government and diſbanded his Troops, as ſoon as they were become uſeleſs, and conſequently an unneceſſary Burden on the publick Treaſury. Whereas his Collegue, though a Man of great Honour, acted in a different Manner. His Ambition and love of Glory made him a little forget that he was a *Roman Citizen*. Though *Ciſalpine Gaul* was as peaceable as *Tranſalpine*, he ſought for Enemies where there were none. He ſearched into all the Corners of the *Alpes* for People to fight with; and when he found that nobody ſtirred, was forced to turn his Arms againſt a Company of Robbers, who were owned by no People, committed Ravages in ſeveral Places, often aſſembled together to pillage without a Leader, and were therefore the more eaſily defeated. Nevertheleſs *Craſſus* deſired a *Triumph*, at his Return. He was rich, in high Eſteem, and the Populace inclined to favour him; ſo that all Things ſeemed to promiſe him ſucceſs. But *Scævola* oppoſed the Requeſt of his Collegue; and nobody ſuſpected him of being actuated by Jealouſy. It was well known that his Heart was not capable of it; and beſides, he both loved *Craſſus*, and eſteemed him. *Rome* therefore aſcribed his Oppoſition entirely to his rigid Regard to Equity, and his Zeal for the publick Welfare. He could not bear to ſee the Honour of a *Triumph* depreciated, by being thrown away on ſlight Occaſions. But at the ſame Time, he did Juſtice to the Merit and Virtue of *Craſſus*; lamented his having no Enemies to conquer, except a Company of Robbers; and told him, that he was very ſenſible he wanted not Valour, but an Opportunity to ſignalize it. So that the Conteſt between the two *Conſuls* was carried on with great Politeneſs; and tho' the People were harangued on both ſides, the wiſe Civilian got the better of the eloquent Orator. But if *Craſſus* did not obtain a *Triumph*, he at leaſt had the Honour, of having behaved himſelf unblameably in his Government. He had formerly accuſed[38] *Papirius Carbo*, who

Cic. Rhetor. L. 2. & in Piſonina. Val. L. 8. c. 15.

Pædian. in L. 2. Rhetor.

37 *Val. Maximus* has obſerved, *L. 8. c. 15.* that *Scævola* ſhewed the ſame Diſintereſtedneſs, when *Prætor* in *Aſia*. He did not tarry there till his Office expired; but after nine Months Reſidence, returned to *Rome*, becauſe he thought his Preſence no longer neceſſary in his Province.

38 We have obſerved, Vol. 1. p. 512. Note 18. that the *Papirian* Family was divided into two principal Branches, one of which was of the ſecond Order of *Patricians*, and the other *Plebeian*. Of the former, were *Pontifices*, Chief Sacrificers, called *Kings of the Sacrifices*, *Military Tribunes*, and *Conſuls*; ſuch as the *Mugillanus's*, the *Curſor's*, and the *Maſo's*. It may even be affirmed, that the Name of *Papirius* was almoſt as old as *Rome*. In the Time of *Tarquin the Proud*, one *Sextus Papirius* compiled the Royal Laws, and made a Body of Civil Law of them, which was afterwards known by the Name of *The Papirian Code*. Of the ſecond Branch, were the *Turdus's*, the *Pætus's*, and particularly the *Carbo's*, thoſe ſeditious *Tribunes*, who lighted the Fire of Diſcord in the Boſom of their Country. *Aulus Gellius* and *Macrobius* mention another *Papirius*, whom they diſtinguiſh by the ſurname of *Prætextatus*; but they have not told us his Deſcent, or the Place of his Nativity. They only relate one remarkable Particular of his Infancy, which has tranſmitted the Memory of him to Poſterity.

In the firſt Ages of *Rome*, the Senators, in order to form their Children early to Politicks, and the Knowledge of Government, brought them to the Senate, before they had arrived at the Age of *Puberty*. According to this Cuſtom, one of *The Conſcript Fathers* brought with him young *Papirius* his Son, at a Time when Matters of Importance were under Debate. This Child, though very young, was arrived to the Maturity of Manhood; and remarkably ſhewed his Diſcretion in the Anſwer he gave his Mother. She was curious to know the Matter in debate, and preſſed him cloſely to tell her the Secret; but *Papirius* got rid of her Importunity by an ingenious Lye. I cannot reſiſt your Deſires, replied he, with an Air of Ingenuity and Aſſurance, which ſometimes makes Men take a merry Fiction for a ſerious Truth; the Senators were divided about a Point in which you are concerned. The Queſtion was, Whether it would be

who was ſuſpected of having aſſaſſinated *The ſecond Africanus* in his Bed; and the Son of this *Carbo* had followed *Craſſus* in his Expedition, in order to watch him, that he might find an Occaſion to accuſe him, and get him baniſhed, in his Turn. The *Conſul* knew that young *Papirius* was a Spy upon him; but was ſo far from keeping at a Diſtance from him, that he admitted him into all his Councils, and made him privy to all his Conduct. In ſhort, he forced his Adverſary himſelf to confeſs, that he thought it very probable that his Father muſt have been guilty, ſince he had been condemned, on the Accuſation of *Craſſus*. Thus ended a *Conſulſhip* which was more remarkable for the civil Actions diſplayed in it, than for military Exploits.

Year of *ROME* DCLVIII.
L. Licinius Crassus, & Q. Mucius Scævola, Conſuls.
Val. Max. L. 3. c. 7.

§. XX. In the choice of *Conſuls* for the next Year, the People ſhewed leſs Regard to Merit, than to Intereſt. Four Perſons appeared, three of whom were eminent for their good Qualities. One was *L. Domitius Ahenobarbus*, probably the Brother of that *Domitius Ahenobarbus* who had been *Conſul* two Years before, and the People were unanimous for him. The Conteſt for the ſecond *Conſulate* lay between three Men, of very different Characters. The firſt was to one *C. Fonteius*, a Man of diſtinguiſhed Birth and Probity. The ſecond was that *L. Cornelius Dolabella* of the *Cornelian* Family, who was not only thus nobly born, but had likewiſe great perſonal Merit, and had *triumphed*, on account of the *Luſitanians*, in his *Prætorſhip*. And the third was one *C. Cælius*, a *new Man*, who was ſurnamed *Caldus*, to ſhew his *Fire* and Precipitation in whatever he attempted. He had declared for the *Marian* Faction againſt the Senate, and thereby made himſelf agreeable to the People. *Dolabella* foreſeeing in time, that *Cælius* would ſucceed againſt him, and piqued with a generous Reſentment, not only deſiſted from his preſent Purſuit, but reſolved never to appear again for this Office. At leaſt we don't find his Name in the Liſt of *Conſuls* after this Time. But *Fonteius*, ſtood the Shock of a Refuſal; and had the Mortification to ſee himſelf poſtponed to a contemptible Man, who was his inferiour in Birth, and had no Virtue to put him upon a Level with any of his Competitors 39.

Cic. de Petit. Conſulatus; ad Marcum Fratrem.

As ſoon as *Domitius Ahenobarbus*, and *Cælius Caldus* were proclaimed *Conſuls*, they drew Lots for their Provinces; but we know not what thoſe Provinces were. The only Honour they gained in their Year, was that of preſerving the Republick even in greater Tranquillity, than that in which they found it. The chief Cauſe of this univerſal Concord was, that ſome of the chief Nobility, the *Sextus's*, *Marcellus's*, *Junius Bruti's*, and in ſhort ſome of the *Citizens* of the very firſt Rank, were now admitted into the *College of Tribunes:* And under this wiſe Adminiſtration was carried on the famous Proceſs againſt *Norbanus*. We have already obſerved, That this factious *Tribune*, had in a tumultuous Manner ſtirred up the Populace, to drive the Protectors of *Cæpio* out of the *Comitium*, with Stones; and That *Scaurus*, the *Prince of the Senate*, who was ſo venerable for his Age and Employments, had unfortunately received a Blow in the Fray. This diſreſpectful Treatment had exaſperated him againſt the Diſturber of the publick Peace; and he now employ'd a young Orator, of a riſing Reputation, to execute his Revenge. *P. Sulpitius Rufus* brought the Accuſation againſt *Norbanus*, for the Sedition he had raiſed in his *Tribuneſhip*; and *Scaurus* appeared as a Witneſs, and ſhewed the Wound he had received. So that *Norbanus* was to contend with the formidable Intereſt of a *Prince of the Senate*, and the Eloquence of an Orator of a riſing Character, who wanted an Opportunity to diſplay his Talents; and

Year of *ROME* DCLIX.
L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, & C. Cælius Caldus, Conſuls.

be moſt for the Service of the Publick, to allow every Woman two Husbands, or to give every Man two Wives. This pretended Confidence alarmed the Mother; ſhe immediately went to ſeveral of her Friends, and told the pretended Secret; and it was ſoon ſpread among the *Roman* Ladies. The next Morning, a great Number of them, come in great Haſte to the Senate-houſe, and intreated the Aſſembly to determine for the Women, rather than their Husbands. The Senators were ſurprized at a Demand, the Cauſe of which they could not gueſs at; but they were ſoon informed, that the wiſe Diſſimulation of *Papirius* had cauſed all this Uproar, and they highly commended him. But at the ſame Time, they ſaw the Danger of bringing Children into the Senate; and by an expreſs Law, they were all for the future excluded, except *Papirius*, whoſe Prudence deſerved to be rewarded. From that Time the Child was called *Prætextatus*, in Memory of an Event, which ſhewed the Wiſdom of a Child, who was yet in his *Pretexta*; which, as we have obſerved, was an Habit which the young *Romans* affected to wear, till they were ſeventeen Years of Age.

39 Nevertheleſs it muſt be confeſſed, that *Cicero* allows *Cælius* to have ſome eminent Qualities, and particularly an uncommon Prudence in the Management of Affairs, that were committed to his Care. He gives him this Teſtimony in his *ſeventh Oration againſt* Verres, and his 2d Book *de Oratore*. This was the *Cælius*, who when he was *Tribune of the People* made the Law, which eſtabliſhed Voting by Tickets, or *Tablets*, in capital Caſes. *Cicero* ſays, in his *Oration for Plancus*, that the People had refuſed him the *Quæſtorſhip*, ſeveral Years before his *Conſulate*.

Year of *ROME* DCLIX. L. Licinius Crassus, & Q. Mucius Scævola, Consuls.

his Condemnation therefore would have been thought certain, if he had not got himself a powerful Advocate, in *M. Antonius*. No *Roman* equalled this great Man in Eloquence, and the *Censorship* he had just quitted, added new Weight to what he said. And tho' the Cause was odious in it self, since to support the Seditious, was in effect to give a Sanction to Rebellions, yet he could not in Honour, refuse his Assistance to *Norbanus*, who had been his *Quæstor* in his *Consulship*. And then appeared the mighty Power of the Art of Persuasion. Neither the general Prejudices of the People, nor the Notoriety of a publick Fact, nor the Testimony of *Scaurus*, nor the lively and pathetick Harangues of *Sulpicius*, were of any Weight, against the irresistible Force of the Speech which *Antonius* made in defence of the Accused. He represented the least excusable Action that ever was, in so favourable a Light, that the *Knights* his Judges, had room to acquit the Criminal, without Dishonour to themselves. But nevertheless, it must be believed, that they were strongly inclined to favour *Norbanus*, whose only Design in that Tumult had been, to condemn *Cæpio*, who was hated by all the *Roman Knights*. He had endeavoured to take from them the Privilege of judging the Causes of private Persons, and confine it to the Senators; and therefore his Adversary was declared Innocent, tho' notoriously Guilty. A surprizing Effect of the Art of Oratory! Of which it is not easy to say, whether it did most Service or Disservice to the Republick. If we judge of it by the Disturbances it daily raised, especially among the People, it will appear to have been, among the *Romans*, a Weapon, which bad Men made an ill use of, and which the Brave employed to the Honour, and in the Defence of their Country. But be that as it will, the Study of Letters in general, and particularly of Eloquence, was, in these peaceful Times, become more common than ever. And among others, *Hortensius* and *Cicero* were now forming themselves in the Schools; the former, in order to become hereafter, the worthy Successor of *Licinius Crassus*, and *Sulpicius Rufus*; the latter, in order to surpass even *Antonius* himself, and become the greatest Orator of his Age.

Cic. l. 2. de Orat. Val. Max. L. 8. c. 5.

Year of *ROME* DCLX. C. Valerius Flaccus, & M. Herennius, Consuls.

§. XXI. Thus the [40] Year was spent in pacifick Employments; with scarce any publick Contention in it, except in *The Field of Mars*, when new *Consuls* came to be chosen. *L. Marcius Philippus* appeared as a Candidate, and did not doubt of Success, from the Regard due to his Person. He was descended of an illustrious Family, had great Eloquence, and an excellent Capacity for Business. But the Populace often act very capriciously. Instinct, rather than Reason, determines them in their Choice. It often happened at *Rome*, that after an Election was over, they were themselves surprised at their having preferred one Candidate to another, which was the Case in the present Instance, when the Republick blindly preferred one *Herennius* [41], a very worthless Man, to the Exclusion and Disgrace of *Marcius*. *C. Valerius Flaccus* was nominated his Collegue; and thereby two Men of very different Birth and Merit, were equally honoured with the *Consular Fasces*. The *Prætorship* however, was a little better filled. That *Cornelius Sylla*, who had so eminently distinguished himself by his Valour, in the Wars with *Jugurtha* and the *Cimbri*, had of late disappeared. All the Time that *Marius* was Master of the Assemblies, he had chosen to retire, and not stand for any Office. But when he saw the Credit of his Enemy and old Rival diminished, his Ambition revived. He then put on the white Robe, and appeared among the Candidates for the *Curule* Dignities. He had the last Year endeavoured to get the *Prætorship*, without passing first through the inferiour Offices; and the People, notwithstanding his Merit as a Soldier, had refused him that Honour, which he had attempted to obtain irregularly. The Commons, in regard to their own Pleasures, were desirous of seeing him *Ædile*, before he was promoted to an higher Station. They knew that *Bocchus*

Cic. in Bruto; & in Orat. pro Muræna.

Plut. in Sylla.

40 In the same Year 659, the *Prætor*, *Lucius Valerius Flaccus*, governed the Province in *Asia* which belonged to the *Romans*, with so much Equity and Disinterestedness, that the People instituted Festivals and solemn *Games* to his Honour, which annually renewed the Remembrance of his *Prætorship*. And in order to make the Institution the more lasting every City paid its Share towards a sufficient Sum of Money, to be laid up as a Fund, to defray the Expence of this annual Solemnity. This Fund was entrusted with the *Trallians*, who afterwards applied it to their own Use. The Son of *Flaccus* coming afterwards to the *Prætorship* in *Asia*, demanded those Sums which he pretended, belonged of Right to his Father; and actually seized them as his Inheritance. The *Asiatick*, enraged at this Proceeding, which they thought unjust, accused him at *Rome*, of publick Oppressions; and this gave occasion to the Oration which *Cicero* spoke in Defence of young *Valerius*.

41 According to *Cicero*, in his *Brutus*, *Marcus Herennius* had no other Merit, but that of being an indifferent Orator, and speaking *Latin* correctly. His Family was *Plebeian*, and divided into two Branches; that of the *Balbus's*, and that of the *Gallus's*.

King of *Mauritania* was his Friend; and imagined, that if he was made *Ædile*, he would entertain them in the *Shows* he would give them, with the Sight of ſome unknown Animals brought from the furtheſt Parts of *Africa*. It is well known to what an Exceſs of Folly, the *Romans* carried their Fondneſs for the *Shows* of the *Circus*, *Theatre*, and *Arena*. They choſe to live in *Rome* upon Bread and Water, rather than loſe the Pleaſure of ſeeing the *Shows* there. However, *Sylla*'s firſt Diſappointment did not diſcourage him. He now appeared again for the *Prætorſhip*, and obtained it. For the preſent Year, he continued in *Rome*, and preſided in the Court of Judicature which fell to his Lot; the next, he went *Prætor* to *Aſia*; and the People loſt nothing, by the Favour they had ſhewn him, in excuſing him from being *Ædile*. Beſides, that he bought their [42] Suffrages dear, he gratified them with a new and ſplendid Show. *Bocchus* ſent him 100 Lions from *Mauritania*, and with them, ſome of the *Mauritanian* Hunters, who were uſed to fight them. Theſe Animals had never been ſeen in *Rome* before, but in Chains; and it was a double Pleaſure to the People to ſee them ſet looſe upon Men armed with Spears, who knew how to avoid their Attacks, and were very expert in ſtriking them. And I know not, whether the Remembrance of this Entertainment, did not afterwards contribute as much towards *Sylla*'s Promotion to his *Conſulate*, as either his Reputation, or his Exploits.

Year of *ROME* DCLX. C. VALERIUS FLACCUS, & M. HERENNIUS, Conſuls. *Juvenal. Sat.* 8.

T. Manilius, another of the *Prætors*, who was Judge of the civil Cauſes between *Citizen* and *Citizen*, was to give Judgment in an Affair that was new. There was a Caſe, which would well bear a Diſpute, brought into the Court of the *Centumviri*, in which he preſided; which was this. A rich Citizen of *Rome*, who had had no Children, left his Wife, as he thought, big with Child, at his Death; and made his *Will* in writing, in theſe Words, which were the Subject of the Diſpute. *If my Wife ſhall bear me a Son, and that Son dies before he is out of his tutelage, I appoint* M. Curius, *his Guardian, my Heir.* But it happened that the Woman was not with Child, and conſequently could not bear a Son. Nevertheleſs, *Curius* claimed the Inheritance; and *Coponius* the neareſt Relation of the Deceaſed, diſputed it with him. *Curius* retained the famous Orator *Licinius Craſſus*; and Q. *Mucius Scævola*, the moſt famous Civilian of his Age, appeared for *Coponius*. The former was a Man of great Eloquence, and had a tolerable Knowlege of the Law; the latter underſtood the Laws much better, and at the ſame time ſpoke agreeably and politely: And the Novelty of the Cauſe, and the Reputation of the Orators, drew all *Rome* to hear it. *Scævola* pretended, That, in the Caſe of *Wills*, the Judges ought to adhere ſtrictly to the Words of the Teſtator; That the Deceaſed had not deviſed the Inheritance to *Curius*, but upon Condition, That his Wife bore him a Son, and that Son died in his Guardianſhip; and That a Child which had never ſeen the Light, could not be underſtood to be dead. On the other hand, *Craſſus* contended, That the Judge ought not to judge of a *Will*, ſo much by the Expreſſions, which were a fallacious Rule to go by, as by the preſumed Intention of the Teſtator; That, whatever the Words in this Caſe might imply, it was plain, that the Teſtator's Deſign was to deviſe his Eſtate to *Curius*, in default of Heirs Male; and That, if the Force of Words only was to be regarded, there was no publick Treaty, or private Contract, that could be ſufficiently ſecured againſt Chicanery, and evaſive Interpretations. In their Pleadings, the Orators enlivened the Subject, which was in appearance ſo dry, with ſo much Wit, and ingenious Learning, that it was rather an Entertainment than a Fatigue to the Aſſembly: And the Judges themſelves were divided between the Principles of natural Equity which *Craſſus* laid before them, and the ſtrict Rules of Law, on which *Scævola* inſiſted. But the *Prætor Manilius*, was in judgment for *Curius* before he collected the Votes, and had the Satisfaction to find his Opinion confirmed by a Majority of the *Centumviri*; ſo that *Coponius* was diſappointed of his Aim.

Cic. L. 1. de Orat. & in Topicis. Quintil. L. 7. c. 7.

Cic. pro Cæcina.

§. XXII. Eloquence was now in high Eſteem at *Rome*, and ſerved to amuſe and employ the *Romans* inſtead of War. Poetry, at leaſt with regard to *Hexameters*, was

42 It was a Thing notorious at *Rome*, that *Sylla* had gained the Suffrages of the People by his Bounties. *Plutarch* relates on this Occaſion, a very ſmart Reply which *Cæſar* made to the new *Prætor*, who threatened to uſe the Rights of his Place againſt him. *Your Place*, anſwered *Cæſar*, *You ſay right. You have Reaſon to call it ſo, ſince you bought it with ready Money.* But to prevent Miſtakes it ought to be obſerved, That this could not be *Julius Cæſar*, who was then but about ſix Years of Age; it better agrees with the Age and Character of *Caius Julius Cæſar*, who was *Ædile* in the Year 663. His Politeneſs, and Gayety, his readineſs at Repartees, and the Wit with which he enlivened every thing he ſaid, gave him, according to *Cicero*, a great Advantage over others, in common Converſation.

not

Year of ROME DCLX.

C. Valerius Flaccus, & M. Herennius, Conſuls.

Epit. Liv. Oroſ. L. 5. c. 17. Val. Max. L. 6. c. 4. Velleius L. 2.

not yet brought to any great degree of Perfection. [43] *Lucretius*, the firſt Reformer of them was but juſt born. But the Art of Rhetorick was greatly ſtudied, and the more ſo, becauſe it was one of the ſureſt Steps to great Employments. By this Talent, many raiſed themſelves with little hazard to thoſe Dignities, which formerly were conferred only on the greateſt Generals. Every one valued himſelf on being able to ſpeak in publick, and occaſionally undertook to plead his own Cauſe; of which we have an Inſtance in *P.* [44] *Rutilius Rufus*, an old *Conſul*, and a Soldier. He had attended *Scævola* into *Aſia* in his *Proconſulate*, and was thought the Author of his ſevere Reformation of the *Publicans*, who were all taken out of the *Knights*; and purely in Revenge [45] for this, he was accuſed of Oppreſſions, before this Body [46], which he had great Reaſon to think formidable. Nevertheleſs, he neither altered his Dreſs nor Behaviour, upon his Citation. He even declined the Offers his Friends [47] *Lucius Craſſus* and *M. Antonius* made him,

43 *Euſebius*, in his *Chronicon*, places the Birth of *Titus Lucretius Carus*, one of the moſt famous ancient *Latin* Poets, in the 2d Year of the 171ſt *Olympiad*; and moſt Chronologiſts have followed him in it, ſuppoſing that he was born about 12 Years after *Cicero*, in the *Conſulſhip* of *Lucius Licinius Craſſus*, and *Quintus Mucius Scævola* in the Year 658. Several Moderns who have wrote his Life, have affirmed, without Proof, That *Lucretius* was twelve Years older than *Cicero*; and yet, by the moſt notorious Miſtake, have allowed, That he was born in the *Conſulate* of *Craſſus* and *Scævola*; and That *Cicero* was born in the *Conſulate* of *Caius Attilius Serranus*, and *Quintus Servilius Cæpio*. And the Miſcalculations of a Writer who is otherwiſe valuable for his Learning, are yet more obvious. He places the Birth of *Lucretius* in the 2d Year of the 175th *Olympiad*; and makes the *Olympick* Year which anſwers to the 674th Year of *Rome*, to coincide with the 543d. Nor is it leſs falſe, that *Lucretius* lived before *Terence* and *Varro*; and yet this Miſtake, which is fathered upon *Crinitus*, has been exactly copied by *Charles Stephens*, *Lloyd*, and *Hoffman*, in their Dictionaries. And laſtly, an *Engliſh* Author, in his Review of the Works of ſeveral Writers, makes this Poet to have been born, in the Year of *Rome* 620, without quoting any Authority that can juſtify that Date.

The ſame *Chronicon* relates it, as certain Fact, That *Lucretius* was ſubject to Fits of a Phrenſy, which *Euſebius* aſcribes to a Philter given him by his Wife, or his Miſtreſs *Lucilia:* Adding that he had between whiles ſome lucid Intervals, which he employed in compoſing his Poem, *De Natura Rerum*. It was thus, according to *Monſieur de Thou*, that *Taſſo* employed himſelf in making Verſes, at thoſe Times, when his Diſorders did not take away the free Uſe of his Reaſon. To which we ſhall add with *Euſebius*, That *Lucretius* killed himſelf in the 44th Year of his Age, and the Year of *Rome* 701. *Pompey* was then *Conſul* the third Time. It is preſumed, that he killed himſelf, in one of thoſe periodical Fits, which were brought on him by the dark Vapours of a burning Choler. Perhaps, as ſome conjecture, what drove him to this Exceſs of Deſpair, was his Grief at being an Eye-witneſs of the Misfortunes of his Country, which was a Prey to contending Factions, or his Reſolution not to ſurvive the Diſgrace of his Friend *Memmius*, whom the prevailing Faction had condemned to Baniſhment. But be that as it will, *Gaſſendi* is ſtrangely miſtaken in placing his Death in the Year of *Rome* 644. This Opinion is as abſurd, as the Conſequence he draws from it; That *Lucretius* was older than the famous *Zeno*, the *Epicurean*, who had the Honour to have *Cicero* and *Atticus* to be his Auditors. We ought therefore to adhere to *Euſebius's Chronicon*, without any regard to the Opinion of thoſe, who of their own Authority make him to have died at the Age of 36, and 40, and 42 Years. If we may credit *Donatus*, *Virgil* put on the *Toga Virilis* the Day *Lucretius* died. Which is an Authority of greater Weight, than that of a Modern, who fixes the Birth of *Virgil* to that Day. At this rate, *Virgil* muſt have wrote his *Eclogues*, when he was but eight or nine Years old, which is ſurely, utterly improbable.

It muſt be allowed, that *Lucretius's* Work, *De Natura Rerum*, is one of the fineſt Productions of the Learning of the Ancients. He here diſcloſes all the Myſtery of the *Epicurean* Philoſophy, which he profeſſed; and has adorned the *Atomick* Hypotheſis, with all the Ornaments of Poetry. *Euſebius* pretends, That *Cicero* retouched the ſix Books after the Death of the Author. At leaſt he moſt highly extols him, in one of his Letters to his Brother *Quintus*; and tells him, That he has Reaſon to eſteem a Poem, in which are united the Delicacies of Art, and the fineſt Strokes of Wit. *Velleius Paterculus*, and *Cornelius Nepos* have given the ſame Judgment of it. *Ovid* ſays, it will laſt as long as the World it ſelf. *Julius Cæſar* calls him an incomparable Poet. But the Applauſes of all theſe great Men, will not juſtify his impious Maxims with regard to Religion, God, and a Providence. It is well known, that being a Diſciple of *Epicurus*, he, like this Philoſopher, allowed of no other Governour of the World, but a blind Neceſſity, or odd Deſtiny, which ſported with all human Grandeur, and the beſt concerted Schemes. He ſeems to have nothing in view, throughout his whole Work, but to induce Men to ſhake off the Yoke of Religion. In this he glories, and by this pretends to make himſelf Immortal. See our Remarks on the Doctrines of *Epicurus*, Vol. 2. p. 416, Note 24; and p. 450, Note 83.

44 *P. Rutilius Rufus* had been *Conſul*, in the Year of *Rome*, 648.

45 *Marius* was ſuſpected of having ſtirred up this Trouble to *Publius Rutilius*, whoſe Virtue he dreaded. *Athenæus* tells us, That *Apicius* was one of his Accuſers; a Man famous for the Delicacy of his Table, and wholly given up to the Pleaſures of good Eating. And there were afterwards two others of the ſame Name, who were as famous for their Gluttony, one in the Reign of the Emperor *Tiberius*, the other in that of *Trajan*.

46 The Enemies of *Rutilius* were not afraid to broach Suggeſtions of his having been guilty of infamous Crimes. But his Innocency of Life, and the great Reputation for Probity which he had acquired, by a Conduct free from all Reproach, were an unanſwerable Proof of the Impudence of theſe Calumnies. The Reader may judge of the Uprightneſs of his Heart, and of the Virtue of this great Man, by one ſingle Fact which is related of him by *Valerius Maximus*, *B.* 6. Upon his refuſing to grant an unjuſt Requeſt of a Friend, who was importunate for it, that Friend ſaid, *Of what Service is your Friendſhip to me, if you won't vouchſafe to grant me my Requeſt?* To which *Rutilius* replied, *Of what Advantage is yours, if you would force me to do an Act of Injuſtice?*

47 According to *Cicero*, two Men of Diſtinction in

him, of being his Advocates; and in a very plain manner laid before the Court what he had to offer in his Juſtification. But this was not enough to influence his partial Judges: They condemned him to Baniſhment. The brave *Roman* comforted himſelf with his Innocence, ſought for an *Aſylum* among the Philoſophers at [48] *Smyrna*, and was ſo well pleaſed with his Retreat, that he preferred it to the Noiſe and Tumults of *Rome*, whither the People would have recalled him ſome Years after [49].

Year of *ROME* DCLXI.

C. Claudius Pulcher, & M. Perperna, Conſuls.

The next Year drew the *Conſuls* out of their Inaction, and gave them ſome ſort of military Employment abroad. *C. Claudius Pulcher*, and *M.* [50] *Perperna* were elected; and they led Armies to their Provinces, which were *Italy*, and *Ciſalpine Gaul*. It being diſcovered, that ſome Commotions and Plots were privately hatching in the Cities of the old *Allies* near *Rome*; this made it neceſſary to keep them in awe. Indeed *Italic Gaul* was in Peace; but it was proper to have a Camp in the fartheſt Part of *Hetruria*, that the Troops might be in a readineſs to march to *Spain*, upon the firſt Reports of the increaſe of the Troubles there, which were not quite extinguiſhed. After the Departure of *T. Didius*, *C. Valerius Flaccus* had continued among the *Spaniards*, in Quality of *Pro-Conſul*, and had ſeen new Inſurrections there. The Inhabitants of [51] *Belgida*,

in the Republick, for their Birth and Abilities, undertook the Defence of the Accuſed. One was *Caius Cotta*, the Nephew of *Rutilius*, by his Siſter; who had already appeared with Credit at the Bar. The other was the famous *Quintus Mucius Scævola*, one of the moſt learned Civilians of his Age; who was more intereſted than any body, in the Juſtification of his Friend *Rutilius*, whom he had aſſiſted with his Counſels, when he governed *Aſia* in Quality of *Pro-Conſul*.

48 Others have ſaid, that the Place of his Baniſhment was *Mitylene*, now *Metelin*, the Capital of an Iſland of the ſame Name which was formerly called the Iſland of *Lesbos*. But be that as it will, *Quintus Mucius Scævola* acted the Part of a true Friend, in doing all he could, to furniſh him with the Conveniencies of Life, and leſſen the Fatigues of a long Voyage. *Rutilius* left *Rome*, to the great Grief of all good Men; and in his Journey, the Cities of *Aſia* vied with one another who ſhould attend him moſt, and conducted him along in a kind of Triumph. When he came to the Place of his Retreat, both People and Monarchs were preſſing to do him Honour, and load him with Preſents. So that, tho' ſo far removed from his native Country, he found an abundant Proviſion for all his Wants, in the Liberality of the *Aſiatics*.

49 The *Roman* Annaliſts place under this Year 660, the Accuſation brought againſt one *Marcus Claudius Marcellus* for embezzling the publick Money. The famous *Lucius Craſſus* one of his Accuſers, preſſed his Condemnation with ſuch Fury, as made the accuſed tremble. But ſays *Valerius Maximus*, *B.* 8. *c.* 5, the thundering Charge of the Orator, did but little Execution, and vaniſhed into Smoke. The Judges concluded from the furious Zeal of *Craſſus*, that he had not ſo much the doing Juſtice in his View, as the gratifying his own Hatred and Revenge; ſo that the accuſed triumphed over the moſt vehement Attacks of Eloquence, and was acquitted.

It is likewiſe in the ſame Year, that the *Faſti Capitolini* place the *Triumph* of *Publius Licinius Craſſus*. After his *Conſulſhip* in the Year 656, he had ſucceeded *Lucius Cornelius Dolabella*, in the Government of *Further Spain*, whilſt *Titus Didius* ſubdued the Rebels in *Hither Spain*. He commanded the *Roman* Armies in Quality of *Pro-Conſul*, for three Years. The *Triumphal Tables*, and they only, tell us, That he ſubdued the *Luſitanians* who had ſhaken off the *Roman* Yoke. He *triumphed* on the Eve of *The Ides of June*, that is, the 12th Day of that Month. *Didius* had obtained the ſame Honour, in conſideration of the Victories which he had gained in *Celtiberia*.

If we may give credit to *Strabo*, *Craſſus* during his Command in *Further Spain*, embarked at the Port of *Gades*, and went to ſee the *Caſſiterides* Iſlands, where the *Phœnicians* had long carried on a conſiderable Trade. They were ſo called by the *Greeks*, as *Pliny* obſerves, becauſe they abounded with Lead and Tin Mines. The only Diſpute is about their Situation. *Strabo* and *Ptolomy* ſay there were ten of them, which they place in the Ocean, over againſt Cape *Finiſterre*, towards the Coaſts of *Galicia*. Others have thought that the *Greeks* meant by the *Caſſiterides*, the *Sorlingues* Iſlands near *Great Britain*; and they found their Conjecture, on the Lead and Tin Mines which were there, even in the Time of the Republick. But it is aſked, with what Deſign *Craſſus* could have left the Government of his Province, in order to go into a diſtant Country, whither the *Romans* had not carried their Arms. *Pliny*, *Mela*, and *Diodorus Siculus*, agree, with *Strabo* and *Ptolomy*, as to the Situation of the *Caſſiterides*; but the former makes them only ſix in Number. Nevertheleſs, except the two Iſlands of *Zigaiga* and *St. Cyprian*, we find nothing to the North of *Galicia* but barren Rocks. So that the *Caſſiterides* of *Strabo* and *Pliny* are a Problem to the Moderns. Before them, *Herodotus* had been ignorant of their Situation, as he himſelf declares, *B.* 3. Moſt Geographers believe, that this Name can only be applied to the *Britannick* Iſlands, on account of the great Quantity of Lead and Tin, which they have produced at all Times. But if theſe were the *Caſſiterides*, it is not eaſy to gueſs at the Motive of *Craſſus*'s Voyage. Perhaps the *Phœnician* and *Carthaginian* Merchants who traded to *Cadiz*, gave him an advantageous Account of theſe Iſlands; and in that caſe, Curioſity, or a Love for his Country, might excite him to get a Knowledge of a Country, from which the *Romans* might reap great Advantages in their Trade. Nevertheleſs it is certain, that the *Phœnicians* kept their Trade to the *Caſſiterides* a great while a Secret. *Strabo* ſays, That one of their Pilots deſignedly drove in among the Rocks, where he daſhed his Ship in pieces, on purpoſe to conceal his Route from a *Roman* Ship, which followed him, and periſhed at the ſame Time. To which he adds, that the *Phœnician* having ſaved himſelf by his Addreſs, had ample amends made him for his Loſs, by his Countrymen.

50 *Marcus Perperna* appears to have been the Son of him, of the ſame Name, who had been *Conſul*, in the Year of *Rome*, 623, and had *triumphed* over King *Ariſtonicus*.

51 *Ortelius* places the City of *Balgida* in the Kingdom of *Valencia*. Some pretend it was the ſame Place as *Bolbaſtro*, a City in the Kingdom of *Arragon*.

Year of *ROME* DCLXI. C Claudius Pulcher, & M. Perperna, Conſuls.

or as others, [52] *Segeda*, had ſhewn their Inclinations to ſhake off the *Roman* Yoke. The Council of the City had been aſſembled, and by protracting their Deliberations, had ſo long delayed ſatisfying the Impatience of the People, who cried out to Arms, that the Mutineers, in a Fit of Rage, ſet Fire to the Council-Houſe, and burnt their Senators alive. And though the Rebels had been puniſhed by *Flaccus*, who had killed 20000 of them, and ruined their City; yet theſe Sparks ſeemed to be only the Signals of a greater Conflagration, which the Republick was deſirous of ſtifling in its Birth. Beſides, *Macedon* had been vigorouſly attacked by the *Thracians* of *Myſia*; the *Prætor* *C. Geminius* had received a conſiderable Defeat; and all the Country the *Romans* poſſeſſed in that vaſt Province, was expoſed to the Ravages of the *Myſians*. So many Alarms from different Provinces, obliged the Senate to keep their *Legions* always ready to march, wherever they ſhould be wanted.

§. XXIII. As for *Sylla*, he was gone to govern *The Roman Province* in *Aſia*, that is, the ancient Kingdom of *Pergamus*; and his Commiſſion ſeemed to be of great Importance. All *Aſia* was in a Flame; which had been wholly occaſioned by the Ambition of *Mithridates* King of *Pontus*, who was the [53] *Sixth* of that Name, and ſurnamed *Eupator*. This cruel Prince who had murdered his Mother, and a Brother, ſpared neither Poiſon nor the Sword, to aggrandize himſelf. In order to ſeize the Kingdom of *Cappadocia*

52 See our Account of *Segeda* Vol. 4. It ſtood in *Celtiberia*, near the Ruins of old *Numantia*.

53 The Kingdom of *Pontus* was ſucceſſively governed by eleven Kings, down to *Mithridates the Great*, ſurnamed *Eupator* and *Dionyſus*, for the Space of 426 Years. According to the ancient Hiſtorians, this Monarchy was originally a diſmembered Part of the Empire of the *Perſians*; but they don't agree as to the Time and Circumſtances of the Diviſion. According to *Herodotus*, *B.* 7, *Darius* the Son of *Hyſtaſpes*, before he was proclaimed King of *Perſia*, had married *Amyſa*, the Daughter of *Gobrias*, by whom he had *Artabaſes*, and two other Sons. After the Death of his firſt Wife, and when he was raiſed to the *Perſian* Throne, he married for his ſecond Wife *Atoſſa*, the Daughter of *Cyrus*, who brought him four Princes, of whom *Xerxes* was the eldeſt. When *Darius* was near his End, he thought it neceſſary, in order to ſecure the Peace of his People, to nominate his Succeſſor. The only Queſtion was, to whom the Crown belong'd; whether to *Artabaſes*, the eldeſt Son of the firſt Marriage, or to *Xerxes*, who had been born after his Father's Advancement to the Throne. They both inſiſted on their Claims. But the Affair being referred to the Deciſion of *Artabanus*, the Uncle of the two Princes by the Father's ſide, he determined it in favour of *Xerxes*. *Artabaſes* acquieſced in the Determination, and by his own Example led the *Perſians* to pay Homage to his Brother, as the preſumptive Heir of the Crown. *Darius* was affected with the Submiſſion of *Artabaſes*, erected *Pontus*, a Province of *Aſia Minor* into a Kingdom, made him King of it, and gave it him for ever. And in this, *Polybius* agrees with *Herodotus* and *Appian*. Whereas *Plutarch* and *Juſtin* pretend, that *Artabaſes* owed his new Sovereignty to *Xerxes* himſelf, after the Death of his Father *Darius*. But be that as it will, it is certain, the two Kings reigned in a perfect Underſtanding between one another. There is Reaſon to believe, that *Xerxes* gave the King of *Pontus* ſome of the rich Moveables of the Kings of *Perſia*, particularly the Bed of State, and the Throne of *Darius*, which as *Appian* reports, graced the *Triumph* of *Pompey*, the Conqueror of *Mithridates Eupator*. Such were the Beginnings of the Monarchy of *Pontus*, whoſe Kings gloried in carrying up their Origin, as far as *Achemenes*, the Father of *Cambyſes* and Grandfather of *Cyrus*, according to *Herodotus*. Hence the Name of *Achemenidæ*, which was common to the Monarchs of *Perſia* and *Pontus*. Other Writers derive theſe Princes from one *Achæmus* the Son of *Perſeus*, who lived before the Grandfather of *Cyrus*. *Florus* reckons among the Kings of *Pontus*, one named *Artheas*, who reigned there long before *Artabaſes*. But this Province, which was afterwards conquered by the *Perſians*, was united to their Empire, till the end of the Reign of *Darius*. Then it was again erected into a Monarchy in favour of *Artabaſes*, 486 Years before the *Chriſtian Æra*, in the ſecond Year of the 73d *Olympiad*, and in the 266th Year of *Rome*.

According to the moſt common Opinion, *Mithridates the Great* ſurnamed *Eupator*, was the eleventh and laſt King of the Race of the *Achemenidæ*, who reigned in *Pontus*. Nevertheleſs, *Appian* makes 15 Kings reign before him in direct Succeſſion. So that, upon this Suppoſition, *Mithridates* muſt have been the 16th from the beginning of the Monarchy. But *Appian's* Authority cannot counter-ballance that of the greateſt Part of the Hiſtorians, in this Particular; and the ſame may be ſaid of another: which is, That *Mithridates* was the eighth, ſince him of that Name, who after he had enlarged his Dominions by Conqueſts freed himſelf from the Tributes which his Predeceſſors had always paid to the Kings of *Perſia*, and who was therefore called by the Hiſtorians the Reſtorer or Founder of the *Perſian* Monarchy. *Appian* himſelf confeſſes in another Part of his Hiſtory, That there were but five Kings of *Pontus*, between the Death of this Conqueror, and the Conqueſt of this Part of *Aſia Minor* by the *Romans*.

But to return to *Mithridates the Great*. He was the Son of *Mithridates Euergetes*, who ſignalized his Attachment to the *Roman* Republick, in the Wars he made with *Ariſtonicus*. *Appian* himſelf ſays, That this King had, ſeveral Years before, furniſhed *Scipio Æmilianus* with a Fleet and Auxiliaries which were employed in the Siege of *Carthage*. His Son, who inherited his Name and Dominions, mounted the Throne, at the Age of 12 or 13 Years, under the Guardianſhip of his Mother. The Hiſtorians have remarked, That a little after his Birth, there appeared for 70 Days together, a Comet ſo large, that it took up the fourth Part of the Heavens, and was as light and bright as the Sun. Heaven, ſays *Juſtin*, ſeems to have deſigned to foretel the future Grandeur of this Prince, by this Phænomenon. They who had the Care of his Infancy, ſoon ſaw by his Temper and Inclinations, that he would be a formidable Maſter; and therefore, they more than once, conſulted together how to deſtroy him, and yet avoid the Suſpicion of it. With this View, under the Pretence of teaching him the

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Cappadocia, he had cauſed young *Ariarathes*, his Siſter *Laodice*'s Huſband, and the Son of another *Ariarathes*, who had been ſlain in a Battle between *Ariſtonicus* and the *Romans*, to be aſſaſſinated. And he had extended his Frontiers by Conqueſt, as far as the Mirage, they put him upon a wild Horſe; but the young Prince had Skill enough, to force the fiery Animal to obey the Bit. Then, to make ſure work, they reſolved to poiſon him. But *Mithridates* being apprized of theſe villainous Deſigns, guarded himſelf againſt them by excellent Antidotes. By the conſtant Uſe of theſe Remedies, he made his Conſtitution proof againſt the moſt mortal Poiſons. *Plutarch* ſays in his *Opuſcula*, that the Fear of entruſting others with the Care of his Health, led him to ſtudy Phyſick, in which he acquired ſome Skill, and loved to ſhew it. The Lords of his Court were ſo meanly complaiſant, as to cut and burn themſelves, on purpoſe that their Maſter might have an Opportunity of ſhewing the Skill, of which he was very vain.

However, his Precautions againſt Poiſon, could not ſecure him from Aſſaſſinations; and he therefore retired to ſolitary Places, to ſave his Life. If we may believe *Juſtin*, he rambled about ſeven whole Years, in Foreſts, expoſed Day and Night to the open Air, and wholly employed in Hunting. This Way of Life made him very robuſt and healthy, hardened his Body againſt the Intemperature of the Seaſons, and qualified it for ſuſtaining the Fatigues of a military Life, in an heroic Manner. When he returned to his Capital, he ſtained the firſt Years of his Reign with the Blood of the greateſt Men in his Kingdom; and being perſuaded, that his neareſt Relations deſired his Death, he ſacrificed ſeveral of them to his Suſpicions. By his orders, his Brother was inhumanly murdered; and his Mother, after ſhe had languiſhed a great while in cloſe Confinement, periſhed with Hunger. This barbarous and jealous Prince, made no Scruple of committing the moſt atrocious Crimes, if they favoured his Politicks and Ambition.

As ſoon as he was ſettled on the Throne, he formed immenſe Schemes for enlarging his Dominions. Not content with having ſubdued the vaſt Country of the *Scythians*, made himſelf Maſter of the Dominions of *Periſades* King of the *Boſphorus*, and invaded whole Kingdoms; he propoſed nothing leſs than ſubduing all *Aſia*. With this view, he privately ſtole away from his Court, and attended by a few Courtiers who had his Confidence, paſſed over all the Provinces of this great Continent, *incognito*. He examined the Places, Forces, and Situations of the Cities which he deſigned to conquer, ſettled before-hand the Marches of his Armies, pitched on proper Places for encamping, and in ſhort, after ſome Years abſence, returned to his Dominions. And if upon his return, he had the Pleaſure of hearing, that ſince his Departure he had a Prince born; he had at the ſame Time the terrible Mortification, of hearing the Debauchery of *Laodice*, who was both his Wife and Siſter. The Queen, who knew nothing of the Deſigns and Motions of *Mithridates*, took it for granted ſhe ſhould never ſee him more, after the Abſence of ſeveral Years, flattering herſelf that he was dead; and her Accomplices in Iniquity endeavoured to confirm her in this Opinion. So that his return was a Thunder ſtroke to her. She had no Favour to expect from a Prince inexorable in his Revenge, whom ſhe had wounded in the moſt tender Part; and in Deſpair, ſhe, in concert with thoſe to whom ſhe had ſhewn her Favours, reſolved to make uſe of Poiſon to rid her of a jealous Husband, whoſe Fury ſhe dreaded. But a Woman Slave, whom the Queen intruſted with the Secret, informed *Mithridates* of the Danger that threatened him; and it coſt the unfortunate *Laodice*, and the chief Lords of the Court, who had engaged in the Conſpiracy, their Lives.

But the King of *Pontus* did not loſe ſight of the Conqueſt of *Aſia*, amidſt theſe domeſtick Troubles. Whilſt, on the other hand, the *Roman* Republick had juſt put ſome ſtop to this Torrent, in the midſt of his Career. *Mithridates*, intimidated by the peremptory Orders of the Senate, had reſtored ſeveral Provinces of *Scythia* to their lawful Maſters. Indeed, he had Hopes of gaining, by his Money, a Majority of the Senate; and with this view, had ſent a Deputation to *Rome*. But the Plot was diſcovered; the Ambaſſadors were treated with Ignominy, by a *Tribune of the People*, whom ſome call *Auſeius*, others *Apuleius*; and they got nothing by their Negotiation, but the Shame of being driven away, as ſo many Cheats.

Mithridates, thus fallen from his Hopes, reſolved to diſſemble, and wait for a favourable Opportunity to ſignalize his Reſentment againſt the *Roman* Republick. But a Prince, ſwallowed up in Ambition, could not long keep within the Bounds of a little State. He undertook to conquer *Paphlagonia*, one of the Kingdoms of *Aſia Minor*; and to this End, joined his Arms with thoſe of *Nicomedes*, the Son of *Pruſias*. *Pylemenes*, the King of that Country, could not long withſtand the Forces of the two confederate Princes; they made themſelves Maſters of it, and divided it between them. The dethroned Monarch had no Reſource, but to the Protection and Equity of the Senate of *Rome*; and he brought his Complaints before this auguſt Tribunal. The Republick immediately ordered the Conquerors to reſtore *Paphlagonia* to its lawful Maſter; and *Mithridates* received theſe Orders, with ſuch Haughtineſs, as ſurprized the Ambaſſadors. *What right*, ſaid he, *have the* Romans *to aſſume an Authority over crowned Heads? I am not indebted to them for the Crown I wear, but to my Anceſtors, and to my Sword. Nor am I accountable to them, for any Thing that I do. I ſhall find Means, if it be neceſſary, to make your Republick ſenſible, that it ill becomes her to pretend to give Law to me, in my own Dominions.* This ſaid, he heard the Threatenings of the Ambaſſadors with a Sneer; and to ſhew his Contempt in the moſt open Manner, immediately marched his Army into *Galatia*, and ſubdued it. Whereas *Nicomedes* pretended to comply with the Orders of the Senate, and promiſed to reſtore to *Pylemenes* the Portion that had fallen to him. But he added Inſult to his Breach of Faith, by the moſt notorious Chicanery and Impoſture. He pretended, that he had performed his Promiſe, by giving his own Son the Name of *Pylemenes*, and proclaiming him King of *Paphlagonia*.

In the mean Time, *Mithridates* ſpared neither Sword nor Poiſon, in carrying on his ambitious Views. In order to poſſeſs himſelf of the Kingdom of *Cappadocia*, he had hired a Villain named *Gordius*, to aſſaſſinate *Ariarathes*, the Husband of his Siſter *Laodice*, and the Son of another *Ariarathes*, who had been killed, fighting for the *Romans*, againſt *Ariſtonicus*. The Queen-Mother herſelf took Care of the Education of the two Princes her Children, whom *Mithridates* had reſolved to deſtroy, in order to ſecure their Dominions to himſelf; and *Nicomedes* anticipated him, by ſeizing the Throne, which was vacant on the Death of *Ariarathes*. Upon this News, the King of *Pontus* pretended to take the Part of his Nephews, and ſent Queen *Laodice* Succours to oppoſe the Uſurper. But he knew not that ſhe had juſt married *Nicomedes Philopater*, the Grandſon of *Pruſias*. When informed of this, he immediately began his March at

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Juſtin. L. 38. App. in Mithridat. Memnon apud Photium.

as the Banks of the [52] *Phaſis*, and even beyond Mount [53] *Caucaſus*. As ſoon as the *Romans* were informed of the Progreſs he had made in the North of *Aſia*, the Senate by a Decree ordered the Uſurper to reſtore the Countries he had ſeized in *Scythia* to their old Maſters: And the King of *Pontus* not finding himſelf yet ſtrong enough to cope with the *Roman* Power, obeyed; at leaſt, in Part. He gave up to the *Scythian* Kings, whom he had diſpoſſeſſed, their Countries, which lay too much to the North to engage his Affections much.

But he did not lay aſide the Deſign he had long formed, of uniting all *Aſia Minor* under his Dominion. He had, as we have juſt now obſerved, already paved the Way for his aſcending the Throne of *Cappadocia* by the Murder of *Ariarathes*; who had left two Sons, the eldeſt of which inherited his Name and Dominions, and was under the Guardianſhip of his Mother *Laodice*, who was lately married to the King of *Bithynia*. And as the Life of theſe two Princes was a great Obſtacle to the Succeſs of his ambitious Views, he, who made no Scruple of Aſſaſſinations, in order to gain his Point, immediately reſolved to deſtroy them. To this End, he found means, under Pretence of Friendſhip, to bring the eldeſt, who was alſo named *Ariarathes*, to a Conference; and as ſoon as the too credulous young King appeared in the Head of a numerous Army, reſolving to diſpoſſeſs the Garriſons which the King of *Bithynia* had put into all the Towns in *Cappadocia*; and the Succeſs was anſwerable to his Deſires. Upon the Approach of a victorious King, the Cities opened their Gates; and when *Mithridates* was Maſter of the Kingdom, he pretended great Merit in placing his Siſter's eldeſt Son on the Throne of his Anceſtors. But the artful Prince was only laying a Plot againſt the Life and Crown of his Nephew, under the Appearance of Friendſhip. In order to put this barbarous Deſign in Execution, he had recourſe to Fraud, which he thought leſs dangerous, than open Violence. In an Interview he had with the young King, under Pretence of ſettling a laſting Peace, he aſſaſſinated him with his own Hand: And when Maſter of *Cappadocia*, he cauſed his own Son to be acknowledged Sovereign of that Kingdom. He ordered him to take the Name of *Ariarathes*, and made that very *Gordius* his Guardian, who had hitherto been the chief Miniſter of his Cruelties. The Miſeries the *Cappadocians* ſuffered under the Government of this Villain are not to be expreſſed: and their Patience being at laſt worn out by his Tyranny, they ſet up againſt the Uſurper, the only ſurviving Son of the Queen by her former Huſband. Upon the firſt Rumour of the Revolt, he entered *Cappadocia* Sword in Hand, gained a ſignal Victory, and forced the lawful Sovereign to abandon his Dominions; and this Prince, who was ſtill young, did not long ſurvive his Defeat. His Grief at his perſonal and family Misfortunes threw him into a Fit of Sickneſs, of which he died in the Flower of his Age. So that, by the Death of this laſt Branch of the *Cappadocian* Kings, *Mithridates* became peaceable Poſſeſſor of the Kingdom he had uſurped. Such was the Conduct and Character of the King of *Pontus* before he came to an open War with the Republick.

The Medals which we have of him give us no Account of any of the Events of his Reign. In that, Plate 10, Page 253. No. 3, we have only, on one Side his Head, and on the Reverſe a winged Horſe; the Symbol found on moſt of the Medals ſtruck at *Amiſus*, one of the moſt famous Cities of *Pontus*, according to *Strabo*. The Wings of the Horſe are probably deſigned, to point out the Swiftneſs of the Horſes bred in the Territory belonging to this City. At leaſt, *Homer*, and *Hecatæus* the Geographer, obſerve, that this Diſtrict produced excellent Courſers. The *Greek* Letters ΑΙΖ are numerical, and ſignify the 217th Year of the *Æra* of the Kings of *Pontus*; which is commonly fixed to the 4th Year, of the 118th *Olympiad*, and the 448th Year of *Rome*, under the Reign of *Mithridates the Second*, whom ancient Authors make the Founder of the Monarchy of *Pontus*, after he had enlarged his Dominions and Power, by his Conqueſts. If then, we add to the 448 Years, the Number of 212, expreſſed on the Medal, it will appear to have been ſtruck, in the Year of *Rome*, 660, under the *Conſulſhip* of *Caius Valerius Flaccus*, and *Marcus Herennius Nepos*. *Mithridates* had then reigned 30 Years, if we ſuppoſe with the moſt exact Chronologers, that he mounted the Throne about the 630th Year of *Rome*, and the 30th Year of his Age.

Beſides the ſurname of *Eupator* which *Mithridates* aſſumed, in Reſpect to the Memory of his Father *Evergetes*, he had likewiſe that of *Dionyſus*; which was one of the Names, the ancient Pagans gave to *Bacchus*. Whether he only compared himſelf with this God, whoſe Conqueſts are celebrated in Fable, or took him for his Model at his Repaſts, when he valued himſelf upon drinking a great deal, he certainly gloried in this Title. The Hiſtorians of his Life ſay, That he gave Prizes to ſuch of his Gueſts, as eat and drank moſt; and That he himſelf gloried in ſurpaſſing the ſtrongeſt of them in this Way, and gaining from them the Prize of Intemperance: And *Plutarch* ſays, That he was in Alluſion to this called *Dionyſus*. But the ſame Writer chooſes to aſcribe the giving him this Surname, to an Accident that was common to him, and the Son of *Semele*. He ſays, That the Lightning burnt his Swadling-clothes when he was an Infant, without doing him any other harm, than leaving a ſlight Mark on his Forehead; That when he was more advanced in Age, the Lightning ſtruck into the Room, where he was aſleep, and burnt to Aſhes, a Quiver full of Arrows which hung at his Bed's Head, without hurting him; and That he was from this Prodigy, ſurnamed *Dionyſus*, becauſe *Bacchus* had been wonderfully ſecured from Thunder in his Mother's Womb. The Authorities from whom we have taken theſe Facts, are *Juſtin*, *Appian*, *Athenæus*, and the *Opuſcula* of *Plutarch*.

52 The *Phaſis*, a River of *Cholcis* now *Mingrelia*, riſes in the Mountains of *Armenia*; and after it has run through the greateſt Part of that Province, falls, by ſeveral Mouths, into the *Euxine* Sea. On the Banks of it, formerly ſtood a City of the ſame Name, of which nothing now remains but Ruins. *Columella* obſerves, that there was plenty of *Pheaſants* about this River. The Natives now call it *Rion*; but it is ſtill beſt known among the *Europeans*, by the Name of the *Phaſis*.

53 By mount *Caucaſus* is meant, a long Chain of Mountains which makes Part of Mount *Taurus*. It runs through the Provinces which are ſituated between the *Euxine Sea*, to the Weſt, and the *Caſpian*, to the Eaſt.

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ſight, the Barbarian drew out a Dagger, which he had concealed, and imbrued his Hands in his Nephew's Blood. The younger Prince, being forced to fly to a foreign Country for Refuge, in a little Time languiſhed away and died there, and left the Kingdom of *Cappadocia* at the Mercy of *Mithridates*.

§. XXIV. The Queen of *Bithynia* ſaw with great Grief, the Children of her firſt Huſband ſacrificed to the Ambition of her Brother; and alarmed her ſecond Huſband, by ſhewing him that he had Reaſon to fear the loſs of his Dominions. The Throne of *Bithynia* was now filled by *Nicomedes the Third*, the Grandſon of *Pruſias*, and the Son of that *Nicomedes* whoſe Parricide we have related with Horror; and he, though greatly attached to a Dancing-woman named *Niſa*, by whom he had had a Son, named alſo *Nicomedes*, eſpouſed the Reſentments of his Wife. The King and Queen of *Bithynia* ordered enquiry to be made for a handſome Boy, brought him up in their Palace, gave him the Name of *Ariarathes*, and gave out that he was the third Son of the late King of *Cappadocia*. And to give the greater Sanction to the Subſtitution, the Queen of *Bithynia* in Perſon conducted this pretended Son of the King, her firſt Huſband, to *Rome*. But the Intrigue was not carried on with Secrecy enough; *Mithridates* got Information of it; and then he invented a Fable likewiſe, which he thought he could impoſe upon the Senate and People of *Rome*. He ſent to *Rome* that *Gordius*, whom he had made Governor of the Son he had placed on the Throne of *Cappadocia*; and *Gordius*, with an Impudence equal to that of the *Bithynian* Queen, inſiſted, That the Child *Mithridates* had placed on the *Cappadocian* Throne, was the true Son of the late King *Ariarathes*. A more perplexed Caſe never came before the *Conſcript Fathers*. A Mother refuſed to acknowledge a Son, who was ſaid to be hers, and was actually in Poſſeſſion of a Crown; and at the ſame Time, preſented another as hers, who was demonſtrated not to have been born of her. The Senators therefore perceived that there were Frauds on both Sides, and as ſovereign Judges over crowned Heads, pronounced the Kingdom of *Cappadocia* vacant, and without any rightful Owner; and made this great State, an independent Republick, to be governed by Magiſtrates of its own chooſing. But this new Government did not laſt long. The *Cappadocians* were ſoon weary of it, and deſired the *Romans* to grant them a kingly Government, which, they ſaid was more ſuitable to the Genius of their Nation. *We are*, ſaid they, *uſed to be governed by one Head. It is neceſſary therefore that a Monarchy ſhould be again eſtabliſhed among us. Where can we find, among Men devoted to Effeminacy, laborious Magiſtrates enough, to keep up a Succeſſion in the painful Offices of Government? No conſiderable Country in* Aſia *has preferred the Republican State to the Happineſs of being governed by a King.* The *Roman* Senate complied with the Requeſt of the *Cappadocians*. It was of little Conſequence to them, whether *Cappadocia* was governed by a Monarch, or a ſupream Council; and they gave them leave to chooſe themſelves a King, and entail the Crown on his Poſterity. The *Cappadocians* at firſt deliberated, whether they ſhould chooſe this *Gordius*, who had governed them in quality of a Regent; but his Attachment to *Mithridates* giving them juſt Cauſe of Suſpicion, they choſe a Lord of their own Country, named *Ariobarzanes*, and his Election was approved at *Rome*, and confirmed by the Senate; and from this time, the Republick became engaged in Honour to maintain the Determination of a People, who were her faithful and obedient Allies.

§. XXV. In the mean time, *Mithridates* was very uneaſy, at being diſappointed of his Hopes, of placing his Son, or at leaſt *Gordius*, in the Throne of *Cappadocia*; and in order to oppoſe *Ariobarzanes*, and ſupport the Pretenſions of *Gordius*, he ſtirred up the King of [56] *Armenia*, his Son-in-Law, againſt the new Monarch the *Cappadocians*

Plut. in Sylla, & alii ſupra citati.

56 *Armenia*, called in Holy Scripture *Ararat*, is one of the richeſt and moſt fruitful Countries in *Aſia Minor*. It is watered by ſeven Rivers, which contribute not a little to the Fertility of the Soil. The Climate is ſo fine, that ſome Interpreters have from thence conjectured, that God placed the terreſtrial Paradiſe there. The Geographers are not unanimous as to its Limits. Some divide it into three Parts, *Armenia*, *Turcomania*, and *Georgia*. But the Ancients divide it into the *Upper* or *Greater*, and the *Lower* or *Leſſer Armenia*. The *Upper* lays between *Meſopotamia*, *Georgia*, *Media*, and *Armenia Minor*. The *Lower* is bounded to the North, by *Cappadocia*; to the South, by *Syria*; to the Weſt, by the *Black Sea*; and to the Eaſt, by *Armenia Major*. And this Situation agrees well enough with that which is given it by *Strabo*, *Pliny*, and *Ptolomy*, who place *Armenia Major* between the *Tigris* and the *Euphrates*. This Country was firſt ſubject to *Perſia*, afterwards to the Kings of *Syria*, till the Reign of *Antiochus the Great*; and in his Time, it became ſubject to new Maſters. *Artaxias* and *Zadriades*, the Governours of the *Greater*, and *Leſſer Armenia's*, rebelled againſt their lawful Prince, uſurped each the Sovereignty in his

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cians had choſen. *Tigranes* [57], at the Sollicitation of *Mithridates*, raiſed a numerous Army, under the Command of *Mithras* and *Bagoas*; and the *Armenians* had no ſooner entered *Cappadocia*, but *Ariobarzanes* clapped his Effects on board a Ship, and ſailed for *Rome*, there to get Succours of the *Romans*, his Protectors. The Senate ordered he ſhould be reinſtated, and commiſſioned the fortunate *Sylla* to do it. So that the *Prætor* whoſe Lot had fallen in *Aſia*, had the Advantage of having it a Part of his Buſineſs, to reſtore a Monarch to his People, who had deſired his Reſtoration.

It was not unknown at *Rome*, that *Mithridates* had brought the *Armenians* into *Cappadocia*, by his Intrigues; and *Sylla* had Orders to watch the Motions of a King, who was the more formidable Enemy, for being unwilling to appear ſo. *Sylla* therefore embarked in one of the Ports of *Italy*, took the dethroned King with him, landed in *Cilicia*, and made a long ſtay there. He thought this Province lay convenient for aſſembling there the Forces of all the Allies of the *Romans* in *Aſia*: And he there formed a great Army, not ſo much of *Romans* as *Aſiaticks*, and carried back *Ariobarzanes* in Triumph to his Dominions. The *Armenians* and a part of the People of *Cappadocia*, had already put *Gordius* in Poſſeſſion of the Throne. But *Sylla* defeated him, and the *Cappadocians* in a pitched Battle; and forced him to flee for Refuge to the Territories of *Mithridates*. So that great was the [58] Glory the *Prætor* acquired, by reſtoring *Ariobarzanes* to his Kingdom, by force of Arms; great the Mortification of *Mithridates*, to have a King for his Neighbour, who was devoted to the *Roman* Republick. Nevertheleſs, *Mithridates* diſſembled, and joined in the Applauſe the *Cappadocians* gave the *Romans*, waiting for a more favourable Opportunity to declare himſelf againſt them.

When *Sylla* had reſtored Tranquillity in the Capital of *Cappadocia*, he went with *Ariobarzanes*, through his whole Kingdom to pacify it: And when he came to the moſt eaſtern Frontier, he received Advice, that Ambaſſadors were coming to him, from *Arbaces* the King of the [59] *Parthians*, to deſire the Friendſhip and Alliance of the *Roman* his Province; aſſumed the Title of Kings; and as we are informed by *Appian in Syriacis*, and *Juſtin L.* 2, tranſmitted it to their Deſcendants.

57 The *Tigranes* here ſpoken of, was *The Second* of the Name, and the Son of *Tigranes the Firſt*, his Predeceſſor. In the Liſt of the *Armenian* Kings, he is placed the fourth, from the Foundation of the Monarchy by *Artaxias*. After he had murdered the laſt of the Deſcendants of the *Zadriades*, he ſeized *Little Armenia*, and united it to his Crown; and we ſhall ſoon ſee him march into *Syria*, exterminate the Race of the *Seleucidæ*, and ſeize their Dominions. And when Maſter of their Kingdom, he will compare himſelf with the *Parthian* Emperors, and after their Example aſſume the proud Title of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ, *King of Kings*. He has it on a Medal, which bears his Name and Image. The Reverſe is charged with a Woman ſitting, crowned with Towers, and holding a Palm-Branch in her Hand; which is the uſual Symbol, by which the City of *Antioch*, where this was ſtruck, is repreſented on Medals. The Figure of the River on the Medal ſtands for the *Orontes*, which waſhes the Walls of that City.

*See Pl. 10. No. 4. *Page* 253.

58 *Ariobarzanes* did not long continue in peaceable Poſſeſſion of the Throne of *Cappadocia*. As ſoon as *Sylla* was gone, *Mithridates* ſtirred up *Tigranes* againſt the new Monarch. *Mithras* and *Bagoas*, the King of *Armenia*'s Generals, entered the Territories of *Ariobarzanes*, at the Head of a numerous Army; and beſieging the King in his own Capital, he had no Means to eſcape but by Flight. So that *Cappadocia* was a ſecond Time ſubject to young *Ariarathes*, the Son of *Mithridates*. He was carried back thither in Triumph by the two Conquerors, whilſt *Ariobarzanes* went to *Rome*, to implore the Protection of the Senate.

59 The Relation the Hiſtory of the *Parthians* will henceforward have with that of the *Roman* Republick and Empire, inclines us to think it not improper, to give the Reader here a View of the Origin and Progreſs of a Monarchy, which roſe by degrees to ſo great a Pitch of Power, as to become formidable at laſt to the *Romans*.

Parthia properly ſo called, one of the Provinces of *Upper Aſia*, lies in the middle of that Chain of Mountains, which makes a Part of Mount *Taurus*. It is bounded to the North and Weſt, by *Hyrcania* and *Great Media*; and to the South and Eaſt by *Perſia* and *Caramania*: And is now known by the Name of *Arac*. It was ſubject to the Empire of the *Perſians*, till the Conqueſts of *Alexander the Great*; and upon the Diviſion, that his immediate Succeſſors made among themſelves of the Kingdoms of *Aſia*, after the famous Battle of *Ipſus*, it was annexed to thoſe vaſt Dominions, which from the *Helleſpont* to the River *Indus*, compoſed the Monarchy of the *Seleucidæ*. It was inhabited by Barbarians, who were ſaid to have come originally from *Aſiatick Scythia*; and who, content with the little their dry and uncultivated Country produced, lived in Tranquillity, under *Seleucus Nicator*, and *Antiochus* his Son, till the Reign of *Antiochus the Second*. Then they ſhook off the *Syrian* Yoke. The Incontinence of *Agathocles*, whom *Arrian* calls *Pherecles*, was the Occaſion of this great Event. *Antiochus* had committed to his Care, the Adminiſtration of all the Provinces beyond the *Tigris*; ſo that *Parthia*, and the adjacent Countries were under his Government. *Agathocles*, who was too much charmed with the Gracefulneſs and Beauty of *Tiridates*, a young Lord of *Bactria*, made ſome Attempt on his Modeſty. *Arſaces*, enraged at the Affront offered to his own Brother, immediately ran to Arms, and ſupported by ſome Friends who engaged in his Quarrel, aſſaſſinated the Governour. *Eutbydemes* a Native of *Greece*, put himſelf at the Head of the Rebels, drove the *Syrians* out of *Bactria*, and formed for himſelf an independent State; but he durſt not cauſe himſelf to be proclaimed Sovereign of it. *Diodorus* his Succeſſor

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Roman People. Tho' this Nation was the largeſt, the moſt warlike, and the moſt wealthy, of any in *Aſia*, yet the Name of *Parthians* was at this Time ſcarce known at *Rome*. *Sylla* rejoiced greatly, and thought it one of the moſt fortunate Occurrences of his Life, that he ſhould have the Happineſs to be the firſt *Roman*, that ſhould be known to theſe People: And whether, in order to dazzle their Eyes with an Air of Grandeur, or to intimidate them by his Pride, the *Prætor* took great State upon him with the Ambaſſadors. In the Place where he received them, he ordered three Seats to be put, one in the middle for himſelf, that on his Right-hand for *Ariobarzanes*, and the other on his Left, for *Oromazes*, the Chief of the Embaſſy; and we may judge of the Conference, by theſe Preparations for it. The King of the *Parthians* was ſo diſpleaſed with it, that he beheaded *Oromazes*, for having debaſed Majeſty, by his Compliances. It is ſaid, that during the Conference, a *Chalcidian*, who was an expert Phyſiognomiſt, fixing his Eyes ſteddily on the *Prætor*, cried out; *This Man is born to govern the World! My only Surprize is, that he is not yet Maſter of his Republick.* And indeed, the Event will ſhew, that the Conjecture of the Diviner, who thought he could trace it in the fierce Countenance of the *Prætor*, proved true. Nevertheleſs. *Sylla* was not ho-

Succeſſor was the firſt, who gave himſelf the Title of Monarch. ARSACES, after his Example, cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed King of the *Parthians*; and fixed his Reſidence at *Hecatompolis*, which he made the Capital of his Kingdom. Some Authors pretend, That he was deſcended of the Race of the *Achemenides*, and That therefore his Deſcendants aſſumed on their Medals the pompous Title of *King of Kings*, after the manner of the *Parthian* Kings. But others declare againſt this Deſcent. And be that as it will, all allow, That he was the Founder of the Empire of the *Arſacidæ* in *Parthia*: And he is commonly ſaid to have founded it, in the 57th Year of the *Seleucidæ*, and 498th Year after the Reign of *Romulus*.

After the new Monarch had for two Years and ſome Months withſtood all the Forces of the Kings of *Syria*, he received a Wound in Battle, which put an end to his Reign, and his Life; but his Memory did not periſh with him. The 28 Kings that ſucceeded him, piqued themſelves on bearing a Name, which was ſo dear to the Nation.

TIRIDATES, the Brother of the late King, felt the Frowns of Fortune, upon his firſt coming to the Throne; but he afterwards humbled the Pride of *Seleucus the Second*, whom he kept two Years in Captivity; and made himſelf amends for his Loſſes, by the Conqueſt of *Hyrcania*, and ſeveral Places in *Media*. After this, he enjoyed a profound Peace for ten Years, which was the Fruit of his Victories; and reigned 37 Years.

ARTABANUS his Son and Succeſſor had a formidable Enemy to contend with; *Antiochus the Great*, who was already well known by his Wars with the *Romans*. But *Antiochus*, being taken up with a more important Expedition, gave the King of *Parthia* Time to breathe; and he died in Peace, after a Reign of 28 Years.

All that the Hiſtorians tell us of PHRIAPATIUS or PRIAPATIUS, the Son and Succeſſor of the former, amounts to no more than this, That he reigned 15 Years; and That his three Sons, PHRAATES, MITHRIDATES, and ARTABANUS, ſucceſſively enjoyed the Throne of *Parthia* after him.

PHRAATES ſubdued the Country of the *Mardi*, a People near *Armenia*, and united it to his Crown. Upon his Death-Bed, being not ſo much concerned for the Advantage of his Children who were very young, as the Welfare of his Kingdom, he left the Crown to his Brother MITHRIDATES; and the Virtues and Exploits of this Monarch, juſtified his Choice. He ſubdued all thoſe vaſt Countries that reach from Mount *Caucaſus* to the *Euphrates*. All the Eaſt ſaw with Terrour, *Meſopotamia* and ſeveral Cities of *Aſia* taken from *Demetrius Soter*; his Son *Demetrius Nicanor* deprived of his Dominions, and kept Priſoner in *Hyrcania*; the neighbouring Princes ſubdued or vanquiſhed, receive Law from the Conqueror; and the Bounds of *Parthia* extended as far as to the *Perſian Gulph*, and the *Red-Sea*. In a Word, *Mithridates*, by the Rapidity of his Conqueſts, formed out of the Ruins of the Conqueſts of *Alexander the Great*, one of the moſt powerful Empires of *Aſia*. So that, it may be affirmed, that the Reign of MITHRIDATES was the Epocha of the Grandeur of the *Parthians*. And with all theſe heroic Virtues, this Prince had a Sweetneſs of Temper and Beneficence of Mind, which made him amiable to all that approached him. He reigned 37 Years, and died lamented by his People, who greatly loved him.

But *Phraates the Second* inherited neither the good Fortune, nor the Succeſs of his Father. Being defeated by the *Scythians*, and by *Antiochus Sidetes*, by whom he ſuffered moſt, he had the Mortification to ſee *Media*, and the fine Provinces of his Empire, fall a Prey to the Enemy. Of all the large Countries, which he governed, he could ſcarce ſave *Parthia*. Death only put an End to his Misfortunes with his Life, after a Reign of ten Years; and the *Parthians* made his Children feel the Contempt they had for their Father. The Nation unanimouſly agreed to exclude them from the Throne, which they gave to King ARTABANUS THE SECOND, the youngeſt Son of *Priapatius*.

The War he made with the *Tochares*, a warlike People of *Aſiatick Scythia*, proved fatal both to him and to his Subjects. He was mortally wounded in the Arm, in Battle, after he had Reigned three Years.

But MITHRIDATES THE SECOND, the Son and Succeſſor of *Artabanus*, gained as great and ſignal Victories as *Mithridates the Firſt*. He, like him, reigned 37 Years; and extended the Glory of the *Parthians*, to the fartheſt Parts of *Aſia*. He ſubdued the *Scythians*, and confined them to their Deſerts; ſo that they durſt no more appear in *Parthia*. He reconquered 18 Provinces in a few Years, revived the Glory of the *Arſacidæ*, and repaired the Loſſes of *Phraates*. So that both Hiſtories and Medals agree, in giving him the Surname of THE GREAT. He is honoured with this glorious Title on the Medal which bears this Inſcription, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ. On one Side of it, is the Head of *Mithridates* under the Name of *Arſaces*; and on the other, the Figure of the ſame Prince ſitting and holding a Bow in his Hand. It was in his Reign, that the *Romans*, by *Sylla*, made their firſt Alliance with the *Parthians*: And we ſhall have occaſion to ſhew his Succeſſors hereafter.

See Plate 16. *Page* 253. No. 5.

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noured with a *Triumph*, at his Return to *Rome*. On the contrary, there was an Attempt made, to get him condemned by the People, for having misapplied great Sums, in his Administration in *Asia*. But he found Means to divert the Accusation, and silence his Accuser.

Fast. Capit. Val. Max. L. 6. c. 3. Cicer. pro Domo sua, & L. 2. de Orat.

§. XXVI. Tho' *Rome* could pacify the Nations of the East, she could not put an end to the Disputes of her chief Magistrates. Two of the greatest Men in the Republick had been promoted to the [60] *Censorship*. The first was that *Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus* who had been *Consul*, and was now *Pontifex Maximus*: The other, that *L. Crassus*, whose sprightly and graceful Eloquence made him thought one of the Prodigies of his Time. *Ahenobarbus*, more out of an Affectation of Gravity, than any Claims from his Birth or Understanding, assumed a Superiority over his Collegue. *Crassus*, who knew his own Abilities, and who in Birth, as well as personal Merit, was superiour to his Rival, was willing to have his Share at least of the Honours and Functions of their common Office. And this bred Quarrels between the two *Censors*; which broke out in a scandalous manner, and were brought before the People. The austere *Ahenobarbus* accused his Collegue for the Care he took in breeding [61] *Muræna*,

Mac. Saturn. L. 3.

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and

60 The Names of these two *Censors* are both preserved, in a Fragment of *The Capitoline Marbles*. *Sigonius* supposes, without Proof, That *Crassus* abdicated the *Censorship*; and That the Disputes which arose between them, made this Abdication necessary, before their Office expired. To which he adds, with as little Foundation, That on Account of *Crassus*'s laying down, the *Romans* took no *Census*, as usual. He did not consider, that *Cicero*, in his first and second Books *De Oratore*, expresly says, That *Crassus* discharged the Office of *Censor*, the whole Time fixed by the Laws, as he had done the *Consulship*.

61 Most Naturalists, both ancient and modern agree, That the *Muræna*, was a sort of Sea-Serpent, whose ordinary length did not exceed two Cubits. This Fish which was so famous among the *Romans*, was very like a Snake. They who have made the strictest Enquiries about the Nature of it, say in general, That it was smooth, and That the Male and Female were differently marked. The Males, according to them, were distinguished by small round Spots, which lay in a streight Line, and at equal distances, from the Head to the Tail. The Females were browner, adorned with irregular red Spots, and varied with different Colours. Some shining like Gold, others being blackish. The Head of the *Muræna* was more Spherical, than that of a Snake, the Throat wide, and the Mouth armed with two Rows of very sharp Teeth. Its Flesh which was exceeding white, covered little crooked Bones. Its *Vertebræ* turned up towards the Head, whereas those of other Fish turn towards the Tail. And if such was the *Muræna* of the Ancients, which must be allowed, upon the Authorities of *Pliny*, *Varro*, *Columella*, *Athenæus*, and *Macrobius*; some modern Commentators have been in the wrong, to take it for the *Lamprey*. The Flesh of the latter is soft, glutinous, cartilaginous, and has no Bones. Besides, *Pliny*, in his Description of both these Fishes, supposes them to be very different from each other.

Of all the Flats of the *Mediterranean Sea*, that of *Cadiz*, and the *Streights of Sicily*, were thought to abound most with the best *Muræna*. *Strabo* pretends, that some

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and the exceſſive Fondneſs he had ſhewn for one of theſe Fiſhes, which he had kept in his [62] Ponds. When the Favourite *Muræna* died, he had put himſelf in Mourning, as if it had been for [63] his Daughter; and had built a Tomb for it. Surely therefore the Conduct of *Craſſus* [64] muſt have been very blameleſs, if nothing but theſe Trifles could be laid to his Charge: And when the famous Orator came to ſpeak in his Defence, he was very ſatyrical on his Accuſer. He very gravely deſired his Friendſhip, *in the Name of his illuſtrious Anceſtors, their Statues, and the other Monuments of their Glory*; and uttered his Ironies with ſuch Geſtures, as drew upon his Collegue the Sneers

Cic. in Bruto. & De Orat. L. 2.

ſome were caught near *Tariffa* in *Andaluſia*, which weighed 80 Pounds a-piece. But *Hippolitus Salviamus* affirms, on the contrary, That the largeſt did not weigh above 10 Pounds. If we may credit *Pliny*, *B.* 9, The Coaſts of North *Gaul* produced *Murænæ*; which, he ſays, were known by ſeven little Spots of a deep Yellow, placed on the Right Jaw, in much the ſame Order as the ſeven Stars lay, in the Conſtellation of *The little Bear*. To which he adds, That theſe natural Marks diſappeared at the Death of the Fiſh. But it is ſtrange, that a Fiſh which was formerly ſo common, ſhould now be abſolutely unknown; and not eaſy to ſuppoſe, that the Ancients ſhould have quite deſtroyed the *Species*.

The uſual Retreat of the *Murænæ* was to the Clefts of the Rocks; from which the Fiſhermen drew them by a Bait faſtened to the end of a ſmall Cord. What ſome Naturaliſts ſay of their coupling with the Viper, is contradicted by the greateſt Part of them. But they agree better as to ſome other Particulars, relating to theſe Fiſhes, which are mentioned by *Johnſon* and *Aldrovandus*, in their *Natural Hiſtories*. They ſay, among other Things, That upon taſting Vinegar, the *Murænæ* grow mad, and in their Rage faſten upon the ſcaly Fiſh with ſuch Fury, that it is not poſſible to looſen them without killing them. Their Gills, according to theſe Authors, are very ſmall; and a very little Water is ſufficient to keep them alive. And agreeably to this, *Macrobius* and *Varro* ſay, That they are ſometimes ſeen ſwimming on the Sea-Shore, and at the Mouths of Rivers, in ſuch ſhallow Water, that the Fiſhermen could eaſily take them with their Hands. For this Reaſon, theſe two Writers give them the Name of *Flotæ*, and the *Greeks* that of πλωταὶ. The Skin of the *Muræna*, according to *Marcellus*, burnt to Aſhes, and ſteeped in Vinegar, and applied to the Forehead, was reckoned an effectual Remedy for the Head-ach. In ſhort, this Fiſh was ſo famous among the Ancients, that we thought it not improper to give the Reader the Figure of it, which we have taken from *Johnſon*, and *Aldrovandus*.

62 The great Men at *Rome*, in order to ſupply their Tables with Delicacies, bought the moſt exquiſite Fiſh, and had them kept at a great Expence in Ponds made on purpoſe in the Country, and ſometimes in the City. They, who valued themſelves moſt on their Magnificence, had the Sea-Water brought through ſubterraneous Canals into Reſervoirs where they kept the choiceſt Fiſh, that the *Mediterranean* or *Ocean* afforded. *Cic. L.* 2. *De Leg.* laughs at the pompous Names which they gave to theſe Aqueducts. *Who would not ſmile*, ſays he, *at the Sight of their* Nile's, *and* Euripus's? *For ſo they call theſe ſtately Canals. Ductus vero aquarum, quos iſti Nilos & Euripos vocant, quis non, cum hæc videat, irriſerit?* They called the larger ones *Niles*, and the leſſer *Euripus's*, in alluſion to the great River of *Egypt*, and the famous Streight, which divides *Achaia* from the Iſland of *Eubœa*, or the *Negropont*. *Pliny* tells us, *B.* 9. That *Lucullus* cut through a Mountain near *Naples*, in order to bring the Sea to his Fiſh-Ponds; and *Pompey*, according to *Pliny*, or *Elius Tubero* according to *Plutarch*, was ſo ſtruck with the Sight of a Work which had coſt immenſe Sums, that he ſaid, *Rome* would find *Lucullus* to be a ſecond *Xerxes*. This King of *Perſia* had actually undertaken, according to *Herodotus*, to open a Paſſage for his Ships through Mount *Athos*. Before *Lucullus*, one of theſe voluptuous *Romans*, named *Sergius Orata*, had brought the Sea, through ſubterranean Paſſages, to a ſtately Country-Houſe which he had built near *Baiæ*; where his Salt and Freſh-Water Ponds ſupplied his Table conſtantly with Variety of the niceſt Fiſh; particularly with Oyſters brought from the Lake *Lucrinus*; and with the *Dorades*, a ſort of Fiſh which the *Latins* called *Aurata*. And for this Reaſon, ſays *Macrobius*, the *Romans* gave *Sergius* the Surname of *Orata*. In like manner one *Licinius* had been ſurnamed *Muræna*, becauſe he was very fond of *Murænæ*. But *Verrius Flaccus* pretends, That the Surname of *Orata* alluded to the Rings of Maſſy *Gold*, which *Sergius* affected to wear in publick.

63 *Craſſus's Muræna* was ſo tame, that it would come at his Call, and feed out of his Hand. Inſomuch, that, according to *Ælian*, in his 8th Book *Of Animals*, *Craſſus* loved it ſo well, that he took Pleaſure in making it fine; which he did, with ſome rich Pendants, and ſome of the moſt valuable Jewels he had. *Pliny* reproaches the Orator *Hortenſius* with a like Weakneſs, for another *Muræna*, at whoſe Death he wept; and ſays, That *Antonia* the Wife of *Druſus*, inherited the Fiſh-Ponds of *Hortenſius*, and his Affection for a Fiſh of the ſame Kind, which ſhe took care to adorn with her own Hands. To which *Ælian* adds in the ſame Place, That when *Domitius* rallied *Lucius Craſſus* upon the Death of his dear *Muræna*, he replied; *It is true, I have wept at the Loſs of a Fiſh; whereas you*, Domitius, *have borne the Loſs of three Wives, without ſhedding a Tear.*

64 *Pliny* and *Val. Maximus* add, That *Domitius Ahenobarbus* charged it as a Crime on his Collegue, That he had placed in the *Veſtibule* of his Houſe, four Pillars of the fineſt Marble taken out of the Quarries of Mount *Hymettus* in *Attica*. Marble had never yet been uſed in any but publick Buildings. He had brought theſe Pillars to *Rome*, to adorn a Theatre made for *The Scenic Games* which he gave the People when he was *Ædile*. Afterwards he converted them to his own Uſe, and dorned one of his Halls with them. And *Pliny*, *B.* 17, gives us this Account of the Reply *Craſſus* made to the Reproaches of *Domitius*. *How much*, ſays he, *do you value my Houſe at?* 100000000 *Seſterces*, replied *Domitius*; (that is 100 Millions of *little Seſterces*, which at 2 *Sols* and an half, make near 12500000 *Livres*, an incredible Sum, and much beyond the Purchaſe of a private Perſon;) *You ſhall have it*, anſwered *Craſſus*; *but what will you abate, if I cut down ſix of the fineſt and ſcarceſt Trees in my Garden? In that caſe*, ſaid *Domitius*, *I will not give you one* Obolus *for it. Who then*, replied Craſſus, *is moſt to blame? You, who would give* 100 *millions of* Seſterces *for ſix Trees*; *or I, who live in a Houſe, which is indeed a fine one, but which I cannot relinquiſh without giving up the Inheritance of my Fathers?* And *Val. Maximus* relates the ſame Matter, with this difference, That *Domitius* valued it at only 6000000 *Seſterces*, which make 750000 *French Livres*; and That he would give but half that Sum in caſe *Craſſus* took away ſix fine-headed Trees, which made a very agreeable Shade.

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C. Claudius Pulcher, & M. Perperna, Conſuls.

of the whole Aſſembly. The Nick-name of *Ahenobarbus* had been given the ſevere *Cenſor*, only becauſe his *Beard* was *red*; and the Orator gave many ridiculous Turns to this natural Imperfection. *My Collegue*, ſaid he, *is made up of all Metals. His Mouth is Iron, his Heart Lead, and his Beard Braſs:* Implying, according to the Force of the *Latin* Expreſſions, That he had neither good Nature, nor Wit, nor Courage, nor an agreeable Perſon. Nevertheleſs, we ſhall hereafter ſee his Family advanced much above the *Craſſi*. This *Ahenobarbus* was Great Great-Grandfather to the Emperor *Nero*.

Sueton. in Nerone.

But the two *Cenſors*, notwithſtanding their Quarrels, did not neglect to join in uſeful Regulations. There had been a ſort of Profeſſors brought into *Rome*, under the Title of *Latin Rhetoricians*; and *Craſſus*, who was himſelf one of the greateſt Maſters of Eloquence, finding that theſe Pretenders to it, were ſo far from improving, as to hurt the Underſtandings of their Scholars, ordered them to ſhut up their Schools; where, he ſaid, they rather taught Youth how to talk impudently, than to ſpeak like Men of Senſe. The *Cenſorial* [65] Decree was put in execution; and the *Roman* Youth for the future, only ſtudied Eloquence, after the Models of the *Greeks*, and the greateſt Orators in *Rome*. *Cicero* [66] was then only 15 Years of Age. He firſt applied himſelf to Poetry, and thereby raiſed his fine Genius to the moſt ſublime Eloquence. His young Companions already treated him with ſuch Diſtinction, as always to give him the Place of Honour. Such an aſcendant [67] does a ſuperiority of Underſtanding give Men, over thoſe who are their Superiors in Birth! *Rome* had now for ſome time enjoyed an agreeable Tranquillity; and Men of Learning that Leiſure, which is neceſſary to make a Progreſs in it. But new Commotions ſoon interrupted this ſhort-liv'd Quiet; and the Republick was put into a Flame, in the following manner.

Quintil. de præſtantia Orat.
Cic. de Orat. L. 3.

§. XXVII.

65 In the Year of *Rome* 592, the *Conſulate* of *Marcus Valerius Meſſala* and *Caius Fannius Strabo*, the *Prætor Marcus Pomponius Matho* had, according to *A. Gellius*, *L.* 15. *c.* 11, made a like Decree againſt the Philoſophers and *Rhetoricians* who had come from different Parts to *Rome*. See Vol. 4. p. 534.

66 We have already obſerved, That *Cicero* was born in the Year of *Rome* 647, under the *Conſulſhip* of *Quintus Servilius Cæpio*, and *Caius Attilius Serranus*, on the *Third of the Nones of January*, that is, the third Day of that Month. This appears by ſeveral Paſſages in his Works. His Grandfather was then alive, as we learn from his ſecond Book *De Legibus*. Some Authors have had recourſe to the *Marvellous*, to give the more Luſtre to the Birth of this great Man; and make his future Grandeur to have been foretold by Prodigies. They ſay, his Mother *Helvia*, of the Family of the *Helvius's*, which was of conſiderable Rank in *Rome*, was delivered of him, without any Pain; and his Nurſe was informed by one of the *Genii*, whom the ancient Pagans worſhipped, That the Safety of the *Roman* Republick depended on the Welfare of this valuable Child. But *Plutarch* juſtly looks on theſe ſort of Predictions, as Inventions *ex poſt facto*. Poets only are to be allowed the Liberty of inventing what Miracles they pleaſe, to aggrandize their Heroes.

Euſebius, in his *Chronicon*, carries up *Cicero's* Family as far as to *Tullus Attius*, the old King of the *Volſci*, who made War with the firſt *Romans*, with Succeſs. *Cicero* himſelf boaſts of being deſcended from a very ancient Family, in ſeveral Parts of his Works. Tho' his Teſtimony might indeed be juſtly rejected, if it was not confirmed by other Authors, and eſpecially by *Plutarch*. The latter was convinced, That the firſt Perſon of the *Tullian* Family, to whom the Surname of *Cicero* was given, was a Man of great Weight; inſomuch, that according to him, the Deſcendants from this Branch, were ſo far from being aſhamed of it, as to glory in it. It was vain Advice that was given to the *Roman Orator*, not to ſuffer himſelf to be called by this Name, when he appeared for the *Curule* Dignities. He deſpiſed this vain Delicacy, and with an Air of Confidence anſwered, That the Name of *Cicero* would one Day become more glorious and more famous, than that of *Scaurus*, or *Catulus*. When he was *Quæſtor* in *Sicily*, he affected to have his two Names Marcus Tullius engraven on a Statue, or Vaſe of Silver, which he dedicated to a religious Uſe; and to have his third Name repreſented by a Chick-Pea. And indeed *Plutarch* ſays, That the Perſon of the *Tullian* Family who tranſmitted the Surname of *Cicero* to his Deſcendants, had a fleſhy Excreſcence, or Wart, on his Noſe, which reſembled the Pulſe which the *Latins* called *Cicer*. But *Pliny* pretends, that one of the *Tullii* was called *Cicero*, on Account of his great Love for Kidney-Beans.

The Father of this illuſtrious Orator was named *Marcus Tullius Cicero* as well as himſelf. He had ſpent the greateſt part of his Life, at a Country-Houſe near *Arpinum*, a little City in the Country of the *Volſci*. *This little Country*, ſays *Cicero*, *De Legibus L.* 2, *is truly my native Country, and my Nurſery. A delicacy of Conſtitution, and an uncertain State of Health, obliged my Father to confine himſelf to a rural Retreat. There he ſpent his Time very agreeably, between the Study of polite Literature, and the ſweet Amuſements of a Country Life. Our Manſion Houſe there ſavoured of the Simplicity and Modeſty of our Anceſtors. You would have taken it for a mere Cottage. Such was that, in which* Curius *the Conqueror of the* Samnites, *went to enjoy the Sweets of a Life of Tranquillity, far from the Tumult of Arms. But my Father, in conformity to the Taſte of the Age, enlarged and embelliſhed his ancient Inheritance.* This was all his Care, and all his Ambition, being well ſatisfied with the Title of a *Roman Knight*, which he had received from his Anceſtors. He died in a pretty advanced Age; his Son being then in his 43d Year, which according to *Aſconius*, was that of his *Conſulſhip*.

Quintus Calenus indeed, in a Speech full of Invectives againſt *Cicero*, reproached him, as *Dio Caſſius* informs us, with the Meanneſs of his Village, and the Lowneſs of his Extraction; and from thence came the Reports, that his Father had been a Fuller, and cultivated his Land with his own Hands. But if this be true, *Cicero* muſt have been the moſt impudent Man alive, to have boaſted in his *Oration for Muræna*, before

§. XXVII. The kind of Government ſettled among the *Romans*, would not ſuffer them to enjoy Tranquillity at home any longer, than while they, rather by Chance, than from a Wiſdom in their Choice, happened to place ſuch *Conſuls* and *Tribunes of the People* at their Head, as were Men of Moderation, and of a pacifick Temper. And it pleaſed Heaven to permit them to chuſe a turbulent Man for one of their *Conſuls* for the Year 662, and to place in the College of *Tribunes* one of thoſe profound Politicians, whoſe Schemes are good in Speculation, but are often found impracticable, when they come to be put in execution. The *Conſuls* were *Sext. Julius*[68] *Cæſar*, and *L.*[69] *Marcius Philippus*. The former was a Man of much Wit and Raillery, but peaceable in his Conduct, rather from a love of Quiet, than natural Diſpoſition: The latter, was warm and violent, and we ſhall ſee him do very extraordinary Things in the courſe of his Year. But the chief Author of the Troubles that followed was the *Tribune*, *Marcus*[70] *Livius Druſus*. He was of an illuſtrious Family, and had improved the rare Talents Nature

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fore a venerable Aſſembly, That he was the Son of a *Roman Knight*. And in his *Oration for Rabirius*, he ſpeaks with as much Aſſurance. *You know*, ſays he, addreſſing himſelf to the *Knights*, *That I am deſcended from one of You. Nunc vos, Equites Romani! Videte, ſcitis me ortum ex vobis.* Beſides, is it probable, that *Helvia*, *Cicero*'s Mother would marry a vile Mechanick? Her Family was conſiderable for its great Alliances, and for the *Tribunes of the People*, *Ædiles*, and *Prætors*, that had been of it. One of her Siſters had married *Caius Viſellius Aculeo*, a famous *Roman Knight*, one of the greateſt *Civilians* of his Age, and the Confident of *Lucius Craſſus* the Orator; ſo that his Son *Viſellius Varro*, whom he had himſelf inſtructed in the Law, was Couſin-German to *Cicero*, as well as his inſeparable Friend. This appears in his ſecond Book *De Oratore*, and in the Book called *Brutus*.

Nevertheleſs *Cicero* confeſſes, That none of his Family obtained the *Curule* Offices before himſelf; and therefore he was not aſhamed to acknowledge himſelf to be *a new Man*. Nay, his Vanity was indulged by this ſeemingly humble Confeſſion. For this was implying, that he was indebted only to his own Merit, for his attaining the higheſt Honours in the Republick.

In his third Book *Of Laws*, he likewiſe takes no little Pains to magnify the Merit of his Grandfather. He ſays, That he was a Man venerable for his Integrity; That he contracted an intimate Friendſhip with *Marcus Antonius*, *Catulus*, and *Cotta*; That he had married the Siſter of *Caius Marius Gratidius*; and That he warmly oppoſed the Attempts of this turbulent Man, who endeavoured to introduce into *Arpinum*, the Law for giving Suffrages in Writing. And there is ſome room for Suſpicion, that this *Marius Gratidius* was the Father of the great *Marius*. At leaſt *Cicero* ſeems to imply it, when he adds, in the ſame Place, That the Father began thoſe Tumults in his native City, which his Son *Marius* afterwards carried on, in a much greater Place. And indeed *Marius* as well as *Gratidius*, had made uſe of Violence, when *Tribune of the People*, to ſettle a new Way of Voting in the *Comitia* for electing Magiſtrates. But beſides that, *Plutarch* ſays, the Father of this *Tribune* was a very poor Man, who lived by his Labour, we are inclined to believe, That *Cicero* had in his View another *Marius*, ſurnamed *Gratidius*, whom we ſhall have occaſion to mention hereafter.

67 According to *Plutarch*, *Cicero* made ſuch vaſt Progreſs in his Studies when he was but a Child, that thoſe of his Age looked upon him as their Maſter; and theſe his School-Fellows made him known to their Fathers. Several *Romans* of the firſt Diſtinction, went to the publick Schools, to have the Pleaſure of hearing him; and all returned full of Admiration, and propoſed him to their Children for their Model. His firſt Application was to *Greek* and Poetry; and his firſt Eſſay in the poetick Way, was a Poem in *Tetrameters*, which was called *Pontius Glaucus*. This Fiſherman, who was ſo famous in the Fable, had already been the Subject of one of the Tragedies of *Æſchylus*. Before *Cicero* was arrived at the Age of Manhood, he tranſlated into *Latin* Verſe, *Aratus*'s Work on the Heavens and Conſtellations, as he himſelf informs us, in his ſecond Book, *De Nat. Deorum*; and the other poetick Pieces, which are aſcribed to him, are much of the ſame Stamp. The Remains we have of them, are ſufficient to ſhew that his Genius did not lay ſo much for Poetry, as Oratory. True Eloquence is not always a Friend to the Muſes. So that *Plutarch*, who calls *Cicero* a great Poet, is forced to acknowledge, That his Merit in this Way, was eclipſed at *Rome*, by the excellent Performances of *Lucretius*, *Virgil*, *Varius*, *Gallus*, *Ovid*, &c. and before them, by *Plautus* and *Terence*.

68 It is conjectured, That this *Sextius Julius Cæſar* was Uncle to the Conqueror of *Pompey*. His Siſter *Julia* was the Wife of *Marius*, according to *Plutarch*; and for this Reaſon, *Suetonius* ſays, That ſhe was Aunt to *Julius Cæſar*, the firſt *Roman* Emperor.

69 *Marcus Philippus*, according to *Cicero*, in his *Brutus*, was one of the moſt eloquent Perſons of his Age.

70 This *Marcus Livius Druſus*, was the Son of that *Marcus Livius Druſus*, whom we have ſeen *Conſul*, honoured with a *Triumph*, *Cenſor*, and the firmeſt Support of the Senate againſt the Violences of the *Gracchi*. *Velleius Paterculus* ſays of this *Tribune of the People*, That he had as well as an illuſtrious Deſcent, all thoſe Qualities which make a great Man; an uncommon Eloquence, great Penetration, and a probity and rectitude of Soul, which raiſed him above all mean and falſe Artifices. In ſhort, he wanted nothing, according to our Author, but the Favour of Fortune in the Execution of his Deſigns. But it may be ſuſpected, that the Panegyriſt flattered *Livius* a little, in order to make his Court to the Empreſs *Livia*, who was the Grandaughter of this *Tribune*, and to the Emperor *Tiberius Cæſar*, who was his great Grandſon. The Author of *The Lives of illuſtrious Men*, has given us a very different Character of *Livius*. He was, according to him, proud and haughty, and knew no Law but what favoured his Ambition. In order to ingratiate himſelf with the People, he gave them fine *Shows*, in his *Ædileſhip*, at his own Expence. But having little Regard for the Welfare of his Country, he received with Diſdain and Scorn, the Advice his Collegue in the *Tribunate* gave him, for the Service of the Republick. When he was *Quæſtor* in *Aſia*, he never would vouchſafe to appear, with the *Regalia* of his Office, becauſe he thought he did not want thoſe Ornaments to create him Awe and Reſpect. In the Schemes he laid for the *Allies* and the People, he openly

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Nature had given him, by the Study of Eloquence. He was a good Citizen, loved his Country, and had nothing in view, but to correct the Faults which Paſſion had introduced into the publick Adminiſtration. He was ſenſible, that the Diſcord between the three Orders of Men which made up the whole Body of the Republick, was the Source of all the Seditions which had hitherto diſturbed it. And tho', the Times were become a little more calm, ſince the Return of *Metellus Numidicus*, and the Removal of *Marius* from Employments: He ſaw, there was ſtill a great deal of Fire hid under the Aſhes, and doubted not but the leaſt blaſt of Wind would kindle it afreſh. The Senate ſuffered with Impatience the Uſurpations which the People and *Knights* had made upon them. The People murmured, becauſe the Execution of the *Gracchian* Laws was neglected, and complained that no Care was taken to aſſign them Lands. The *Allies* of *Italy* earneſtly preſſed to have all the Rights of *Citizenſhip*, and particularly that of Suffrages. And the *Roman Knights*, who had been for ſome Time the ſole Judges in civil Affairs, had made both the Nobility and the People their Enemies, by the Injuſtice [71] of their Decrees.

Vell. Pater. L. 2.

Theſe Wounds of the Republick much affected *Druſus*, now at the Head of the *Tribunate*, and he formed a Scheme to heal them all at once. But tho' his Intentions were probably upright, the Work was beyond the Power of Man. How could Intereſts ſo different be reconciled; or Minds ſo divided be united? The Nobility inſiſted on not parting with any of the Lands they had in their Poſſeſſion. The Senate inſiſted on their ancient Right of being joined in Commiſſion with the *Prætors*, to judge civil Cauſes; and deſired to have this Privilege taken from the *Roman Knights*, who had been inveſted with it by a late Law. The *Allies* aſpired at the Right of Suffrage, and at the Offices in the Republick, which they had ſo much aſſiſted in her Conqueſts. The old *Roman Citizens*, on the other hand oppoſed this; and would not debaſe their Privileges by making them too common. Nevertheleſs, *Livius Druſus* propoſed nothing leſs, than to reconcile all Parties, put an end to all Diſcontents, and ſettle the Republick on the ſame Foot, as in the Times of her firſt Virtue. A glorious Deſign; but now impracticable! The whole *Roman* Government was fundamentally wrong, and nothing could ſet it right, but changing it to its very Foundations. How could ſo rich and extenſive a Republick be wiſely governed, by ſo great a number of Men almoſt independent of each other? Its immenſe Riches excited the Covetouſneſs of private Perſons, and none aſpired at publick Offices, but in order to ſatisfy their Avarice. The *Prætors* ſent from *Rome* to the diſtant Provinces, were become ſo many petty Tyrants, whoſe haſte to enrich themſelves was the greater, in proportion to the ſhortneſs of their ſtay; and if any of theſe Oppreſſors were cited to appear before the *Roman Knights*; their Judges, who were as bad as themſelves, often protected them in their Injuſtice, and ſhared their Spoils with them. And when, with much Difficulty, any of thoſe publick Oppreſſors were condemned by the People, all the Conſequence was a Retirement to an agreeable Exile, where they enjoyed the Fruits of their Rapines, in plenty. Hence the eagerneſs of the Candidates for the *Prætorſhip*, and the other gainful Employments; hence the open and publick buying of Suffrages; hence the canvaſſings in *The Field of Mars*, which the moſt ambitious carried on, till they came to bloody Battles. Nay, even the Senate and People often came to Blows,

penly ſaid, That his Deſign was to deprive the Magiſtrates of all their Rights, and oblige them to lead unactive Lives. His Avarice led him to be guilty of the baſeſt Treachery to *Maguſſa*, a Prince of *Mauritania*, who, under the Protection of the *Tribunes*, had fled to *Rome*, to ſecure himſelf againſt the Hatred of King *Bocchus*. In Contempt of the publick Faith, and in Defiance of the ſacred Laws of Hoſpitality, *Livius* delivered up the unfortunate Prince into the Hands of the enraged King, who cauſed him to be trod to Death by an Elephant. *Micipſa* King of *Numidia* had ſent his Son *Adherbal* to *Rome* for an Hoſtage; and *Livius*, who hoped for a great Ranſom for him, hid him, and kept him Priſoner in his own Houſe, till the Price was paid for his Redemption. The Omiſſion of Facts of this Nature by the *Roman* Hiſtorians, gives us Reaſon to call in queſtion their Impartiality. But be that as it will, *Livius Druſus* had two Collegues, in the *Tribuneſhip*, who were entirely devoted to him. One was named *Publius Tarquitius*, according to *Julius Obſequens*; the other, according to *Cicero*, was that *Lucius Furius*, who accuſed *Manius Aquilius* of publick Oppreſſions. But that was not the Caſe of *Caius Carbo*; who was one of the *Tribunes of the People*, in this Year of *Rome* 662. No body oppoſed *Livius*'s Faction with more Vigour; and *Cicero* ſays, he was one of the moſt eloquent Orators of his Time. But, to prevent Miſtakes, it ought to be obſerved, That the *Caius Carbo* here ſpoken of, was the Son of that *Caius Papirius Carbo*, whom we have ſeen accuſed, p. 180, by *Lucius Craſſus*, at the Age of 21 Years, of being an Accomplice in the Murder of *Scipio Æmilianus*.

71 *Cicero*, in his *Oration for Poſthumius* ſays, That *Marcus Livius*, the *Tribune of the People*, openly accuſed the whole Body of the *Roman Knights*, of ſelling Juſtice to any that offered moſt.

in ſupport of their reciprocal Pretenſions. Theſe were the two prevailing Powers; one being ſuperior by their Numbers; the other by their Riches, and having the beſt Heads among them. The People were at the Will of their *Tribunes*, and led whither they pleaſed by their ſeducing Eloquence. The *Conſcript Fathers* were actuated by more ſecret Springs, which were ſet at work by their Ambition. But their different Views made them almoſt always oppoſe one another, and there were perpetual Diſſenſions among them. And in this Situation, how could theſe two Tribunals, in which was lodged the whole Legiſlative Authority, govern the World long? It every Day became more and more neceſſary, that the *Roman* Empire ſhould be governed by a ſingle Monarch; but the Time for this total Change was not yet come. The *Romans* were yet too jealous of their Liberty; but in ſacrificing to that Goddeſs, they ſacrificed only to their own Intereſt, without any Regard to the true Intereſt of the Provinces which were ſubject to them.

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§. XXVIII. But *Livius Druſus* had only ſuperficially conſidered the Diſtempers of his Republick, without ſearching them to the bottom; and by endeavouring to remedy only the external Evils, his very Remedies increaſed them, and made them incurable. He began with endeavouring to reconcile the Senators and *Knights*, which was an important Point; and thought he had found out an effectual Expedient for it. In order to do this gradually, he endeavoured to gain the Affections of all People; and made it his firſt Buſineſs to ſatisfy the ancient Allies of *Rome*, in *Italy*, eſpecially the *Latins*. *Fulvius Flaccus* when *Conſul*, in the Year 628, had given them Hopes, That he would get them put upon an equal Foot with the *Roman Tribes*; and That, tho' Strangers, they ſhould have active and paſſive Voices in all the Aſſemblies of the *Roman* People. A Privilege indeed, which they had very juſtly deſerved; becauſe it was by their Arms, that *Rome* had acquired and enlarged her Dominions, and her Glory. Theſe faithful *Italians* annually ſupplied the Republick with twice as many Soldiers as were raiſed in the Capital for her *Legions*. Was it reaſonable then, that they ſhould continue bare Subjects, while the Inhabitants of *Rome* made and confirmed the Laws, choſe the Magiſtrates, and engroſſed the chief Dignities to themſelves? On the contrary, theſe *Allies* had now long demanded to be put on a Level with them; and inſiſted, That they had merited this Equality, by their Labours, and the Blood they had ſpilt in the Service of the Republick. The two *Gracchi* had entered into their Meaſures, and would doubtleſs have done them Juſtice, if Death had not prevented the Proſecution of their Deſigns; and *Livius Druſus* now thought to have gained the Point in which they failed, by purſuing it in a different Method. He was ſo far from declaring himſelf an Enemy to the Senate, that he made Court to them, flattered them, and promiſed to reſtore them to their ancient Luſtre. And tho' it may be preſumed, he did not intend to deceive them, yet he was himſelf deceived by his own Chimæra's. When he was, as he imagined, ſupported by the Senate, and become agreeable to the Commons, whom he governed by his Eloquence, he ſpread Reports in the Cities near *Rome*, That he would ſoon paſs a Law, whereby all the *Allies* ſhould be inveſted with all the Privileges of *Roman Citizens*. This Promiſe was received with all imaginable Applauſes; and the neighbouring Nations thought themſelves arrived at the utmoſt of their Wiſhes. *We have at laſt*, ſaid they, *obtained the Rewards of our Labours. The Republick owes her very Being, and all her Grandeur to us; and we are now going to partake of the Authority, which ſhe exerciſes over all the World. All* Italy *will now be one Body of Sovereigns, who will determine the Fate of the World by their Suffrages; and we ſhall now ſee many* Conſuls, *and* Prætors *choſen from among our ſelves.* But as flattering as theſe Expectations were, and as cruel as it was to the *Allies* to diſappoint them; he who had raiſed thoſe Hopes, could not poſſibly fulfill them. By attempting it, he undeſignedly cauſed that unfortunate War to break out, at the very Gates of *Rome*, which the Hiſtorians ſometimes call a *Civil War*, ſometimes the *War of the Allies*, and ſometimes *the War of the Marſi*[73], becauſe it began in their little Country, which was full of brave Men.

App. Bell. Civ. L. 1. Florus Epit. Liv. Oroſius. L. 5. Vell. Paterc. L. 2.

In the mean time, *Druſus*, in his *Tribuneſhip*, made uſe of the Aſſiſtance of the neighbouring People, who crouded to the Capital, to help forward the Execution of his Schemes. Though they had not a Right of Suffrage, they had a great deal of Intereſt in *Rome*. The greateſt part of them were related to the *Citizens* by Intermarriages. Beſides, when Things were voted in the *Comitia*, a great many Strangers

73 See Vol 2. p. 159. Note 38.

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Sext. Julius Cæsar, & L. Marcius Philippus, Consuls.

always got into the Incloſure with the native *Romans*; and were not ſo carefully watched, but their Suffrages were taken. *Druſus* therefore, ſeeing himſelf ſupported by the formidable Faction of the *Allies*, publiſhed the vaſt Deſigns he had formed, in the following Speech. *I have formerly underſtood by my Father*, ſaid he, *that our domeſtick Diſſenſions are founded in the reciprocal Oppoſitions that all the Bodies of the Republick are pleaſed to make, againſt granting the Deſires and Claims of each other. The Commons are very deſirous of obtaining a Property in ſome Lands, but the Nobility oppoſe it. The Senators would again be Judges in civil Cauſes, as they formerly were, but the* Roman Knights *have deprived them of this Prerogative. The* Knights *are ambitious of Seats in the Senate-houſe; but the* Senators *refuſe to admit their Inferiours among them. And laſtly, Our* Allies *demand all the Rights of* Citizenſhip, *but our* Tribes *exclaim againſt it, and will not admit of ſuch an Equality. And theſe Broils among all Orders of Men threaten us with impending Ruin. This hidden Leaven, unleſs removed, cannot fail to produce a general Inſurrection. But the Gods themſelves, who watch for the Preſervation of the Republick which they protect, have inſpired me with a Deſign, which will unite all Hearts, and eſtabliſh perpetual Concord among us. Let us ſatisfy all Parties, by granting to each what they moſt deſire; and then all Factions will be at an End. Let the Senate, for inſtance, appoint ſome of their Members to ſit again as Judges, in the Suits between Man and Man. Let the* Knights *be added to the firſt Order of Men in the Republick, and have Seats in the Senate-houſe. Let our* Allies *have a Right to vote in our* Comitia, *and to be admitted to publick Offices. And let our indigent* Citizens, *in conſideration of their giving up a Part of their Privileges to the* Allies, *be put in Poſſeſſion of the Lands of the Publick, and have Corn given them* gratis, *for their Subſiſtence. When this is done, all Cauſes of Complaint will be removed; and Concord will again be eſtabliſhed, to the univerſal Satisfaction of all People. I frankly own,* Romans, *that to this ſingle Point all my Labours ſhall be applied, during my Office; and, I ſhall think myſelf very happy, if I can reconcile the* Senators *with the* Knights, *the Rich with the Poor, and the* Allies *with the* Citizens *of* Rome.

This Declaration kept all Orders of Men in ſuſpence. The Vulgar applauded it; but Men of Penetration ſaw the unſurmountable Difficulties that would prevent the execution of it. However, the *Tribune* himſelf did not yet perceive how chimerical his Project was; and he began, with propoſing in the *Comitia*, the *Agrarian* Law, and that for diſtributing to the Poor *gratis* as much Bread as they ſhould want, which had been paſſed in the time of the *Gracchi*, but had not yet been put in execution. He obſerved to the Aſſembly, That theſe were two Laws which mutually aſſiſted each other; That his Deſign being not only to leſſen the Poor in *Rome*, but likewiſe to provide for the better Maintenance of thoſe that ſhould remain there, theſe Ends would be promoted by theſe Laws; inaſmuch as the diminiſhing the Poor, by planting ſome in Colonies, or ſending them to cultivate Lands of their own in the Country, would make it the more eaſy to ſupport the reſt at the publick Expence: That there was no Reaſon to fear exhauſting the Treaſury by theſe Bounties, ſince the Sums were immenſe that were annually brought to it in Tributes from the Provinces; and, That the Temple of *Saturn*, where the publick Treaſures were depoſited, ought not to be made like the Sea, which ſwallows up every Thing, and returns nothing. But notwithſtanding all the Orator could ſay, his Law met with Oppoſition. It was urged, That it would be too great an Expence to the Publick, to give all the Corn that would be neceſſary to ſupport ſo great a number of Families; and That though there were then in the Treaſury, 1620829 Pounds [73] weight of Gold, yet *Rome* was threatened with a War with *Mithridates*, in the Eaſt; which made it neceſſary to ſave the publick Money, to maintain it. *Druſus* therefore found out an Expedient for encreaſing the Money in the Treaſury; which was to add an eighth Part of Braſs, to the pure Metal, of which the *Roman* Coin had hitherto been made; and by the help of this Alteration, he got the Laws paſſed, and the common People were ſatisfied.

Epit. Liv. L. 71. c. 20.

Plin. L. 33. c. 3.

Livy Ibid.

§. XXIX. But it was more difficult to reconcile the *Senators* and *Knights*. Nevertheleſs, the *Tribune* thought he had found out a Means to heal all their Diviſions, by removing the Cauſes of them. He flattered himſelf, that he could prevail on the

[73] Sixteen hundred and twenty Thouſand eight hundred and twenty nine Pounds weight of Gold, were worth above 300 Millions of *French* Crowns; allowing only 500 *Livres* to a Pound of Gold. Which would doubtleſs appear an incredible Sum, if it was not known, that all the Riches of the World centered in old *Rome*.

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Knights to give up the Judgment of Civil Cauſes, and procure them Admiſſion into the Senate, by a Compromiſe, which he thought infallible. He propoſed, That the Number [74] of the *Conſcript Fathers*, which had long been fixed to 300, ſhould be increaſed to 600; That in order to this, each *Senator* ſhould chooſe one of the chief *Knights*, that he liked beſt, who ſhould be incorporated into their own Body; and That out of this Body when thus enlarged, the Judges of Civil Cauſes ſhould be choſen. He took it for granted, that this would put an end to all Diſputes. In this Caſe, it might truly be ſaid, That the Senate had ſtill preſerved their ancient Rights; and That the *Knights* had not given up the diſtinguiſhing Honours that had been granted them. Such were the fond Speculations of the well-meaning *Livius*; who did not ſee the Vanity of them, till they came to be put in execution. Then both the Bodies, which he wanted to reconcile, declared with great Vehemence againſt the Scheme. The Chief of the [75] *Knights* refuſed, either to give up the Judgment of civil Cauſes, or to accept of Places in the Senate, where the Numbers would be ſo great, as to depreciate their Value. On the other hand, the Senators ſcorned to aſſociate, and put themſelves upon a Level, with Men, whoſe Money rather than their Birth, had made them the ſecond Order in the Republick. The bare Propoſal of the Deſign raiſed a greater Antipathy between the two Bodies than ever; and as is uſual with thoſe, who form Schemes for reconciling Parties, the Reconciler incurred the Hatred of both. Q. *Servilius Cæpio* put himſelf at the Head of the *Knights*, and the *Conſul Marcius Philippus* appeared for the Senate, to oppoſe the deſigned Accommodation. The *Conſul* indeed had no other Reaſon to hate *Livius*, but his ſuppoſed Oppoſition to the common Intereſt of the Nobility. But *Cæpio* had had perſonal Quarrels with him. They had formerly been united in a ſtrict Friendſhip, and their Coldneſs had begun on a very ſlight Occaſion. They had both cheapened a Ring of great Price, and one took the Bargain out of the other's Hands. From that time they kept no Correſpondence with one another; and as the ſtricteſt Friendſhips when broke off generally turn into the moſt implacable Hatred; they became conſtant Rivals to each other, and did each other all the Miſchief they could, in their Purſuit of Offices. *Livius* was more rich and liberal than his Adverſary. *Cæpio* was more artful, and better formed for Intrigues. Nevertheleſs, the former had gained the *Tribunate* from the latter; but *Cæpio* had now a favourable Opportunity to give *Livius* trouble in the Diſcharge of his Office. He put himſelf at the Head of the *Knights*, and haughtily refuſed to accept of a Place in the Senate, upon the Condition of giving up the Judgment of civil Cauſes. It was great Pleaſure to him to mortify *Druſus*, the Author of the Law; and from that Time *Druſus* inclined more than ever, to favour the Senate. *Scaurus* therefore, who preſided in it, and the *Conſul Marcius*, adviſed him, to take away from the *Knights* the Judgment of Cauſes, without advancing them to be Senators; and repreſented to him, That they had greatly abuſed their Authority; That Juſtice was become venal in their Hands; and That they had unjuſtly condemned ſome of the moſt virtuous Citizens. But Obſtinacy was the diſtinguiſhing Character of *Druſus*. Since he had gone ſo far as to propoſe his Law, he reſolved to ſupport it, without any Alteration: And by this Means he drew upon himſelf the beſt Heads in the Senate. The *Conſul Philippus*, and old *Scaurus*, became his Enemies: *Scaurus* with more Moderation, on account of his Age; but *Philippus* with all the [76] Fire of a Soldier. The latter loved good eating, and was an agreeable

Flor. L. 33.

74 According to *Liv. Epit. L.* 60. *Caius Gracchus* had, ſeveral Years before *Livius*, propoſed a Law in favour of the Equeſtrian Order, whereby Seats and Votes in the Senate were given to 600 *Knights* of the greateſt Merit. But *Appian de Bell. Civ. L.* 1. reduces their Number to 300. Either therefore this Law did not paſs, or it muſt have been diſannulled after the Death of *Caius Gracchus*. It is certain, it was not in force, ſince *Livius Druſus* offered to be the Mediator to treat of an Union of the Senators and the *Knights*, who were yet two ſeparate Bodies.

75 *Cicero* ranks *Caius Flavius Puſio*, *Caius Titinius*, and *Caius Mæcenas*, among the moſt conſiderable *Roman Knights*, who oppoſed the Attempts of the *Tribune Livius*.

76 According to *Val. Maximus*, *Marcius Philippus* declared againſt *Livius* with ſuch Fury, that the wiſeſt Senators thought it neceſſary to reſtrain him. They repreſented to him, That the preſent State of Affairs required a mature Deliberation; and That too precipitate an Ardour, inſtead of putting a Stop to the Evil, would make it more general. But the impetuous *Conſul* regarded neither Perſons nor Things; he conſulted nothing but his own Paſſion; and reſenting the ſeeming Dilatorineſs of the Senate, he broke out into Reproaches upon the whole Body, and even accuſed them of Prevarication, and of fomenting Diſcord by their mean Compliances. He went ſo far, as to ſay, in his Paſſion, That thoſe cowardly Senators, who betrayed the Intereſts of their Country, were unworthy of the Seats they filled; and That he could find others to put in their Room, who were truly *Romans*, and had Courage enough, to brave with

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agreeable Companion, but warm and impetuous, eſpecially in Matters of Honour; and it happened, That in the *Comitia Druſus* and *Philippus* one Day met on the *Tribune of Harangues*, and as ſoon as the *Tribune* opened his Mouth, the *Conſul* immediately interrupted him, and commanded him to hold his Peace. This was an Affront not to be borne, and it was immediately revenged. *Druſus* was ſtrongeſt in the Place where he exerciſed his Juriſdiction, and he called for Aſſiſtance. Upon this, one of his Clients immediately mounted the *Roſtra*, and ſeized *Philippus* ſo roughly by the Collar, and ſqueezed him ſo hard, that the Blood came out of his Noſe. The Aſſembly were ſurprized at the Sight of a bleeding *Conſul*; but the *Tribune* cried out, *It is very well; what you ſee run from his Noſe is not Blood, but the Gravy of Ortolans.* This Jeſt, alluding to the *Conſul*'s Epicuriſm, made the People laugh; and they quietly ſuffered *Philippus* to be carried to priſon by Violence.

Val. Max. L. 9. *c.* 5. *Florus L.* 3. *c.* 17.

This Succeſs increaſed the Confidence of *Druſus*. Tho' the Senate and *Knights* were his Enemies, the Commons had all declared for him. They had attained to their higheſt Wiſhes, by the Law, which granted them Lands, and a free Bounty of Wheat; and the *Tribune* thought himſelf not only ſafe under their Protection, but in a condition to treat the Orders of the Senate with Contempt. The *Conſcript Fathers* aſſembled in a different Place from that in which they uſually ſate, and ſent to ſummon him to appear before them, to give an Account of the Impriſonment of the *Conſul*. But *Druſus* proudly anſwered the Meſſenger, That if the Senate had any Thing to ſay to him they might find him in the *Comitium*; and That they ought to remove from the Place where they were, to the old Palace of King *Hoſtilius*, where they uſually held their Aſſemblies: And this firſt Body of the Republick had the Cowardice to comply with his Directions. *Druſus*, ſurrounded by the People had nothing to Fear, and ſupported his Conduct with a Steadineſs which diſconcerted the Senators. Nor did he with leſs Courage reſiſt the *Knights*, who laboured to render his Deſigns abortive by the Help of the factious *Cæpio*. He ventured to threaten this Head of their Party, to have him thrown down from the *Tarpeian Rock*.

Author. de Vir. Illuſt. Plut. L. 28. *c.* 9.

§. XXX. In the mean Time, the *Allies*, whom the *Tribune* had hitherto made uſe of, in the Execution of his moſt dangerous Enterprizes, preſſed him to conclude [77] their particular Affair. He had promiſed them, that before he went out of his Office, he would put them upon a Level with the *Roman Citizens*; and they inſiſted on the immediate Performance of this Promiſe. But as he had hitherto delayed drawing up their Petition in the Form of a Law, and propoſing it to the People, and now foreſaw more plainly than ever, the Difficulty he ſhould have in getting it paſſed, this threw him into Perplexity. To break his Word, was to loſe the Confidence and Protection of his beſt Friends, and in loſing them to hazard every Thing elſe. But whilſt the *Allies*, on one hand, were tiring him with their Sollicitations; the Senate, *Knights*, and *Roman Tribes*, on the other, all oppoſed the communicating their moſt glorious Privilege to Strangers. In ſhort, the prodigious Concourſe of the *Allies* to the City, their coming and returning, their private Meetings, and their ſeditious Commotions, gave him great Concern; and when he ſaw that his Rival *Cæpio* was at the Bottom of all theſe Cabals, it threw him into a deep Melancholy. It is ſaid, that in a Fit of Sorrow, he drank Goat's Blood, and immediately afterwards went to the *Comitium*, reſolving to paſs the Law in favour of the *Allies*, that very Day. But the Strength of his Draught brought on him a Fit of the Falling-ſickneſs in the Preſence of all the People, and being thought dead, he was carried to his Houſe. The *Allies*, who were intereſted in his Preſervation, openly teſtified their Grief at this Accident, and all the

with him, the Danger that threatened them. *Lucius Craſſus* anſwered theſe Inſults with a Steddineſs, which made the *Conſul* change Colour; and in his Rage, he ordered a *Lictor* to ſeize this Man, who was ſo venerable for his Birth and perſonal Merit. But *Craſſus*, ſtill preſerving his Gravity, repulſed the *Lictor*, who would have dragged him to priſon; and turning to *Marcius* ſaid, I will not allow a Man to be a *Conſul*, who does not treat me as a Senator.

[77] Among the chief of the *Allies*, who preſſed the *Tribune of the People* to get them the Right of *Roman Citizenſhip*, *Quintus Pompædius* was the warmeſt. He applied himſelf to young *Cato*, whom his Uncle *Livius* was bringing up, under his own Care; and uſed all means, to prevail on the Child, to ſollicit the Favour of the *Tribune* for the *Allies*. But *Cato* rejected the Application with a Firmneſs that ſurprized them. From Careſſes *Pompædius* proceeded to Threatnings, ſeized *Cato*, carried him up to the uppermoſt Floor in the Houſe, and in order to frighten him, pretended he would throw him out of the Window. But the Sight of the Danger, did not ſtagger the Conſtancy of the young *Roman*; and ſo much Courage at his Age, ſurprized *Pompædius*, and thoſe of his Faction. They retired in Confuſion, and reſolved to take more effectual Meaſures to gain their Point. This Account is given us, by *Plutarch* in his *Life of Cato of Utica*, and by *Val. Maximus*.

Cities of *Italy* made Vows for his Recovery. But we cannot think it probable, that, as ſome Authors ſay, he drank the Goat's Blood, only to caſt on *Cæpio* the Odium of having deſired to poiſon him. However, as ſoon as he was recovered from his Diſtemper, which had attacked him ſeveral Times before, and from the returns of which he had preſerved himſelf by Hellebore, he returned to his ordinary Buſineſs; and when he remounted the *Roſtra*, he found the People much altered with reſpect to himſelf. He had indeed got them Lands, or Bread for their Subſiſtence. But the Gratitude of the Populace is not Proof againſt the leaſt Diſcontents; and they reproached him with ſacrificing their Intereſt to the *Allies*. So that he was now deſerted, not only by the Senate, and *Knights*, but alſo by the *Roman* People. How then could he perform his Promiſe to the *Allies*? They came to *Rome* from all Parts, and were there equal in Number to the greateſt Armies. Nevertheleſs the *Tribune*, on whom alone all their Hopes depended, durſt not confer with them, but in dark Portico's and ſecret Places; and his Diſtruſt gave them Suſpicions, that they ſhould not be able to compaſs this favourite Point, by his Means. They therefore entered into a Plot, without his Knowledge, to extort by open Force, what they deſpaired of gaining by Intereſt; and a Company of them formed a Deſign to aſſaſſinate the *Conſuls*, during the Ceremony of *The Feriæ Latinæ*. This was a Solemnity, annually celebrated on *The Hill of Alba* after the Election of the great Magiſtrates. The two *Conſuls* went thither, were there inveſted with their Office, and again ſwore to obſerve the ancient Treaties with the Nations of *Italy*, on the Altar of *Jupiter Latialis*. It is probable, that this famous Sacrifice, at which were preſent Deputies from all the Cities, and a great Crowd of People, had been poſtponed, on account of the Troubles; and the *Latin* Malecontents were reſolved to mix the *Conſuls* Blood with that of the Victims. But notwithſtanding all the Care the Conſpirators took to conceal their Plot, *Druſus* was informed of it; and he acquainted *Sextus Julius Cæſar*, and *Marcius Philippus*, tho' his Enemy, with it. The *Conſuls*, under ſome Pretence, or other, kept from the Feaſt, and thereby ſaved their Lives. And *Druſus* was ill rewarded for his Probity. The Number of his Enemies increaſed daily; and *Cæpio* at the Head of the *Knights*, and the *Conſuls*, at the Inſtigation of the Senate, conſpired to deſtroy him. They drew to the City a great Number of *Hetrurians* and *Umbrians*, who were diſpleaſed with the Settlement of thoſe *Roman Colonies* which the *Tribune* propoſed to make in their Country; and nothing was heard but Complaints, againſt the raſh Enterprizes of *Druſus*. *Ought a young* Tribune, ſaid they, *to have Intereſt enough, to put all Orders of Men in the Republick in a Flame, with his wild Speculations? Is it to be expected, that at his Age, he ſhould become an univerſal Peace-maker? His Pretence of reconciling all Intereſts has only added Fewel to our former Diſcords.* Such were the Complaints of *Citizens*, and Strangers; and it was not to be conceived, but they muſt in the End prove fatal, to him that cauſed them.

Year of *ROME* DCLXII. SEXT. JULIUS CÆSAR, & L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS, Conſuls.

Cic. pro domo ſua.
Auth. de Vir. Illuſt.

App. Bell. Civ. L. 1.
Florus L. 3. c. 17.

§. XXXI. Indeed, *Druſus* began to fear the Fate of the *Gracchi*; and could draw but little Aſſurance from the Uprightneſs of his Intentions. Tho' a *Tribune of the People*, he had to do with Men, who were uſed to Slaughter; and were always as ready to ſhed Blood in the *Comitium*, as in a Field of Battle. He therefore kept at home, and appeared no more in Publick; and when he no longer ſpoke for himſelf, the Senate renewed their Declarations againſt him. They accuſed him of holding private Aſſemblies in his Houſe, and of making as ſeditious Harangues to a ſmall Company of his Friends there, as he had done from the *Roſtra*. Theſe Calumnies, which reached his Ears, obliged him to leave his Retreat, and appear before the People, in his own Vindication. But this was an unſeaſonable Step. It was already reſolved, that he ſhould be aſſaſſinated. Whether it was the People, or the *Allies*, or the *Conſuls* and Senate, or the *Roman Knights*, or *Quintus Varius* one of his Collegues, that hired the Villain who killed him, has never been ſufficiently cleared up; but the Suſpicion of this black Attempt againſt the ſacred Perſon of a *Tribune*, fell on the *Conſul Philippus*, *Cæpio*, and *Varius*. However, *Druſus* appeared again on the *Roſtra*, and harangued the People; and when he had done, he found that he was not eſcorted to his Houſe as uſual. Only a ſmall Number of Clients followed him; and among them was the Aſſaſſin, who did not ſtrike the Blow, till he had attended him to the Door of his Houſe. There the Villain ſtabbed him in the Groin, with a Shoe-maker's Knife, and left the Knife in the Wound. When *Druſus* felt himſelf wounded, he cried out, *Ungrateful Republick! Wilt thou ever find a Man more zealous for thy true Intereſt, than I have*

Year of *ROME* DCLXII.

SEXT. JULIUS CÆSAR, & L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS, Conſuls.

Vell. Pat. L. 2.

I have been? And a few Hours after expired. *Rome* had never ſeen more Misfortunes joined with more Virtue, in any of her Children. His Manners were blameleſs. This appeared by his Converſation with a Workman, who had agreed to build him a Houſe on the Hill *Palatinus*. Upon the Architect's telling him, that he would contrive it ſo, that Nobody ſhould overlook him; he anſwered, *No, let me be ſo expoſed to my Neighbours, that they may ſee every Thing that is done in my Houſe.* And for Love to his Country, he had no Equal. He dedicated all his Thoughts, Cares, and Life itſelf, to its Service. Indeed the Succeſs was not anſwerable to his Expectations; becauſe he conſidered the *Romans* as what they ought to have been, and not as what they were. If the Violence of their Paſſions had not blinded them, he would have ſucceeded in bringing about a ſincere Reconciliation, which alone could preſerve the Republick from impending Ruin. But as it was, he ſunk under the Weight of a glorious Enterprize, on which he had embarked on pure Principles of Honour; and Heaven ſoon after beſtowed on his Family the Empire of the *Romans*. *Livius Druſus* was the Grandfather of *Livia* the Wife of *Auguſtus*, and the great Grandfather of *Tiberius*.

As for the Senate, they purſued the generous *Tribune* with their Hatred, even beyond the Grave. They not only refuſed to order any Enquiries to be made after the Authors and Accomplices of his Death, but ſpread Reports that he had killed himſelf in Deſpair, upon ſeeing his Schemes prove abortive. At the Motion of the *Conſul Philippus*, all the Acts paſſed by him were diſannulled by a Decree. And *Varius*, at the Sollicitation of the *Knights*, ventured to deſire of the People, that Informations might be taken againſt thoſe who had entered into the Scheme of granting the Right of *Citizenſhip* to the *Allies*. *Varius* had been born in *Spain* on the Banks of the [78] *Sucro*, of a *Roman* Father, and a *Spaniſh* Mother; and on account of the Meanneſs of his Mother, the Nick-name of [79] *Hybris*, or *Mongrel*, was given him by way of Reproach. He was frightfully ugly, loved Intrigues, and with an exceſſive Impudence, and the Spirit of a Fury, had a pretty eaſy Manner of Speaking in Publick. He was jealous of the Reputation *Druſus* had acquired in his *Tribuneſhip*, and undertook to obliterate it, and ſucceed him in the *Roſtra*. But as he could not truſt to his own Merit and Intereſt, he gave himſelf up to the Faction of the *Knights*, and ſtood upon theirs. It was by their Advice, that he moved the People, that all thoſe who had been active in endeavouring to get the Right of *Citizenſhip* granted to the *Allies*, ſhould be accuſed of Treaſon; and by the Intrigues and Violences of theſe new Friends, he prevailed on the Commons to proſecute Men of the beſt Families in *Rome*, for being of *Druſus*'s Party. The *Knights* were their Judges, and they forced *L. Calpurnius Beſtia*, an old *Conſul*, to baniſh himſelf. *Marcus Aurelius* [80] *Cotta* followed his Example, and his Mother *Rutilia* accompanied him in his retreat. *Mummius* was baniſhed in his old Age, to *Delos*. And laſtly, the venerable *Scaurus* himſelf, the old Preſident of the Senate, was ſummoned by *Varius* to appear before the People, and made only this ſhort but weighty Defence. *The* [81] Mungrel *accuſes me of having been the Cauſe of the Diſcontents of our Allies.* Scaurus, the Prince of the Senate, *denies it. There are no Witneſſes. Judge You, who is to be believed.* Without farther Apology *Scaurus* was acquitted; and *Varius* confounded by the Shoutings of the People. And as a greater Puniſhment was due to the Villain than the Baniſhment to which he had brought ſo many others, he afterwards died in Torments by the Hands of the *Allies* themſelves. An end worthy of ſuch a Wretch, who was accuſed of having em-

Val. Max. L. 8. c. 6.

App. Bell. Civ.

Cic. de Nat. Deor. L. 3.

Cic. Orat. pro Scauro.

Val. Max. L. 3. c. 7.

78 The River *Sucro*, which the Natives now call the *Xucar*, riſes near *Cuença*; formerly watered a City of the ſame Name, in the Kingdom of *Valencia*; and falls into the *Mediterranean*, ſome Leagues from *Gandi*.

79 The Term *Hybris*, taken from the *Greek* ὕβρις, ſignified any Animal, that was born of a Male and Female of different Species; and it was applied to *Quintus Varius*, according to *Val. Maximus*, becauſe his Right to the *Roman Citizenſhip* was doubtful.

80 *Appian* ſays, That *Marcus Aurelius Cotta* appeared before the People, made a Speech himſelf with great Dignity, in Juſtification of his Conduct; and then, addreſſing himſelf to the *Roman Knights*, very pathetically deſcribed the ill Practices and monſtrous Abuſes, which they were accuſed of committing, in the Adminiſtration of Juſtice. After which he left the *Comitia*, without waiting for his Sentence of Condemnation, and went into voluntary Baniſhment.

81 According to *Val. Maximus*, *Quintus Varius* accuſed *Scaurus* of a Crime, in taking Money, contrary to Law, of *Mithridates*, when he was Ambaſſador for the Republick in *Aſia*. But *Aſconius* ſays, it was *Quintus Servilius Cæpio*, the moſt open Partizan of the *Roman Knights*, who accuſed *Scaurus*, and the *Conſul Philippus* at the ſame Time, at the Tribunal of the People: One for having adviſed *Livius* to transfer to the Senators only, the right of hearing all Cauſes, civil and criminal; and the other for canvaſſing for the *Conſulſhip* in an unlawful Manner.

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ployed the Aſſaſſin who had killed *Druſus*, and made uſe of Poiſon againſt *Metellus Numidicus!*

Year of *ROME* DCLXII. SEXT. JULIUS CÆSAR, & L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS, Conſuls.

§. XXXII. But all the Murders which were yet committed, in a manner with Impunity at *Rome*, were only the Forerunners of thoſe Maſſacres and Proſcriptions, which the Diſpute between *Sylla* and *Marius* were ready to produce. Their mutual Hatred was very near breaking out, upon a new occaſion of Jealouſy, which happened at this Time. *Bocchus*, King of *Mauritania*, had been very ſincere ever ſince his delivering up of *Jugurtha*. He was become a real Friend to the *Romans*, and retained a ſincere perſonal Regard for *Sylla*. And in order to teſtify his own Gratitude, and contribute to *his* Glory, he had caſt a Groupe of 20 Statues in Gold, which he preſented to the Republick. It was a *Victory* on a Pedeſtal, ſurrounded with the Soldiers of *Bocchus* attending *Jugurtha* in Chains, and *Sylla* receiving him from the King's Hands: And it was not only valuable for the Materials, but done in an exquiſite Taſte. The Senate ordered it to be placed in the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*; and this was enough to revive the Fury of *Marius*. He had *triumphed* over the King of *Numidia*, and *Bocchus* had given his Rival the Glory of the Conqueſt. He therefore highly reſented the Affront, and reſolved to take this laſting Monument, which tended to his Diſhonour, out of the *Capitol* by Force. On the other Hand, *Sylla* called his Friends together to defend *Bocchus*'s Preſent, and to ſupport his own Honour, which he thought nearly concerned in the Affair. So that the *Capitol* was ready to have been ſtained with the Blood of many *Romans*; but the People, by their Authority, put a Stop to theſe Beginnings of a Civil War; though, in reality they only delayed it. An Affair of more Importance obliged *Rome*, for the preſent, to pay court to both their Generals. The *Allies* were taking up Arms againſt the Republick; the Rupture was declared. *Pompædius Silo*, the moſt popular Nobleman, and the moſt famous Warriour among the *Marſi*, was already upon his march, at the Head of 10000 Men, and was coming to ſurpriſe *Rome*, which he had reſolved to plunder. But *Cn. Domitius*, the *Roman*, accidentally met *Pompædius* upon the Road, as he was going to his Country-houſe; and had Intereſt enough with him, to divert him from this Blow. Otherwiſe, the 10000 *Marſi* were ready to have demanded the Performance of *Druſus*'s Promiſes, in the *Comitia*, and to have given the *Romans* no quarter, in caſe of a Refuſal. However, as the People of *Rome* reſolved not to grant the *Allies* the right of Suffrage, they ſtill expected to ſee the Hoſtilities ſoon begun, by the People of *Italy*. The famous Orator *Craſſus* died [82] before theſe firſt Convulſions happened in the Republick; and *Cicero* his Panegyriſt, extols his Happineſs on that Account. The latter, though only in his ſixteenth Year, was already thought a Prodigy of [83] Eloquence, and having put on the *Toga Virilis*, began to appear frequently at the Bar; but the Troubles were ſo violent, that he thought not proper at his Age, to venture either to mount the *Roſtra*, or plead in the Courts of the *Roman Knights*.

Plut. in Mario & Sylla.

Diod. Sic. ap. Valeſ.

Cic. de Orat. L. 1.

§. XXXII. Thus the old expiring Year threatened *Rome* with two civil Wars, one with the *Allies*, the other between *Marius* and *Sylla*; and they ſoon followed one another, but that of the *Marſi* broke out firſt. The new *Conſuls* were choſen as uſual, in the *Field of Mars*; and two Men of diſtinguiſhed Merit were promoted. One

82 According to *Cicero*, *De Orat. L.* 3. the *Tribune Livius* had aſſembled the Senate, on the *Ides of September*; and *Marcius Philippus* appeared there with all the Pride of a *Conſul*. He treated that venerable Body with ſuch Inſolence, that it roufed the Zeal of the famous Orator *Lucius Craſſus*, who defended the Senate againſt the *Conſul* with ſuch vehemence, that it threw him into a Pleuriſy, of which he died, after ſeven Days Sickneſs.

83 The Time fixed for taking the *Toga Virilis* in the firſt Ages of the Republick, was 17 Years; of which *Cicero* gives us a Proof, in his Oration for *Marcus Cælius*. He ſays, that the Age for military Service, and for taking this Robe, was the ſame. Now, according to *Numa*'s Inſtitution, a *Roman* was fit to bear Arms, as ſoon as he was 17 Years old. Afterwards, the *Citizens* varied from this Cuſtom, and left it to Parents and Guardians, to give it when they pleaſed; and we have Inſtances in the old *Roman* Story, of young *Romans*, who put it on, before they were 17. *Auguſtus Cæſar*, according to *Suetonius*, was but 15, when he quitted the *Prætexta*. *Propertius* ſays, that this Change of Habit was made with great Solemnity before the Altar, or Statue, of ſome Divinity; and *Ovid* tells us, that the *Third of the Ides of March*, that is, the 17th of that Month, was the Day generally pitched upon for that Ceremony. The *Romans* then celebrated the Feſtival called *Liberalia*, in honour to *Bacchus*; and the Poet gives us this Account of the Reaſons that led the Republick to chooſe a Day conſecrated to that God.

Reſtat, ut inveniam, quare toga libera detur
Luciferis pueris, candide Bacche, tuis.
Sive, quod ipſe puer ſemper, juvenisque videris,
Et media eſt ætas inter utrumque tibi.
Seu, quia tu pater es, patres, ſua pignora, natos
Commendant curæ numinibuſque tuis.
Sive, quod es Liber, veſtis quoque libera per te
Sumitur, & vitæ liberioris iter.

Year of ROME DCLXIII.

L. Julius Cæsar, & P. Rutilius Lupus, Conſuls.

was *L. Julius Cæſar*, the other *P. Rutilius Lupus*. In what Degree of Relation this *L. Julius Cæſar* ſtood to *Sextus Julius Cæſar* the late *Conſul*, is not known. All that is certain is, that the latter was Brother to one *Caius* [84] *Julius Cæſar*, whom we ſhall ſee ſolliciting for the *Conſulſhip* in vain. They were all of the *Julian* Family, and related to the famous *Julius Cæſar*, who after the Defeat of *Pompey*, poſſeſſed himſelf of the Empire of the World, and turned the Republick into a Monarchy. *Lucius Cæſar*, who was very brave, and very ambitious, had the Misfortune to be the firſt Man that attempted to reduce the *Allies*, and bring them to Reaſon. The War, of which he was to bear the firſt Fire, proved very fatal to the *Romans*. *Rome*, the Miſtreſs of the World, ſeemed fallen back to the ſame State, in which ſhe had been in her earlieſt Infancy. She was now to re-conquer the ſame Nations, which ſhe had with ſo very great Difficulty ſubdued, when ſhe was yet in her Cradle. The *Marſi*, *Peligni* [85], *Samnites* [86], *Campani* [87], *Lucani* [88]; and in ſhort, all the [89] Provinces near the *Tyber*, revolted at once, from the Capital of *Italy* and of the World. They had formerly been ſubdued one by one, but they were now to be fought together, all united in one Confederacy. Beſides, theſe *Nations* ſeemed to be now, a very different Sort of People, from what they had been when *Rome* firſt overcame them. By being in Alliance with her, they had, in ſome Meaſure, imbibed her Spirit and Courage. Having been taught the ſame way of fighting as the *Romans*, armed like them, accuſtomed to the ſame Way of encamping, the ſame Order in forming themſelves, and the very ſame Evolutions, and in ſhort, being as well diſciplined as they, it may be affirmed, that the Republick never engaged with more formidable Enemies. The Chiefs had learnt the Art of War, under the moſt famous *Conſuls*, and had at laſt as much Experience as the Generals choſen annually in the *Field of Mars*. It was ſaid of the *Marſi* in particular, that there never had been a *Triumph* in *Rome*, on account of any Victory, in which they had not had the greateſt Part. Such were the Rebels, whoſe Fury the preſent *Conſuls* were to ſuſtain. Their old Attachment to *Rome* was turned into Rage againſt her; and indeed, their Complaints were reaſonable. The *Roman* Hiſtorians themſelves confeſs, that the War they entered into was not unjuſt.

The firſt Step they took in their Revolt was to appoint themſelves a Capital which ſhould rival *Rome*; where ſhould be held Aſſemblies of the new Republick, to which the Deputies of every City in the Confederacy ſhould come; and which ſhould be their chief Magazine of Arms, for carrying on the War. *Corfinium* [90], a great and ſtrong City, in the Country of the *Peligni*, was choſen for theſe Purpoſes; and thither were carried the Hoſtages which were taken from all the Cities in the Revolt, and prodigious Stores of Arms and Proviſions. But theſe Preparations could not be ſo privately made, as to be kept ſecret from the *Romans*, who had their Spies, in all the Places which they ſuſpected. It happened, that the City of [91] *Aſculum Picenum* reſolved, among the reſt, to ſend her Hoſtage to *Corfinium*, to ſhew her Adherence to the Rebels; and *Q. Servilius*, who then governed that Country in quality of *Pro-Conſul*, was informed of their Determinations. Upon this Information, he made all haſte to *Aſculum*, and entered it with that air of Authority, which the *Roman* Magiſtrates generally aſſumed over the Cities in their Provinces. The *Aſculani* were then aſſembled in the Theatre, to ſee ſome publick *Shows*, and the *Pro-Conſul* thought fit to interrupt

Strabo L. 5.
App Bell. Civ. L. 1.
Velleius, L. 2.

84 It was that *Caius Julius Cæſar* who was ſurnamed *Strabo*, becauſe he ſquinted. *Cicero* highly extols this illuſtrious *Roman*, in ſeveral Parts of his Works. He particularly mentions his Learning, Wit, Politeneſs, and Chearfulneſs. *Aſconius* aſcribes to him ſome Orations and Tragedies, which were remarkable for nothing but the Elegance and Purity of their Style. *Donatus* quotes ſome Verſes of his, in the *Life of Terence*, and *Feſtus* mentions two Verſes taken from a dramatick Piece of his, called *Adraſte*. An old Inſcription engraven on the Pedeſtal of a Marble Statue tells us, that he was *Quæſtor*, *Curule Ædile*, *Tribune of the People*, one of the *Decemviri* appointed to ſettle the Bounds of Fields, and one of the *Pontifices*.

85 The Cities of *Sulmona*, *Corfinium*, and *Superequum*, belonged to them. See Vol. 2. p. 145. Note 17.

86 See Vol. 2. p. 109. Note 63.

87 See Vol. 2. p. 123. Note 89.

88 See Vol. 2. p. 156. Note 33. of the Country of the *Lucani*. The *Bradano* ſeparates it from *La Pouille*.

89 Of this Number were the *Picentini*, the *Veſtini*, the *Marrucini*, all ancient Nations of *Italy*, before deſcribed; and in ſhort, all the Nations that were ſpread from the *Carigliano*, to the *Adriatick* Sea.

90 *Corfinium*, the Capital of the *Peligni*, appears by *Sigebert's Chronicon*, to have been in being, in the Year of *Chriſt* 960, as *Strabo* obſerves. But it is now buried in its Ruins. Some Footſteps of it are ſtill to be ſeen near *Popolo*, a City in *Hither Abruzzo*.

91 See Vol. 2. p. 457. Note 92; and p. 499. Note 74.

the *Shows*, and threaten the Burghers with the Vengeance of *Rome*. But both the Times, and their Hearts, were much changed. They deſpiſed his Menaces, and inflicted the threatened Puniſhment, which they no longer dreaded, on himſelf. They put him, *Fonteius* his Lieutenant-General, and all the *Romans* they found in their Territory, to death; and by ſpilling their Blood, declared open War. Then *Rome* immediately levied her Troops, and nominated her Generals; and the Provinces that fell to the two *Conſuls* were, *Samnium* to *Cæſar*, and the Country of the *Marſi* to *Rutilius*. The latter choſe for his Lieutenant-Generals, *Cn. Pompeius*, the Father of *Pompey the Great*, the famous *C. Marius* the Conqueror of the *Cimbri*, *Q. Cæpio* the late *Tribune*, *C. Perperna*, and *Valerius Meſſala*. *Cæſar* nominated for his chief Officers, *P. Lentulus* his Brother by the Mother's Side, *Cornelius Sylla* who was already ſo well known by his Exploits, *T. Didius*, *P. Licinius Craſſus*, and *M. Marcellus* [92]. By theſe Names it appears, that *Rome* had choſen her moſt famous Warriours to be employed againſt theſe new Enemies; and it was reſolved, That theſe Lieutenant-Generals ſhould not barely be Subalterns under the *Conſuls*. Every one had a ſmall Body of Troops under his own Command, with the Title of *Pro-Conſul*. Nor was each fixed to a particular Province with Orders not to leave it. Every one had Orders to go whereſoever he was wanted, and all were directed to aſſiſt each other, without confining themſelves to particular Diſtricts.

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L. Julius Cæsar, & P. Rutilius Lupus, Conſuls.

Vell. Paterc. L. 2. Oroſ. L. 5.

App. L. 1. De Bell. Civ. Vell. Paterc. L. 2.

§. XXXIV. Whilſt *Rome* was taking theſe wiſe Meaſures, the *Allies* alſo choſe their *Conſuls* and *Prætors* at *Corfinium*, and ſettled the Form of their new Republick. The Reader therefore muſt take Care to remember, that both the *Romans* and their Enemies, made uſe of the ſame Names, for different Perſons and Things, (which is not to be wondered at in People who ſpake the ſame Language) otherwiſe he will introduce Confuſion in this Part of the Hiſtory. The confederated Rebels choſe for their *Conſuls*, *Q. Pompædius Silo*, and *C. Aponius Mutilus*, whom ſome Hiſtorians call *Papius*; and then choſe their *Prætors* for the ſeveral Cantons which had come into the Confederacy. *Herius Aſinius* was appointed to command in the Country of the [93] *Marrucini*; *Vettius Cato*, in that of the *Marſi*; *M. Lamponius*, and *Tiberius Cleptius*, in *Lucania*; *Marius Egnatius*, *Trebatius*, and *Portius Teleſinus*, in *Samnium*; *C. Judacilius* commanded the Troops of *Apulia* and [94] *Picenum*; and *A. Cluentius*, thoſe of the *Peligni*. The Officers that ſignalized themſelves moſt among the Rebels, after their Leaders, were *T. Afranius*, *P. Ventidius*, *C. Pontidius*, *L. Preſenteius*, and *T. Herennius*. Thus we ſee into how many Provinces the Contagion was ſpread. The *Picentes*, *Veſtini* [95], *Peligni*, *Marrucini*, *Apuli* [96], *Frentani* [97], *Hirpini* [98], *Pompeiani* [99], and in ſhort, all the Nations from the *Liris* to the *Adriatick* Sea, took up Arms; and the new State was governed by a Senate conſiſting of 500 Perſons, choſen out of all the confederate Nations. So that there were now, for the firſt time, two *Romes*, and two Republicks [100], in *Italy*.

Epit. Livian. Velleius. Appian.

Upon the firſt Alarms of the approaching War, the *Romans* knew not the whole Strength of their new Enemies; and the moſt ſuperſtitious were terrified by certain [101] Prodigies. Among others, it was ſaid, that *Cæcilia Metella*, the Daughter of *Me-*

Jul. Obſeq. c. 115.

92 *Velleius Paterculus* adds to theſe General Officers, the Son of *Quintus Metellus Numidicus*.

93 See Vol. 2 p. 217. Note 88. Some ancient Authors ſay, the *Marrucini* came originally from the *Sabines*.

94 Before the Conqueſt of *Samnium*, by the famous *Curius*, in the Year of *Rome* 463, by the *Picentini* were meant only the Inhabitants of *Picenum*, which is now Part of the *Marquiſate of Ancona*, and of *Further Abruzzo*. After the *Samnites* had been ſubdued, the *Romans* joined to *Picenum* all that Part of *Campania* which reaches from *Sorrento* to the River *Silanus*. And after this Union, the Inhabitants of *Picenum* were called *Picentes*, and thoſe of the Country added to the old Province, were called *Picentini*; according to *Strabo*, *B.* 5.

95 See Vol. 2. p. 217. Note 87.

96 The People of *La Pouille* were anciently called *Apuli*.

97 See Vol. 3. p. 95. Note 39.

98 See Vol. 2. p. 210. Note 68.

99 See Vol. 2. p. 283. Note 90.

100 Moreover, in a general Aſſembly held at *Corfinium*, it was reſolved, That every Year during the War, two new *Conſuls*, and twelve *Prætors*, ſhould be choſen out of the 500 new Senators, after the manner of the *Roman* Republick. The Countries in the Confederacy againſt *Rome*, were divided into two *Provinces*, each of which was to be governed by one of the *Conſuls*; and to each *Conſul* were aſſigned ſix *Prætors*, to aſſiſt him in the diſcharge of civil and military Functions.

101 Of all theſe Events which Ignorance and Superſtition turned into Prodigies, there was none that alarmed the *Romans* more, than the Marriage of an Hermaphrodite. The unfortunate Creature was looked on as an Object of Execration, which fore-boded ſome terrible Diſaſter; and after he had firſt been brought before the Senate, and from thence to the Tribunal of the *Auguri*, he was by the Advice of the *Aruſpices*, condemned to be burnt alive.

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Tellus Balearicus had had a Dream, which ſeemed to preſage ſomething fatal. She was ſaid to have ſeen, in her Sleep, that *Juno the Protectreſs*, who was called *Juno Soſpita*, ready to quit the Temple, dedicated to her on the Hill *Palatinus*. *Rome* therefore appeaſed the Anger of the Goddeſs, by cleaning her Temple of the Filth that polluted it, through the Negligence of the Prieſts. After many Expiations, *Pompeius* marched with a Detachment from *Rome*, to revenge the Death of *Servilius*, and punish the *Aſculini*; and he attempted to take their City by Aſſault. But the Inhabitants made an unexpected Sally, put the *Romans* to flight, and he ſuffered a conſiderable Loſs. So that all the firſt Expeditions againſt the *Allies* turned to the Diſadvantage of the *Romans*. What exaſperated the People of *Italy* the more, was the little Regard the *Roman* Senate had ſhewn to the Deputation they had ſent to them, before they were reſolved to take the Field. *The Pretenſions, which we come to lay before you*, Conſcript Fathers, ſaid the Deputies, *are neither new, nor tumultuouſly claimed. Our Fore-fathers, have a great while paſt, been deſirous of being incorporated into your Republick; and thought they had ſome Right to partake of the publick Honours of the* Roman *Government, ſince they bore their Share of the Expences and Fatigues of her Wars. And if you continue your contemptuous Treatment of us, we are now determined to demand theſe Rights of you Sword in Hand. Determine therefore, once for all, whether you chuſe to have us for your Enemies, or Citizens of your City. If you think us unworthy to be incorporated in the ſame Body with you, take a View of the whole World, which has been conquered by our joint Forces. Will you make uſe of the great Power you have acquired, only to keep thoſe in perpetual Subjection, who were the Authors of it? Beſides, what right has* Rome *to uſurp this Superiority over the other Cities of* Italy? *Is it her Antiquity? She was not in Being, when the greateſt Part of our Cities were well known by the Valour of their Inhabitants. Is it the noble Deſcent of your Citizens? Except a ſmall number of Families that came from* Alba *and* Sabinia, *the* Romans *were originally nothing better than a Company of Slaves and Banditti. Whereas we have many illuſtrious Families, which trace up their Origin to the Kings of the* Aborigines. *If you ſcorn to admit them into your* Tribes, *you have not diſdained to mix their Blood with yours. You have received them into your Families by Marriages, ſo that our Daughters at leaſt are become* Roman. *Is it then juſt to refuſe the ſame Regard to their Fathers and Brethren? Spare us therefore,* Romans, *Spare your ſelves, the Miſeries of ſeeing your own, as well as our Provinces laid waſte, as they were in the Days of* Pyrrhus *and* Hannibal. At theſe Words, a Noiſe roſe in the Aſſembly which ſhewed their Indignation; and the Senate ordered this Anſwer to be given the Deputies, *That* Rome *would receive no more Ambaſſadors from the* Italians, *till they came in a ſupplicant Manner, and with Marks of Repentance.*

App. Bell. Civ. L. 1.

Jul. Obſ. c. 115.

After this, the *Conſuls* went and put on their military Habits in form; and the Cruelty of the *Allies* to the *Roman Citizens* whom they found in their ſeveral Countries, helped to haſten their Departure. News was brought to the Senate, That the *Picentes* had barbarouſly murdered ſome *Romans*, and *Italians* who had been born in Countries which refuſed to come into the Revolt. Nay, it was ſaid, that their Rage was ſuch, that they even ſcalped the Women that were not of their Party. The Author of theſe Barbarities, was a *Cilician* Pyrate, who had eſcaped out of Priſon at *Rome*, and had gained himſelf ſome Reputation among the *Italians* by his Ferocity. The Territories of all the Cities that adhered to the *Romans*, were pillaged by the Troops he commanded. *Vericulum*[102] in *Umbria*, *Peſulæ*[103] in *Hetruria*, *Carſeoli*[104] in the Country of the *Æqui*, *Nuceria*[105], and *Picentia* in *Campania*, adhered with Conſtancy to the *Romans*; and the Inhabitants of *Pinna*[106] in the Country of the *Veſtini*, were ſo ſignally faithful that they ſuffered their Children's Throats to be cut before their

Diod. Sic. apud Valeſ.

102 See Vol. 2. p. 292. Note 3.

103 *Peſulæ*, formerly one of the moſt conſiderable Cities in *Hetruria*, is now but a very ſmall one, called *Fiezoli*, three Miles from *Florence*. See Vol. 3.

104 On the right Bank of the *Tiverone*, ſtood the City of *Carſeoli*, in that Part of *Campagna di Roma* which the *Æqui*, a People of old *Latium*, had poſſeſſed, even before the Foundation of *Rome*. See Vol. 2. p. 309. Note 56.

105 The City of *Nuceria* here ſpoken of ſtood in *Campania*. See Vol. 2. p. 283. Note 93. As for the City of *Picentia*, which gave its Name to *Picenum*, of which it was the Capital, it is now only a ſmall Town belonging to the Territory of *Salerno*, near the River *Silaro*. We have mentioned four Cities of *Nuceria*, in different Parts of this Work.

106 *Pinna* ſtill in a great meaſure preſerves its ancient Name in that of *Civita di Penne*, a City of *Further Abruzzo*, of which the *Veſtini* poſſeſſed that Part which lays between the Rivers of *Piombe* and *Peſcara*.

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Faces, rather than ſurrender at the Deſire of the Rebels. But as *Eſernia* [107], and the City of *Alba* [108] in the Country of the *Marſi* three Miles from the Lake [109] *Fucinus*, were both *Roman Colonies*, they were firſt inſulted by the Armies of the *Allies*, as ſoon as they had taken the Field; and upon this News the *Conſuls* inſtantly marched away to the Relief of thoſe Places. *Julius Cæſar* entered *Samnium*, and *Rutilius* the Country of the *Marſi*, to begin Hoſtilities there. The *Latins*, who ſtill adhered to their Duty, followed the *Conſul*, and furniſhed their Contingent of Troops, as uſual. The *Hetruſci* likewiſe, and *Umbri*, and a great number of Cities, even in the Countries where the Revolt moſt prevailed, were not drawn in. And out of theſe conſtant Friends, and ſome *Roman Legionaries* the *Conſuls* raiſed two great Armies. The faithful [110] *Minatius Magius*, though an *Aſculan* by Birth, raiſed as many Men for them, as amounted to the Number of a *Legion*. *Sertorius*, who was only *Quæſtor* in *Ciſalpine Gaul*, brought a Reinforcement of *Gauls*, to the Relief of his Country; and fought the *Allies* with a Bravery, of which he had already given ſome Proofs, though not ſo glorious ones as we ſhall ſee him give hereafter. He loſt an Eye in this War, and rather gloried in, than lamented, a Deformity, which did him Honour. To which I might add the Multitudes of foreign [111] Soldiers, which were ſent by the Eaſtern Kings, to ſupport *Rome*, in her Wars in the Heart of *Italy*. But after all the Preparations of the *Romans*, their Forces were not more than equal to thoſe of their Enemies. The *Allies* were not inferiour to them, either in number of Men, or Places of Importance, or Riches, or Capacity for the War.

Vell. Pat. L. 2. Plut. in Sertorio.

§. XXXV. When the *Conſul Rutilius* had pitched his Camp in the Country of the *Marſi*, and was ready to begin Hoſtilities, he diſcovered that the Enemy were apprized of his Deſigns; and this renewed his Anger, and Suſpicions of *Marius*. He concluded, that the ambitious *Roman*, who was impatiently greedy of Honour, was endeavouring to ſtop his Progreſs, in order thereby to make himſelf neceſſary to the Republick, the next Year, and obtain a ſeventh *Conſulſhip*, and the Glory of finiſhing the War with the *Allies*: And upon theſe Suſpicions, he went ſo far, as by Letter to the Senate, to accuſe him, though his Relation, of Treaſon, and bring ſeveral Officers of his Army under the ſame Suſpicion. But the *Conſul* was too precipitate in his Proceedings. Upon Enquiry, it appeared, that ſome of the Enemy's Soldiers, who had come into the *Roman* Camp, had privately given the *Italian* Generals notice, of every Thing that was done in the *Conſular* Army. *Rutilius* himſelf was convinced of the Falſhood of the Accuſation; but it was now too late to repent. The Hearts of his Officers were violently ſet againſt him, and he could never regain their Confidence: And to this doubtleſs were owing the Misfortunes of the Campaign. Nevertheleſs, *Marius*, like an able General, was continually adviſing the *Conſul*, to inure his Troops well to exerciſe, before he ventured them in the open Field. But *Rutilius* took this Freedom ill. He imagined that *Marius* had nothing in view but to obſtruct his Glory, and reſerve the Laurels which he ſhould not gather, for himſelf; and therefore reſolved to attack the Enemy without delay.

The Country of the *Marſi* was defended by two of the Generals of the Rebels, *Preſentejus*, and *Vettius Cato*. The former was watching to ſee what Step the *Romans* would firſt take; and the Officer that oppoſed him was *C. Perpenna*, who commanded a great Body of Troops, under the *Conſul*. *Perperna* moved firſt, and offered *Preſen-*

App. Bell. Civ. L. 1.

[107] *Eſernia* an ancient City of *Samnium*, ſtood beyond the *Apennines*, on the Banks of the *Vulturnus*. It is now called *Iſernia*.

[108] See Vol. 2. p. 305. Note 37.

[109] See Vol. 1. p. 558. Note 8.

[110] *Velleius Paterculus*, in the ſecond Book of his Hiſtory, does himſelf the Honour to reckon among his Anceſtors *Minatius Magius*, who was highly eſteemed for his Fidelity and Adherence to *Rome* during the War with the *Allies*. He was the Grandſon of *Decius Magius*, the illuſtrious Citizen of *Capua*, whoſe heroic Firmneſs againſt *Hannibal's* Party, we have admired, in the third Volume; and he inherited the Zeal and Courage of that great Man. *Minatius* gave ſignal Proofs of this on ſeveral Occaſions; but particularly at the ſiege of *Hirpinum*, the City of *Campania*. He ſhared the Glory of this Conqueſt with *Titus Didius*. Nor did he leſs diſtinguiſh himſelf at the Siege of *Pompeium*, another City of that Country, under the Command of *Lucius Sylla*. He alone, by his Prudence as much as his Valour, reduced *Coſa*, a City of *Calabria* to Obedience. So that *Minatius* well deſerved, by the important Services he perſonally did the Republick, the Right of *Roman Citizenſhip* for himſelf, and the Office of *Prætor* for his two Sons, whom the *Roman* People honoured with it. This Elogium is given of him, by *Velleius Paterculus*, one of his Deſcendants, who ſays, That before his Time, ſeveral Writers, and particularly the Queen *Hortenſia*, in her Hiſtorical Memoirs, had celebrated the Name and Exploits of *Minatius*. *Memnon* ſays, That *Heraclea*, a conſiderable City of *Bithynia*, ſituated on the *Euxine* Sea, ſhould contain two Gallies, and ſend them to *Rome*, for the Service of the Republick.

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teius Battle. The latter rejoiced in an Opportunity to begin Hoſtilities in the open Field; and the Succeſs was anſwerable to his Expectation. The *Romans* fled before him, and loſt about 4000 Men. *Rutilius*, enraged at this unfortunate Beginning of a War, the Conſequences of which were ſo much to be dreaded, immediately deprived *Perperna* of his Command, and joined the Remains of his defeated Troops to thoſe *Marius* commanded. By this Means, the Forces of the Republick in this Country were almoſt equally divided between the *Conſul*, and *Marius* one of his Lieutenant Generals. But the latter could not forgive *Rutilius* the injurious Suſpicions he had entertained of his want of Fidelity; and from that Time, entertained in his Heart an implacable Hatred to him. The publick Intereſt only obliged him to diſſemble, and to act in Concert with his General. They were encamped ſeparately, but at a little diſtance from each other, upon the two Banks of the [112] *Telonius*; a River which waters the Country of the *Marſi*, and falls into the [113] *Velinus*. That they might be able mutually to aſſiſt each other, they threw two Bridges over the River, each at the Head of his Entrenchments. The Enemy's General that oppoſed them, was *Vettius Cato*, who had poſted himſelf nearer to *Marius* than the *Conſul*. Nevertheleſs, he fancied he ſhould be able to give the beſt Account of *Rutilius*'s Troops; and he narrowly watched his Motions, keeping in a Readineſs to take Advantage of the firſt falſe Step. Soon after, *Vettius* was informed by his Spies, that the *Conſul* would paſs the River the next Night. The Place, and the Darkneſs he thought favourable, for laying an Ambuſh for the *Conſular* Army; and they inconſiderately fell into the Snare. Upon being unexpectedly attacked, the *Romans* were driven back to the River; and the Battle was bloody on their Side, who loſt 8000 Men. The *Conſul* himſelf was mortally wounded in the Head, and left dead upon the Place, with a great Number of the Nobility who attended him; and the Action was ſo ſudden, that *Marius* had no notice of it in his Camp, till the River had brought thither a great Number of dead Bodies. But at this Sight, the brave *Roman* ran to revenge the Defeat of his Friends, attacked *Vettius*'s Camp, which was almoſt deſerted, and made himſelf [114] Maſter of it. A poor Reprizal for ſo conſiderable a Loſs, as *Rome* had ſuffered in the late Action!

Oroſ. L. 5. App. L. 1. de Bell. Civ.

Florus. App. Jul. Obſeq. c. 115. Oroſius.

§. XXXVI. The News of this great Overthrow filled *Rome* with [115] Terror; which increaſed, when the *Conſul*'s Body was brought thither, to receive the uſual funerary Honours. The People doubled their Cries and Lamentations, till at length the Conſternation was ſo great, that the Senate thought proper to order, That for the future, they who were killed in War, ſhould be buried in the Places where they were ſlain, and not be brought to *Rome*. The *Allies* alſo made the ſame Rule. During the Time of Mourning for the *Conſul*, all the Inhabitants of *Rome* changed their City Habits for Military ones, and increaſed their Centinels and Guards on [116] the Ramparts and at the Gates; and the Senate ordered, That *C. Marius* and *Q. Cæpio* ſhould divide between them the Command of the *Legions* which *Rutilius* had commanded. *Cæpio* had gained ſome ſlight Advantage over the Enemy; and he triumphed to find, that the *Conſcript Fathers* had, at his Age, put him upon a Level with the greateſt General in the Republick. But his Vanity was ſoon puniſhed. *Pompædius Silo*, the Generaliſſimo of the *Italians*, a Man of great Ability for War, and Stratagems, thought he could take Advantage of *Cæpio*'s preſent Diſpoſition, and in order to deceive him, he came to him as a Supplicant to his Conqueror. With him, came two young Slaves richly dreſſed, whom he pretended to be his Sons; each carrying in his Hand pieces of Lead, covered with very thin Plates of Gold and Silver, which he ſaid were the Preſents which his Children came to lay at his Feet. This raiſed *Cæpio*'s Avarice, and flattered his Vanity; and he

Vell. Paterc. L. 2.

App. de Bell. Civ. L. 1.

[112] The *Telonius*, which others call the *Volanus*, is the little River of *Turano*, which joins the *Velino* near the City of *Rieti*, in the Dutchy of *Spoleto*.

[113] See Vol. 2. p. 279. Note 61.

[114] *Appian* ſays, That *Vettius Cato*, having loſt his Camp, was obliged to paſs the Night in the Field of Battle, which he left the next Morning, by break of Day; and this brisk Retreat raiſed the Courage of the *Romans*, and gave them Time to regain their Intrenchments. Some imputed this unfortunate Defeat to the Raſhneſs or Irreligion of *Rutilius*. He had, according to Cuſtom, offered a Sacrifice to procure himſelf Succeſs in his deſigned Expedition. The Entrails of the Victim, ſays *Julius Obſequens*, foreboded nothing but Diſaſters; and theſe Preſages were thought forerunners of the Anger of the Gods. But the *Conſul* was above theſe frivolous Fears, deſpiſed the Prejudices of a ſuperſtitious Multitude, and gave the Enemy Battle.

[115] Nevertheleſs, the People were, according to *Livy*'s *Epitome*, a little encouraged by the current Report, That *Sulpicius* had defeated the *Peligni* in a pitched Battle; and That *Cæpio* had forced his Way through the Enemy's Battalions, and made a great Slaughter of them.

took it for granted, that his good Fortune and Merit were going to make him the Peacemaker of the *Allies*. The young *Pro-Conſul* received the General and his Preſents with all poſſible Politeneſs and Gratitude; immediately admitted *Pompædius* into his Confidence; and in their private Converſation, the crafty *Italian* artfully inſinuated, That if he would have the Honour of finiſhng a War which was ſo fatal to his Republick, he ſhould follow him. *I will lead you*, ſaid he, *to a convenient Place, where we will ſurprize your Enemies who are deſtitute of their Leaders. But we muſt not delay a Moment; if we let ſlip this Opportunity, it will be loſt for ever.* Avarice, and the love of Glory blinded *Cæpio*; and he truſted his Safety upon the ſuppoſed Sons of *Pompædius*, who were left in the Camp, by way of Hoſtage. How could he ſuſpect, that a Father would ſacrifice his Sons, to cover his Treachery? However, it is probable, That he called a Council of War, before he ſet out on the ſuppoſed Enterprize; and the wiſeſt Officers ſuſpected the Promiſes of *Pompædius*, and deſired more Precautions might be taken. But the *Pro-Conſul* undertook the Defence of his Deceiver, and brought all over to his Opinion. His Confidence was ſuch, that he not only refuſed to detain *Pompædius* in his Camp under an honourable Guard, but even ſuffered him to march at the Head of the *Roman* Army. In ſhort, they marched very faſt to a Place where an Ambuſh was laid for them; and upon *Pompædius*'s giving the Signal agreed on with the Rebels, the latter left their Retreat, ſurrounded the *Romans*, attacked them before they well knew where they were, covered the Ground with ſlain, and buried *Cæpio* himſelf under a ſhower of Darts. Thus fell this ſeditious *Roman*, who, after *Druſus*, was charged with being the chief Author of the War.

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Oroſ. L. 5. c. 18.

§. XXXVII. The Defeat of two *Roman* Armies made the *Marſi* more inſolent, and increaſed the Rage of the Rebels in general. The Camp of *Marius* was the only one, in this fatal Country, which had not been attacked; and after the Death of *Rutilius* and *Cæpio*, the Senate appointed him ſole General there. They did not fear the Attacks or Ambuſhes of the Enemy, againſt a General, who was both brave and circumſpect.

Nevertheleſs, the ſingle Army of *Marius* could not hinder the Progreſs of the *Italians*, in the different Provinces where they had carried on the Revolt. Near *Aſculum*, *Cn. Pompeius* being inveſted by three Bodies of Rebels, under *Judacilius*, *Afranius*, and *Ventidius*, had retired into the *Picenum*, to the Banks of the River [117] *Tenna*. From thence, being purſued by the Enemy, he had been forced to retreat to [118] *Firmum*, and there ſtand a Siege againſt *Afranius* in *Campania*. *Marius Egnatius* ſurprized the City of [119] *Venafrum*, and cut in pieces the *Roman* Garriſon, conſiſting of two *Cohorts*. In the ſame Country, the City of [120] *Nola*, formerly ſo faithful to the Republick in *Hannibal*'s Wars, ſurrendered to *Aponius*, one of the *Conſuls* of the Confederates; delivered up the *Roman* Garriſon, to the Number of 2000 Men, commanded by the *Prætor L. Poſtumius*; and the Enemy, contrary to the Law of Nations, ſuffered them all to periſh with Hunger. The ſame *Aponius*, ſeized the Cities of [121] *Stabiæ*, [122] *Liternum*, and [123] *Salernum*; over-ran all *Campania* in a victorious manner; and to increaſe his Troops, enrolled all the Inhabitants he found there, whether Freemen, or Slaves. So that *Nuceria* [124] was the only City there, that adhered ſteadily to *Rome*, and could not be induced to join the Rebels. In *Lucania*, the Rebel *Lamponius* drove *M. Licinius* [125] out of the Plain, where he was encamped, and after he had killed 800 of his Men, obliged him to take Refuge in [126] *Grumentum*. *Judacilius* alſo conquered almoſt

App. Bell. Civ. L. 1. Epit. Liv. Oroſ. L. 5. Florus L. 3. c. 18.

117 The River *Tenna* waters a Part of the *Marquiſate of Ancona*, is within two Leagues of *Fermo*, and falls into the *Adriatick* Sea.

118 *Firmum*, is now *Fermo*, in the *Marquiſate of Ancona*. Some Miles from it, on the Coaſt of the *Adriatick* Sea, and near the Mouth of the *Tenna*, there was a Port and Arſenal, which the *Latins* called *Caſtellum Firmanorum*. This is now the Port of *Fermo*.

119 The City of *Venafrum*, called *Venafri* by the *Italians*, ſtood in *Campania*, on the Banks of the *Vulturnus*. But it has now changed its Situation, and been rebuilt at ſome diſtance from that River. *Strabo* obſerves, That its Territory was very fruitful in Olives.

120 *Nola*, belongs to the Kingdom of *Naples*. See Vol. 2. p. 207, Note 61.

121 The City of *Stabiæ* ſtood beyond Mount *Veſuvius* and the River *Sarno*. It is called by the modern *Italians*, *Caſtel a mare di Stabia*. According to *Gallienus*, the Milk of the Cattle that were fed near this City, was remarkable for being an excellent Reſtorative.

122 See Vol. 3. p. 174. Note 159.

123 *Salernum* had the Title of a *Roman Colony*, ſeven Years after the ſecond *Punick* War. See Vol. 4. p. 134. Note 129.

124 See Vol. 2. 283. Note 93.

125 *Marcus Licinius* had encamped in a Plain covered by a Coppice and Buſhes. *Lamponius* ſet fire to them, and forced the *Romans* to decamp, to avoid the Flames.

126 *Grumentum* was formerly a City of *Lucania*; a Province which is at preſent a Part of the *Baſilicata*, and

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moſt all *Apulia*, and brought the Cities of *Canuſium* [127], and *Venuſia* [128], into the Intereſt of the Confederates.

'Tis eaſy to conceive that all theſe Loſſes cauſed no ſmall dejection in *Rome*. Only, one of her *Conſuls* was left alive, and he was too much engaged in his Province, to be able to return to the Capital to preſide at a new Election. The whole Weight of the War lay on his Shoulders. Beſides that the *Samnites*, among whom he was, had ever been formidable to the *Romans*; the Time of a general Revolt, the Emotion of all Men's Minds, and the Inconveniencies of the Place, made his Commiſſion ſtill more dangerous. *Vettius Cato*, the *Samnite*, made Head againſt him, and he firſt poſted himſelf in the Plain of *Eſernia*. There the *Conſul* was beaten, loſt 2000 Men, and was forced to take ſhelter in a neighbouring [129] City, which he ſoon left, in order to go and relieve [130] *Acerræ* in *Campania*, warmly beſieged by *Aponius*. This Rebel had taken *Oxyntas* the Son of *Jugurtha*, out of the Priſon in *Venuſia*, where the *Romans* had confined him for his Life, brought him into his Army, and affected to ſhew him there in all the Pomp of Majeſty. In the mean time, *Cæſar* approached with his *Legions*, and two conſiderable Reinforcements of *Gauls* and *Numidian* Cavalry: And then the Preſence of *Oxyntas* was of great Service to the Enemy. Upon hearing that the Son of their old King was fighting in the Army of the *Allies*, the *Numidians* deſerted by Companies, and went over to the Enemies of *Rome*. So that the *Conſul* was forced to part with all thoſe Foreigners, and ſend them home to *Africa*. This diminution of his Troops, made him the leſs enterprizing; inſomuch that he kept cloſe within his Trenches, and was now only a Spectator of the Siege of *Acerræ*. This Inaction raiſed the Courage of *Aponius*; and he came, in Contempt of the *Conſul*, to inſult his Camp. Nay, he afterwards went ſo far, as to attempt to ſtorm it. Nevertheleſs, the *Conſul* did not ſtir; he refuſed to draw out his Men into the Plain; not ſo much out of Fear, as in order to triumph over the Audaciouſneſs of the Enemy. When they were advanced up to his Camp, and were pulling up ſome of the Paliſades, which the *Roman* General had expected, he ſent out his Cavalry, at the Gate oppoſite to that which was attacked, with Orders to march round the Camp, and take the Enemy in the Rear. At the ſame time, *Cæſar* made a Sally with all his *Legionary* Infantry, and fell ſo briſkly on the *Samnites*, that he obliged them to retire; and then the *Roman* Cavalry coming up on a ſudden, compleated their Defeat. Tho' their Camp was near, they could not recover it, before they had loſt 6000 of their beſt Men. This Victory gave the Conqueror an Opportunity to throw in freſh Stores of Proviſion into *Acerræ*, and reinforce the Garriſon; after which, he decamped, and left *Aponius* to waſte his Troops before a Place, which he thought it impoſſible for him to take.

§. XXXVIII. This was the firſt Victory the *Romans* had gained in the Year; and the Joy it produced is not to be expreſſed. The People of *Rome* immediately laid aſide the military *Sagum*, and put on the *Toga*. The Courts of Juſtice, which had been ſhut up ſix Months, were opened. The Senate confirmed the Title of [131] *Imperator*, which the Soldiers had given *Cæſar*, on the Field of Battle. And in ſhort, the *Ro-*

Oroſ. L. 5. c. 18.

and of *Hither Calabria*. The modern Geographers are not agreed as to its Situation. See Vol. 3. p. 178. Note 164. This City, as far as we can judge by *Macrobius*, fell under the Power of the Enemy in the War with the *Allies*, and was reconquered by the *Romans*. And among the remarkable Events of the Siege of this Place, the Ancients have immortalized the heroic Care of two Slaves, to deliver their Miſtreſs from the Inſolence of the victorious Soldiers. They had foreſeen the unhappy Fate of *Grumentum*, and made their eſcape to the Camp of the *Romans*, who kept it cloſely ſhut up. When it was taken by Aſſault, and given up to be plundered, the two Slaves made all poſſible haſte by private Ways which they knew, to the Houſe of their Miſtreſs; and when they came there, they entered it with great Threatenings, ſeized the trembling Woman, as their Prey, and concealing their Deſign under an Air of Rage which deceived their Comrades, they led her out of the City, to a Place, where ſhe was ſafe from the Inſults of the licentious Soldiers. There, laying aſide their Rage, they abated her Fears, and aſſured her they were ready to die in her Service and Defence. The Lady, was deeply affected with ſo generous an Action, and as the Want to which ſhe was reduced by the Loſs of her Effects, would not ſuffer her to give them more ſolid Marks of her Gratitude, ſhe gave them their Liberty upon the Spot.

127 *Canuſium*, now *Canoſa*, was one of the Cities of *La Pouille*; and ſtood on the Banks of the *Auſidus*, or *Ofanto*. See Vol. 2. p. 255. Note 26.

128 See Vol. 3. p. 126. Note 16.

129 *Eſernia* was alſo ſo cloſely beſieged by *Vettius Cato*, that *Lucius Acilius*, and *Lucius Scipio*, diſguiſed themſelves in the Habits of Slaves, the better to eſcape the Vigilance of the Enemy; according to *Appian de Bell. Civ. L.* 1.

130 *Acerræ*, an ancient City of *Campania*, is ſtill called *Acerra*. See Vol. 2. p. 196. Note 38.

131 In the Times of the Republick, the Title of *Emperor*, or rather *Imperator*, was an occaſional Mark of Honour, which the Armies ſometimes gave their Generals in their Acclamations, and which the Senate confirmed to thoſe who had ſignalized themſelves by important Victories. Under the *Cæſars* it became a Title of abſolute Sovereignty.

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mans thought that *Fortune*, who ſeemed to have deſerted them, was reconciled to them. To which ſome add, That *Sylla* ſaved *Eſernia*, defeated the Army that was ready to take it, and drove it out of the Country, which it infeſted. And [132], this at leaſt is certain, That that great General acquired a great deal of Glory, in the firſt Year of the War with the *Italian* Rebels.

In the mean time, *Aponius* continued his Attempt againſt the City of *Acerræ*; and ſeemed reſolved to reduce it at laſt, by mere dint of Perſeverance. *Cæſar* therefore reſolved to march a ſecond Time, to its Deliverance. His Army conſiſted of 30000 Foot, and 5000 Horſe; and tho' he was ſick, he ordered himſelf to be carried in a Litter, rather than delay his March. He knew not that *Marius Egnatius* had laid an Ambuſh for him, in his Way, to intercept him; and he advanced to the Banks of a little River, which could not be paſſed, but over a Bridge, which was pretty near that of the two Cities of [133] of *Teanum*, which was alſo called *Sidicinum*. At a little diſtance from the Bridge, the Army of *Egnatius* appeared; and *Cæſar* muſt therefore retreat. When he came to repaſs the Bridge, he was attacked, and put in Diſorder; and then retired to *Teanum*. There he ſoon repaired his Loſs, with the People who came in Numbers to him from all the Neighbourhood; and began his March again, with more Zeal and Caution than ever, and appeared again before *Acerræ*. When he had pitched his Camp there, he continued in it; contented himſelf with watching the Enemy from thence, abating the Ardour of *Aponius*, and ſuſpending the Operations of the Siege; and the Place was not taken.

Appian. L. 1. de Bell. Civ.

Strabo L. 5.

§. XXXIX. In the mean time, *Marius*, who was in the Country of the *Marſi*, did not forget what he owed to his Country, and to his own Character. This great General alone ſupplied the Place of *Rutilius* and *Cæpio*, whoſe too great Deſire of Conqueſt had led them to their Deſtruction; and purſued the Advice he had ſo often given to the late *Conſul*, to ſo little Purpoſe. From the two Defeats his Troops had received, immediately after one another, he concluded that they wanted to be well diſciplined in a Camp, before they were brought out to Action. For this Reaſon, he continued unactive for ſeveral Months, wholly intent on keeping his Troops to their Duty by his Preſence, and forming them by continual Exerciſes and frequent Skirmiſhes. When he ſaw them piqued with Emulation, and uneaſy at the Inaction in which he forced them to continue, he permitted them, by way of Favour, to meet the Enemy, and promiſed them to lead them to Victory, in due Time. Till at length, his Inaction made the Enemy negligent; they lived at eaſe, upon a Preſumption, that he would attempt nothing that Year; and *Herrius Aſinius*, the Chief of the *Marucini*, who oppoſed him, often came and inſulted him in his Camp, in Confidence that he would not accept the Challenge. But this Confidence was immediately puniſhed. *Marius* ordered a Sally, and fell ſo briſkly on the united *Marrucini* and *Marſi*, that he put them to Flight, and drove them to a neighbouring Vineyard. There they thought themſelves ſafe, in a Place full of Hedges and Vine-props; but their Misfortunes purſued them farther, and they were deſtroyed by a Hand which they had leaſt feared. *Sylla*, who was not expected, had by accident come and encamp'd on the top of the Hill, on which the Vineyard was; and the Noiſe of the Arms brought him to the Action. He fell on the *Marrucini* with his flying Camp, made a terrible Slaughter of them, ſaw the General *Herrius Aſinius* fall in the Battle, and made the Victory compleat. It ſeems to have been the Fate of *Sylla* to put the laſt Hand, to whatever *Marius* undertook. He had happily put an end to the *Numidian* War, by the Captivity of *Jugurtha*; and had given the laſt Blow to the *Cimbri* in *Italy*. So that, having hitherto, always acted as a Subaltern, never as Commander in Chief, his good Fortune and Courage had contributed more to the Glory of another, than to his own.

Epit. Liv. App. L. 1. de Bell. Civ.

§. XL. *Marius*, a little mortified to be always owing the beſt part of his Succeſs to his Rival, retired to his Camp, and there continued his former Conduct. He ſaved his Troops with the ſame Circumſpection as before, and would not hazard a Battle. In the mean time *Pompædius* had aſſembled his *Marſi*, and was bent on having his Revenge.

132 The Abridger of *Livy*, *B.* 63, relates it, as certain Fact, That *Eſernia* was taken by the *Samnites*; and adds, That one *Marcus Marcellus* who commanded in the Place, ſurrendered himſelf and his Soldiers at Diſcretion; and That he was therefore called *Eſerninus* in Deriſion, to perpetuate the Shame of his Defeat. But nevertheleſs its certain, *Oroſius* gives *Sylla* the Glory of having ſecured this City againſt the Attacks of the Enemy. The Reader is to prefer which Authority he pleaſes.

133 See Vol. 2. p. 134. Note 3; & p. 295, Note 25.

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The 6000 Men he had loſt in the late Action, were ſoon replaced, in a Country where Men were born Soldiers, as well as at *Rome*; and he came before the *Roman* Camp with a more numerous Army than before. But *Marius* would not ſtir. The old General did not take his Meaſures from the Bravadoes of the Enemy; but acted as the Neceſſity, or promiſing Circumſtances of Things, induced him. He ſtill kept cloſe to his Camp, which was advantageouſly ſituated on an Hill. *Pompædius cried, If* Marius *is as great a General as is reported, let him come down into the Plain.* To which *Marius* ſmartly replied, *If* Pompædius *is as brave as he pretends, why does he not come and attack me in my Poſt?* But they went no farther than Words; no Action enſued. However, from this Time, the Courage of the Rebels began to ſink. *Rome* began to get the Aſcendant, or at leaſt, to recover from her Fright. The War was carried on by both Parties, in the ſame manner; tho' in a very different Way from what was formerly uſual among the *Romans*. The Fate of it was not left to depend on one General, or one Army. Each of the revolted Provinces had its own General, againſt whom the Republick ſent a *Pro-Conſul* with a certain Number of Troops. And therefore the Succeſs was various, according to the Abilities and Forces of the different Commanders. We have already obſerved, That the *Picentes* had, at their Head, among other Generals, one *Afranius*, a zealous Man for the Revolt, who kept *Cn. Pompeius* the *Roman*, beſieged in *Firmum*; and this Siege had now laſted ſeveral Months. On the other hand, *Servius Sulpicius* had juſt reduced under the *Roman* Yoke, the Nation of the *Peligni*, whom he had entirely defeated in a pitched Battle. And that he might make the beſt uſe of his Leiſure, *Sulpicius* reſolved to go and deliver *Pompeius* and *Firmum* from the Danger that threatened them. He had given *Pompeius* notice of it, and they agreed, That, as ſoon as *Sulpicius* appeared, the beſieged ſhould make a Sally on the Beſiegers. A Deſign wiſely concerted, and as ſucceſsfully put in Execution! Upon the firſt Signal *Pompeius* had of the Approach of theſe Succours, he opened the Gates, and marched out in Battalia againſt *Afranius*. Upon this, the latter inſtantly left his Camp, and without enquiring much whether he had any other Enemies to fear, haſtened to drive back the beſieged within their Walls. But the Attack was ſcarce begun, before the flying Camp of *Sulpicius* fell on the Camp of the Beſiegers, and ſet it on Fire. The Smoke and Fire ſhewed the *Picentes*, that they had an Enemy behind them; and then they were ſtruck with dread, and fled; and their Flight coſt them dear. *Afranius* was killed in the Battle, moſt of his Soldiers cut in pieces, and the reſt made the beſt of their Way to *Aſculum*, the City where the Revolt began. *Pompeius*, to chaſtiſe the *Aſculani*, inveſted the Place; and from being himſelf the beſieged, became the Aggreſſor.

§. XLI. This News diſperſed all Clouds, at *Rome*. The Confidence of the People revived, with double Joy. When *Cæſar* had gained his firſt Victory, the People had changed their Habits; and now the Senators and chief Magiſtrates put on the *Prætexta*, and diſcharged their Functions as uſual. Nevertheleſs the Campaign was not yet finiſhed. *Marius* ſtill acted the Part of a *Delayer* or *Temporizer*, among the *Marſi*. It ſuited with his Age; for he was 68, and much troubled with Defluxions. Indeed his paſt Exploits, and the many *Conſulſhips* he had obtained, together with his Infirmities, ſhould have contented him, and induced him to retire. But Ambition knows no Bounds. Old as he was, he was ſtill a Slave to the Itch of Fame, and as deſirous as ever of ſignalizing himſelf in another Battle, which might procure him new Honours. Accordingly, he marched into the Field, and gave Battle; but he was ſenſible in the Action, that he was not now the ſame Man. His Strength of Body, and Vivacity of Spirit failed him at once. His Troops but faintly ſuſtained the firſt Shock, and then gave way, and fled. Indeed the Enemy had neither Courage nor Preſence of Mind enough to take Advantage of their Rout, and purſue them fighting to their Camp; and he therefore ſaid jocoſely to his Troops, *You are brave Fellows indeed! who frighten your Enemies with ſhewing them your Backs!* But nevertheleſs, this ill Succeſs gave *Marius* a diſlike to commanding; and under pretence of his Infirmities, he reſigned the Generalſhip, at leaſt, during this War, in which he had acquired but a moderate Share of Glory.

Plut. in Syll. & Mario.

The *Marſi* boaſted of this ſlight Advantage, and reported every where, that they had forced the moſt able General *Rome* had, to leave the Country. This Rumour made an Impreſſion on many Nations in *Italy*, who had hitherto obſerved an exact Neutrality; and the *Umbri* and *Hetrurians* declared for the Confederates. This made it neceſſary for *Rome* to increaſe the Number of her Forces and Generals, in proportion

as the Number of her Enemies increaſed. But the Capital alone was not able to furniſh ſo many Men as were neceſſary to fill up the many *Legions*, which ſhe muſt raiſe. The Senate therefore took a Step, which had never hitherto been taken but in Criſes, when the Republick was in the utmoſt Danger. They ordered that the *Freedmen* ſhould be enrolled in the Soldiery; and twelve *Cohorts* of them were raiſed, and employed as Garriſons in the maritime Cities, as far as *Cumæ*. This enabled the *Romans* to ſend out two Armies, one under the Command of *Lucius Porcius* to *Hetruria*, the other under the Command of *Aulus Plautius* to *Umbria*. The two Generals joined Forces, fought the united *Umbri* and *Hetrurians*, and obtained a Victory over them, which was bloody on both Sides. So that the Republick had hitherto, by all theſe Exploits in this Campaign, gained nothing more, than an abatement of the Terror, which was very great when the War began. Theſe Enemies who were ſo near, ſo brave, and ſo numerous, kept all the Forces of *Rome* in *Italy*, and gave to the Nations lately conquered in the Eaſt and Weſt, an Opportunity to throw off the Yoke, or at leaſt, Reaſon to be leſs afraid of the Attacks of the Conquerors of the World; and the Spirit of Revolt having already ſpread it ſelf beyond the *Alpes*, the *Salyes* in *Tranſalpine Gaul* had taken up Arms. But this Inſurrection did not laſt long. One *Caius* [134] *Cæcilius Metellus*, who probably ſucceeded *M. Porcius* [135] *Cato* in the *Narbonne-Province*, at leaſt for a Time, ſoon quaſhed this firſt Diſturbance, which had no ill Conſequences. But Steps were now taking for a much more formidable Affair in *Aſia*. *Mithridates* was preparing to take Advantage of the Troubles in *Italy*. But we will poſtpone the mention of the Beginnings and Progreſs of his Arms, till we enter upon the Hiſtory of the War, which we ſhall ſoon ſee him make with the *Romans*.

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§. XLII. This Situation of Affairs in other Places, made the Revolt of the *Italians* in *Italy* ſtill more formidable; and the *Conſul L. Julius Cæſar* was very deſirous of putting an end to it, before he went out of his Office. His Zeal for his Republick, and his own Glory, led him to make uſe of an Expedient, which he thought would infallibly reconcile *Rome* and her *Allies*. As he was the only *Conſul*, and his Authority was ſupreme, as long as he continued in the Field, he drew up a *Conſular* Law, which was ratified by the Senate, and was ever after called *The Julian Law:* Which was this. *That all the Nations in* Italy, *whoſe Alliances with* Rome *was indiſputable, ſhould enjoy all the Rights of* Roman *Citizenſhip*. But why then had ſo much Blood been ſpilt? Should *Rome* have at firſt haughtily refuſed to give, what ſhe ſhould afterwards be obliged to grant, with Shame? However, Neceſſity obliged her to admit the juſt Claims of a great Number of Cities, which had been forced to ſupport their Right, Sword in Hand; but the Law was not executed in its utmoſt Extent all at once, but by Degrees, and at different Times. At firſt, the Right of *Citizenſhip*, which was the occaſion of the War, was only granted either to the People near *Rome*, or to ſuch as had not been drawn into the Rebellion, or ſuch as firſt had recourſe to the Clemency of the *Roman* Senate, and offered to return to their Duty. However, this Conduct of *Julius* much abated the Ardour of the Enemy, and each of the Confederate Nations was in haſte to make a ſeparate Treaty for it ſelf. So that the *Conſul*, by this politick Step, drew off many of the Confederates from the Rebels: And we ſhall ſoon ſee all theſe Nations obtain the Right of *Citizenſhip*, not excepting the *Lucani* and *Samnites* themſelves, two fierce Nations, who had long been jealous of the Grandeur of *Rome*. Had it not been for their Obſtinacy, all *Italy* would perhaps have been pacified, before the Year ended in which the War began; but by their Means, it was ſtill carried on, and continued, for ſome Time, to diſturb the Republick.

App. de Bell. Civ. L. 1. Strabo. Liv. 5. Vell. Pat. L. 2.

In the mean time, the *Tribunes of the People* [136], at *Rome*, inſiſted, that the Law of their Collegue *Varius* ſhould be put in Execution. It enacted, as we have obſerved, That

134 Some have conjectured that this *Caius Cæcilius Metellus* was the Son of him, who was ſurnamed *Caprarius*, and whom we have had occaſion to mention already.

135 *Aulus Gellius* gives us Reaſon to believe, that *Marcus Porcius Cato* was the Son of another *Marcus Porcius Cato*, who died in *Africa*, in the Year of *Rome* 635, before his *Conſulſhip* expired. *Cato the Cenſor* was Grandfather to the latter, by his eldeſt Son, whom he had had by *Licinia* his firſt Wife; and conſequently was Great-Grandfather to him here mentioned.

136 *Cicero*, in his *Brutus*, reckons among theſe *Tribunes of the People*, one *Caius Scribonius Curio*, and one *Quintus Cæcilius Metellus Celer*, who were but indifferent Orators. The firſt was of a *Plebeian* Family, which was divided into two Branches; one was that of the *Libones*, of which there were ſome *Tribunes of the People*, and *Prætors*, in the Time of the Republick, and ſome *Conſuls*, under the firſt of the *Cæſars*. The other was diſtinguiſhed by the Surname

Year of *ROME* DCLXIII. L. Julius Cæsar, & P. Rutilius Lupus, Conſuls.

That all thoſe *Romans* ſhould be proſecuted, who had encouraged the *Allies* to demand the Right of Suffrage in the *Comitia*; and the Senate oppoſed the Execution of it. It was urged, *That if the Law had been juſt, it was not a proper Time to execute it with Rigour; That it would be highly imprudent to baniſh ſo many illuſtrious* Romans, *who might perhaps join the Rebels; and That it was not proper to exaſperate the* Allies *themſelves, who began to cool; ſince it could not be expected that they would bear with Patience the Indignities which would be offered to all their Protectors in the Capital.* In ſhort, the Affair was warmly debated, between the *Tribunes*, and Senate; and at length, Reaſon prevailed. It was determined, That all Judgments in the Proſecutions, on account of *The Varian Law*, ſhould be ſuſpended. And what is moſt ſurprizing is, that this *Varius* himſelf, the Author of this Law, who was a *Spaniard* by Birth, and whoſe Right to *Citizenſhip* was uncertain, was himſelf condemned by his own Law, as one of the chief Authors of the War with the *Allies:* And the Puniſhment of this ſeditious Magiſtrate, immediately reſtored Tranquillity in the City. The Aſſembly for the great Elections was held in Peace, in *the Field of Mars*; and *Cn. Pompeius* [137], ſurnamed *Strabo* becauſe he *ſquinted*, and *L. Porcius* [138] *Cato*, were proclaimed *Conſuls*.

Pædianus in Comment. ad Orat. Cic. pro Cornelio.

Val. Max. L. 8. c. 6.

App. de Bell. Civ. L. 1.

Year of *ROME* DCLXIV. Cn. Pompeius Strabo, & L. Porcius Cato, Conſuls.

§. XLIII. Neceſſity obliged the Republick to neglect all Wars abroad, and apply her ſelf wholly to that in *Italy*. This Fire was near home, and muſt be extinguiſhed firſt, before ſhe could attend to redreſs the Evils in diſtant Provinces. Tho' *Mithridates* now declared himſelf openly in *Aſia*, and his ſecret Plots were broke out into open Hoſtilities; the Senate ſent no new *Legions* to the *Prætor* who governed in *Aſia*. They left him to ſuſtain theſe firſt Attacks, with the Troops he could borrow of the *Aſiaticks*, who were Friends to the Republick; and the Provinces of the new *Conſuls* were both in *Italy*. *Porcius Cato* had the Command of the Army, which *Marius* had commanded after the Death of *Rutilius* and *Cæpio*, and which he had afterwards reſigned, under Pretence of Sickneſs. *Cn. Pompeius* put himſelf at the Head of the ſame Troops which he had left before *Aſculum*, the Siege of which he had begun, before he was *Conſul*; and he reinforced them with ſome new Levies, ſo as to make them, in the whole, a *Conſular* Army. At the ſame time, *L. Cæſar*, the late brave *Conſul*, was ſtill employed, and his Troops not diminiſhed; he only changed his Title of *Conſul*, into that of *Pro-Conſul*. Moſt of the other ſubaltern Generals, which *Rome* had nominated the laſt Year, were likewiſe continued in the ſame Offices, and very happily for his Country, *Sylla* was not recalled. His Exploits will ſoon put him upon a Level with his Rival; we ſhall ſee him acquire as much Glory in the War with the *Allies*, as *Marius* loſt. But firſt, of the Motions of all the *Roman* Forces.

App. de Bell. Civ. L. 1.

Lucius Cæſar haſtened his Preparations for the Campaign, in the midſt of Winter; and in the beginning of *January*, encamped on the Banks of the [139] *Clanius*, or *Liris*, near

of *Curio*; a Term which *Plautus* makes uſe of in his *Aululár*, to ſignify *a thin Man devoured with the Spleen.* Such a one perhaps was the Head of this Branch; or this Surname might have been taken from another *Scribonius*, who is ſaid by *Livy*, *B.* 41, to have been created High-Prieſt of the *Curiæ*. *Pliny* and *Cicero* ſay, That in the Family of the *Libones*, there was a Succeſſion of Orators famous for their Eloquence. Of this Number was one *Scribonius Curio*, to whom the *Romans*, according to *Val. Max. B.* 9. *c.* 14, gave the Nick-Name of *Burbuleius*, becauſe he was in Stature and Gait like a Comedian of this Name. We ſhall hereafter ſee ſome of the *Curiones* inveſted with the firſt Dignities. As for *Quintus Metellus* Celer, he is thought to have been the Son of *Quintus Metellus Nepos*, who was *Conſul*, with *Titus Didius*, in the Year 655. *Plutarch* ſays of him, in his *Life of Romulus*, That he gave the People a Show of Gladiators, a few Days after the Death of his Father; and That from his *Expedition* in getting ready this Show, he had the Surname of *Celer*, which he tranſmitted to his Deſcendants.

137 *Cneius Pompeius Strabo* was the Father of *Pompey the Great*. *Cicero* ſays, he firſt got himſelf ſome Reputation at the Bar, and then appeared for the Dignities of the Republick. In the Year of *Rome* 648, he obtained the *Quæſtorſhip* of *Sardinia*, where *Titus Albucius* was *Prætor*; and when he returned to *Rome*, he accuſed the *Prætor* of Oppreſſion. But the Judges declared againſt the Accuſer. They did not think proper to countenance, by a defamatory Decree, the Diviſions that might ariſe between two Magiſtrates, whom Duty and the Intereſt of the Publick, ought to have united in the ſtricteſt Friendſhip; as *Cicero* obſerves, in his *Oration againſt Cæcilius*. The ſame Orator tells us, in his *Fifth Oration againſt Verres*, That *Cneius Pompeius Strabo* was *Prætor* in *Sicily*; and there is Reaſon to believe, That during his Office, he levelled the Road, that led from the Territory of *Meſſina*, to the Streight that divides *Sicily* from *Italy*. At leaſt this Road was called from him, *Via Pompeia*. *Cicero* mentions it, in his *Seventh Oration againſt Verres*.

138 According to *Aulus Gellius* and *Plutarch*, *Cato the Cenſor* had had *Marcus Cato Salonianus*, by his ſecond Wife *Salonia*, as we have obſerved in the third and fourth Volumes. *Marcus Cato Salonianus* had two Sons: *Lucius Porcius Cato*, who was *Conſul* in this Year 664, and *Marcus Porcius Cato*, who had been *Tribune of the People*, died when he was canvaſſing for the *Prætorſhip*, and was the Father of the famous *Cato of Utica*.

139 *Appian* has by Miſtake, confounded the *Clanius* with the *Liris*, which is now called *The Garigliano*. The

near *Acerræ*, a City of *Campania*. The General that oppoſed him, and beſieged *Acerræ* for the *Allies*, was *Aponius*, a Man of known Valour. Theſe two Commanders were long employed, only in intercepting each others Proviſions, and diſputing for Forrage; and in theſe Skirmiſhes *Cæſar* always had the Advantage. He was more advantageouſly poſted than his Adverſary, and the Plain he had behind him, was fruitful in Corn and Graſs. He therefore delayed giving Battle, notwithſtanding the Seaſon; being perſuaded, that Want would ſoon oblige *Aponius* to decamp and raiſe the Siege: and he judged right. The *Italian* did not continue long before the Place. *Cæſar* attacked him in his Retreat, routed his Rear-Guard, and killed him 8000 Men. By this Victory *Acerræ* was delivered; and the Conqueror did not continue idle one Moment. He knew, that *Pompeius*, who was yet detained in *Rome* by his Office of *Conſul*, had begun the Siege of *Aſculum*, a City which had given Birth to the War, and was obſtinate in it; and he marched thither, to haſten the Reduction of it, and thereby finiſh this troubleſome War, at one Blow. But a ſudden and dangerous Fit of Sickneſs ſtopped him: He was forced to leave his Army under the Command of *Caius Bæbius*, one of his Lieutenant Generals, and repair for his Health to the City; where we ſhall ſee amends made him, for the Opportunities of ſignalizing himſelf in the Field, which his Sickneſs made him loſe. In the mean time, *Pompeius*, tho' the Seaſon was rigorous, took upon him the Command of the Troops before *Aſculum*, and carried on the Siege. The *Picentini* were not able to withſtand him; and it was Obſtinacy only, and the Hopes of Succours, that kept up the Spirits of the *Aſculani*. And indeed, a great Army of *Marſi* at length took the Field, under the Command of their General *Francus*. As ſoon as the beſieged were informed of the Arrival of theſe Succours, they could not contain their Joy, but very precipitately and inconſiderately opened their Gates, and marched out againſt the Beſiegers. The *Conſul* drove them back within their Walls; and then they gave him Time to meet *Francus*, and give him Battle; in which he gained a memorable Victory over the *Marſi*, who had never yet received ſo great an Overthrow. 18000 of their Men with their General, were left dead upon the Spot; and Heaven is ſaid to have declared it ſelf in favour of the *Romans*. The Cold is ſaid to have increaſed to that degree, that 4000 of the Fugitives who fled to one of the *Apennine* Mountains after their Defeat, to ſpend the Night there, were found the next Day frozen to Death, and ſtanding, ſome with their Backs againſt the Trees, others reſting on their Javelins, in form of a Battalion under Arms. But I rather believe, That the Troops which came to relieve *Aſculum*, and which *Pompeius* defeated, were an Army tumultuouſly aſſembled on the Coaſts of the *Tyrrhenian Sea*; That the *Conſul* killed 5000 of them; and That the reſt periſhed by Hunger, Sickneſs, and Cold.

Year of *ROME* DCLXIV.

CN. POMPEIUS STRABO, & L. PORCIUS CATO, Conſuls.

Oroſ. L. 1. *c.* 18.

App. de Bell. Civ. L. 1.

§. XLIV. However, *Aſculum* ſtill held out againſt the *Conſular* Army, and Deſpair only increaſed the Rage of the Inhabitants. Their only Reſource was in *Judacilius*, the Chief of the *Picentini*, and the moſt intrepid General the Rebels had. He was an *Aſculan* by Birth, and one of the chief Authors of the Revolt, which had firſt broke out in his Country. He was in the Field, at the Head of eight *Cohorts*, a moderate Army in point of Number, but formidable for the Valour of their Leader: And he was affected with the Misfortunes he had brought on his native City. He foreſaw the Murmurs, which the many Enemies he had there, would raiſe againſt him; and he reſolved to force his Way into it, in ſpight of all the Vigilance of the *Romans*. To this end, he gave his Countrymen notice, That, upon the firſt Motion they ſhould ſee him make, they ſhould march out of the City in order of Battle, and he would take Care of the reſt. An Enterprize, tho' ſomewhat raſh, yet not impracticable; but the beſieged themſelves prevented the Succeſs of it. The Enemies of *Judacilius* ſtopped the *Aſculani*, who were ready to have made a Sally, to forward the Relief deſigned them; ſo that, the General, when he came to force the Trenches of the *Romans*, found, to his great Surprize, that he was not ſeconded by the Garriſon. However, his Vexation increaſed his Courage; and the brave General forced his Way, through the *Conſul*'s Entrenchments Sword in Hand, and reached one of the Gates of the City, which he found open. A glorious Action, not inferior to the Illuſtrious Exploits of the braveſt *Romans!* And what follows will farther ſhew the greatneſs of his Courage.

The latter riſes in the Country of the *Volſci*, above *Sora*, near *Atino*; and after it has divided old *Latium* from the Country of the *Samnites* and *Campania*, it falls into the *Tyrrhenian* Sea. Whereas the *Clanius* waters part of *Campania*, and falls into the *Tuſcan* Sea. Indeed, the *Liris* was anciently called *Clanis*, according to *Pliny* and *Strabo*. But the *Clanius*, or *Clanis* here ſpoken of, has nothing in common with the *Liris*. See Vol. 3. p. 155. Note 93.

The

Year of *ROME* DCLXIV. CN POMPEIUS STRABO, & L. PORCIUS CATO, Conſuls.

The *Cohorts Judacilius* brought with him, raiſed a little the Courage of the beſieged, but ſtruck Terror into the Enemies of their Leader; and he aſſembled the People, and reproached them with their Unfaithfulneſs, or their Delays in putting his Orders in execution. *I have*, ſaid he, *looked Death in the Face without Fear, in the midſt of the* Roman Legions; *but I cannot be unmoved at the infamous Behaviour of my Countrymen. You cannot pretend Ignorance of my arrival; I gave you notice of it. You have no Excuſe for your Cowardice, but that Cowardice itſelf. Was the Danger then ſo great, that you ſhould ſink under it? Could not you have done with my Aſſiſtance, what I have done without you?* Romans, *you have no Reaſon any longer to fear theſe* Aſculani, *who were once ſo formidable to you! They are now grown more timorous than Women. What is become of thoſe Men, who refuſed to be enſlaved to you, under the ſpecious Name of Allies? They are now grown quiet Victims, who tamely wait for the fatal Stroke. The Vengeance of* Rome *will ſoon be executed here. Unfortunate* Aſculum! *Thou muſt fall under the Swords of thine Enemies! But my Eyes ſhall never ſee the Ruin of my Country. I will fall by my own Hands before* Aſculum *is deſtroyed; and will alſo take care, that due Puniſhment ſhall be inflicted on my Enemies; who are more ſo to their native City than to me.*

This ſaid, *Judacilius* ordered his *Cohorts* to ſeize ſuch of the Inhabitants as had moſt vigorouſly oppoſed the Sally; and they were all cut in Pieces. His Joy at this cruel Execution was viſible in his Countenance, and he immediately invited his Friends to a great Entertainment; and when Wine and good Eating had raiſed their Spirits, he very unexpectedly accoſted them thus; *I promiſed two Things, in the Speech I made to the People. One, that I would not leave the ſcandalous Treachery of thoſe, who left me alone in Danger, unpuniſhed. The other, that I would not ſurvive the Ruin of my Country. The firſt of theſe Promiſes I have performed. I have purged* Aſculum *of her perfidious Enemies, and mine. And oh! that I could preſerve her from the Arms of the* Roman Conſul! *However, this at leaſt I reſolve, that I will not be an Eye-witneſs of his Victory, the Maſſacre of my Countrymen, the Violence done to our Wives and Children, the Prophanation of our Temples, the Deſtruction of our Houſes, and the Demolition of our Walls. To you, O ye Gods, who have given me Life, I ſurrender it; and happy it is for me, that I am not immortal, as you are! Let him that would go to the* Elyſian *Fields follow me!*

As ſoon as he had ſpoken theſe Words, he called for the Cup, which he had himſelf prepared; and as ſoon as he had drunk the Poiſon, he ordered himſelf to be carried to the Temple, where he had prepared a funeral Pile. His Friends followed him with great Applauſes, but none of them had the Courage to imitate him. Empty Praiſes were all his Reward; and his Death filled the Rebels with melancholy Reflexions on the danger of having offended the *Romans*. After his Death, the *Conſul* found leſs Difficulty in the Siege; and he vigorouſly preſſed the Place, which was now diſheartened, both by the Loſs, and the Predictions, of the braveſt of its Defenders.

§. XLV. Nevertheleſs, the War with the *Allies* was not finiſhed with that Expedition which the *Romans* deſired. The publick Treaſury was exhauſted; and private Perſons could ſcarce get any Thing from their Farms, which were expoſed to the Incurſions and Ravages of the Enemy. The only Perſons that got by the Wants of the Publick were the Uſurers. The Creditors and Debtors encreaſed without number. The former were greedy Extortioners, the latter inſolvent as long as the War ſhould laſt. The Intereſt of Money cauſed almoſt as great Diſorders in the City, as the Deſire of ſharing the Government of the Republick with the *Romans* had raiſed in the *Italian* Provinces. The Lenders were daily demanding their Debts with very large Intereſt; and *Aulus Sempronius* [140] *Aſellio*, who was *Prætor Urbanus*, found it a troubleſome Thing to hear the Cauſes of thoſe whom they proſecuted. Indeed the ancient Laws had forbidden all [141] Uſury, but theſe Laws were aboliſhed by Cuſtom; and

Epit. Liv. *App. Bell. Civ.* *L.* 1. *Val. Max.* *L.* 9. *c.* 7.

140 The ſurname of *Aſellio* gives room for a Conjecture, that the *Prætor Aulus Sempronius*, deſcended from *Sempronius Aſellio*, who ſerved in the *Numantian* War, in quality of *Legionary Tribune*, under the famous *Scipio Æmilianus*. *Dion. Hal.* ranks him among the moſt famous Annaliſts of old *Rome*; and *Cicero* ſpeaks of this Writer, in his firſt Book *Of Laws*; as does *Aulus Gellius*, who quotes the 4th Book of his *Annals*.

141 In order to prevent or ſuppreſs the Abuſe of Uſury, the *Decemviri* had, in the Year of *Rome* 302, decreed, That the Intereſt of Money ſhould not exceed

and the Neceſſity of Commerce for the Conveniencies of Life, had introduced a Connivance, at what the ſevere Manners of the Ancients made almoſt impracticable. Nevertheleſs, the Debtors, when preſſed by their Creditors, pretended that they owed them nothing more than the Sums lent; and it was left to the Equity of the Judge to take a due Medium between the Pretenſions of both. But *Sempronius* inclined too much to Compaſſion for the poor People. He declared againſt the Creditors, and condemned them to loſe all the Intereſt of the Money lent. This raiſed Diſſenſions and Animoſities. The Uſurers forged Debts, which they maintained to be true, even by Perjury; and the Debtors found out many Artifices, to evade paying thoſe Debts that were juſt. In order to extricate himſelf out of this Labyrinth, which the Falſhood of both Parties made almoſt impenetrable, the *Prætor* often nominated Commiſſioners to ſearch the Affair to the Bottom, and diſcover where the Right lay. But ſtill Means were found out to puzzle Matters by Chicanery; and in the Judgments *Sempronius* gave, the Preſumption was almoſt always made in Favour of the Debtors, and the Creditors were fined. Though the latter were rich, and had great Credit in *Rome*, the *Prætor* was inexorable. He meant well; and had it been in his Power, would have entirely extirpated all Uſury. But theſe unſeaſonably ſevere Proceedings exaſperated the greateſt Part of the People; and it was ſaid, That to forbid all Intereſt for Money lent, would abſolutely ruin Trade. Hence the Clamours of the Multitude in the *Comitium*, chiefly at the Inſtigation of a *Tribune of the People*, named *L. Caſſius*; nor did the Populace ſtop at Murmurs. Being informed that the *Prætor* was offering Sacrifice in Honour of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, in the *Forum Romanum*, near the Temple of [142] *Concord*; they immediately aſſembled together, armed themſelves with Stones, and threw them at the *Prætor*, who with the Cup in his Hand, was going to make Libations. He immediately felt himſelf wounded in the Head, dropped the ſacred Cup, and endeavoured to take Refuge in the Temple of *Veſta*. But the Mutineers intercepted him, forced him to enter into a miſerable *Publick-Houſe*, which was built in the Form of a Tent, in the Middle of a *Forum*, and dragging him out from thence, tore him in Pieces, without any regard to the Dignity of his Office, or the Habit of a Sacrificer, which he then wore. Such was now the Inſolence of the *Roman* People. They made nothing of maſſacring their Magiſtrates. Their Liberty ſhewed itſelf in ſudden Inſurrections, accompanied with Murders and Aſſaſſinations; and what was ſtill more deplorable was, that this notorious and ſcandalous Iniquity was not puniſhed. Indeed the Senate ordered Enquiries to be made after the Authors of it and their Accomplices; but the Money of the rich Uſurers ſtopped the Mouths both of Witneſſes and Accuſers.

Year of *ROME* DCLXIV. C. Pompeius Strabo, & L. Porcius Cato, Conſuls.

§. XLVI. However, all the *Tribunes of the People* were not ſo abandoned as *Caſſius*. There was one among them, who abhorred the Inſurrections and Violences that were be-

ceed one *per Cent.* under the Penalty of paying four Times the Sum lent. This is the Senſe of one of the Laws of the XII. Tables, which runs thus: SI QUIS UNCIARIO FOENERE AMPLIUS FOENERASSIT QUADRUPLIONE LUITO. *Cato*, in his Preface to his Piece on a Country Life, has a Remark which ought not to be omitted here. Our Anceſtors, ſays he, thought Uſury a more unpardonable Crime than Theft. By the Law of the XII Tables, an Uſurer was condemned to pay four Times the Sum lent; whereas a Thief was only obliged to pay double the Thing ſtollen. *Majores noſtri ſic habuerunt, & ita in legibus poſuerunt, furem dupli condemnari, fœneratorem quadrupli. Quanto pejorem civem exiſtimarint fœneratorem quam furem, hinc licet exiſtimari.* But the Severity of the Law-givers was not a ſufficient Guard againſt the Avarice of the great Men at *Rome*. In the Year 396, that is, 94 Years after the Promulgation of the XII Tables, *Duilius* and *Mænius*, two *Tribunes of the People*, undertook to reſtrain the Covetouſneſs of the rich. Uſury had then long been arbitrary, and to put a Stop to this Evil, the Laws that limited Intereſt to one *per Cent. per Annum*, or 1 *per Menſem*, were revived, at their deſire. In the Year 405, the *Conſuls Plautius* and *Manlius*, affected with the Complaints of a great Number of Citizens who were oppreſſed by their greedy Creditors, reduced Intereſt to a half *per Cent. per Annum*. And in the Year 411, none were permitted to take any Intereſt at all. But theſe Laws could not long ſubſiſt, amidſt the Diſſenſions that troubled the Republick. They generally expired with the Authority of them that made them; and others were made in their room, according to the Caprice, or Intereſt of the Factions, that, each in its turn, prevailed in the *Comitia*.

The *Calends* of each Month, was according to *Plutarch*, *Horace*, and *Ovid*, the Time that the Creditors appointed, for the Payment of the Intereſt their Debtors had agreed to give them; and then the Debtors conſtantly came to a Place near the *Puteal*, which was remarkable for the Statutes there erected to *Janus*, and there paid it. See the Law concerning Money lent and the Right of Creditors. Vol. 1. p. 445. Note 40.

142 The *Romans* firſt worſhipped *Concord*, about the Year of *Rome* 387. *Camillus* had built a Temple to her, on the Declivity of the *Capitol*. Sixty two Years after, that is, in the Year 449, *Flavius* dedicated another Temple to her Honour, in the opening before the Temple of *Vulcan*. And we find her repreſented on Medals, ſometimes by an human Figure, and ſometimes, by Symbols, as we have obſerved. Vol. 2. p. 304. Note 35.

Year of ROME DCLXIV.

Cn. Pompeius Strabo, & L. Porcius Cato, Conſuls.

come too common in the Aſſemblies of the People. This was *M. Plautius Silvanus*; who to put a Stop to the Licentiouſneſs of a Populace who were always ready to ſhed the Blood of the moſt venerable Men, made a Law, whereby it was declared capital for the *Citizens* of *Rome*, *Either to bear Arms in the* Comitium; *Or to ſeize the Eminencies that overlooked the* Forum *in Parties*; *Or to beſet private Houſes, with Swords or Torches in their Hands*; *Or to diſturb the Judges when ſitting in their Courts*; *Or to raiſe any Diſturbances in any juridical Aſſembly.* Nor did the wiſe *Tribune* ſtop there. The Iniquity of the Judgments given by the *Roman Knights* was become ſo crying, that it was no longer ſupportable; and *Plautius* therefore aboliſhed this infamous Tribunal. He propoſed a Scheme for chooſing the Judges, and got it confirmed by the People, to this Effect. That each *Tribe* ſhould every Year chooſe 15 Perſons out of its own Body, to whom the Judgment of civil Cauſes ſhould be committed. By this Means, ſome of the Senators, *Knights*, and the beſt of the Commons, were admitted to be Judges, and Juſtice was impartially adminiſtred; and it is ſaid, that one *C. Julius Cæſar*, who had been *Curule Ædile*, aſſiſted *Plautius* much with his Eloquence, in getting his Law paſſed.

A. Gell. L. 13 c. 4

Pædian in Cic. pro Cornelio.

Pædian. in Cic. pro Cornelio.

The ſame *Tribune Plautius* put the laſt Hand to the Ordinance, the *Conſul Lucius Cæſar* had made under Arms and in a Camp, in favour of the *Allies*. In order to its being eſtabliſhed in due Form, it wanted to be confirmed by the People aſſembled in *Comitia*. *Plautius* therefore, in Conjunction with *Caius Papirius Carbo* his Colegue, got it ratified, and publiſhed in theſe Words. *All the Citizens of the allied Cities which ſhall be in* Italy, *at the Time of the Promulgation of this Law, ſhall be deemed* Citizens *of* Rome, *provided they regiſter their Names, with one of the three* Prætors, Q. [143] Metellus, App. [144] Claudius, *or* P. [145] Gabinius, *within* 60 *Days.*

Aul. Gell. L. 13. c. 4.

Liv Epit. L 74. c. 53.

Cic. pro Archia Poeta.

§. XLVII. Then the People crowded to *Rome* with ſuch Eagerneſs, from all Parts of *Italy*, in order to enjoy the Privileges granted by this Law; that the new *Citizens* ſoon became abundantly more numerous than the old Inhabitants of the Capital. And leſt this ſhould make Strangers the Maſters of Elections, and in effect of the Republick; and produce Diſorders and Confuſions in all the Aſſemblies, whether by *Centuries*, *Tribes*, or *Curiæ*; it was reſolved, That new *Cenſors* ſhould be choſen, on this Occaſion, though five [146] compleat Years were not expired ſince the laſt Election. *Lucius Cæſar* lately recovered from his Sickneſs, and [147] *P. Licinius Craſſus*, who was already famous for a *Triumph*, were thought worthy to fill this important Poſt; and they ſhewed their Ability, by the Expedient they found out to ſatisfy the new [148] *Citizens*, without Prejudice to the Rights of the old. They took great Care not to incorporate the *Italians* into the 35 *Roman Tribes*; but formed them into new *Tribes*, who would not have their Turns of entering into the Incloſure of Voting till after the old ones. So that, the Buſineſs was carried by a Majority of Voices before the new *Tribes* came to vote. The new *Citizens* probably were ſenſible of this Artifice; but nevertheleſs they diſſembled their Diſcontents, reſolving to put themſelves

Faſt. Capit.

App. Bell. Civ L. 1.

143 *Quintus Cæcilius Metellus Pius*, one of the three *Prætors* for the Year 644, was the Son of the famous *Metellus Numidicus*. He had the Surname of *Pius*, which he ſhewed he deſerved, in the fulleſt Senſe, by the tender Concern he ſhewed for his Father, when he ſollicited the People to recal this great Man, whom the *Marian* Faction had baniſhed. Nor did he degenerate from the known Virtue of his Anceſtors. According to *Aurelius Victor*, his Virtue as well as his Birth, paved the Way for his attaining the Honours of the Republick; and he was promoted to the *Pontificate*, though he had ſome *Conſular* Men, who were eſteemed for their Services to the State, for his Competitors. And *Aurelius* adds, That he was elected *Prætor*, before he was at the legal Age for it. Nevertheleſs, *Salluſt* affirms, That he was twenty Years old, when he attended his Father to the *Numidian* War, in the Year 645; and if ſo, he muſt have been, in the Year 664, which was that of his *Prætorſhip*, 39 Years old; which was very little ſhort of the Age required of thoſe who ſtood for that Office.

144 This *Appius Claudius*, who inherited from his Anceſtors the Surname of *Pulcher*, was the Father of *Publius Claudius*, who was a ſevere Enemy to *Cicero*; who ſays, in his *Oration for Plancius*, That when he firſt ſtood for the *Ædileſhip* he was diſappointed; but appeared again for it, the next Year, and ſucceeded.

145 It is conjectured, that this *Publius Gabinius Capito*, was the Father of a *Roman Knight* of this Name, who was one of the Accomplices in *Catiline's* Conſpiracy. There were ſeveral *Tribunes of the People* of the *Gabinian* Family, from which he deſcended, and therefore has been thought *Plebeian*.

146 We have elſewhere obſerved, That the *Romans* reckoned five Years from one *Luſtrum* to another; and That the Authority of the *Cenſors* expired in a Year and half.

147 *Publius Licinius Craſſus* was the Father of *Marcus Craſſus*, who is ſo famous in the *Roman* Story, for his unfortunate Expedition againſt the *Parthians*.

148 Of this number was *Archias* the Poet, whoſe Defence *Cicero* undertook, againſt thoſe who diſputed his Right of *Citizenſhip*.

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ſelves upon a Level with the old ones, upon the firſt Opportunity. However, the *Cenſors* continued to diſcharge their Office in Peace, reformed the Manners of the City, baniſhed the Luxury that reigned there notwithſtanding the Indigence of the Republick, and prohibited thoſe exquiſite Perfumes which were bought in foreign Countries, at a great Price. They ordered, that for the future, no more *Greek* or *Amminean* [149] Wine ſhould be bought at the Rate of eight *Aſſes*, the Meaſure [150]. The Wants of the Publick produced all theſe Reformations. The Treaſury was ſo much exhauſted, that the *Quæſtors* were forced to turn the Prieſts and Sacrificers out of the Houſes the Publick gave them round the *Capitol*, and let thoſe Houſes to hire, for the Uſe of the Publick. Nay, the Diſtreſs was ſo great, that to ſupply the preſent Neceſſity, they made uſe of ſome of the Money that *Numa Pompilius* had depoſited in the Temple of *Veſta*. The *Cenſors* therefore did not think proper to undertake any new Works in ſuch difficult Times; but contented themſelves with a *Luſtrum*, which was not attended as uſual with a *Cenſus* of all the *Roman Citizens*. And this *Luſtrum*, which was reckoned the 67th from the Inſtitution of them in the time of King *Servius Tullius*, was thought unfortunate by the *Romans*, becauſe made without the Knowledge, or againſt the Conſent, of the *Augurs*.

App. Bell. Civ. L. 1. Oroſ. L. 5. c. 18.

Feſtus in Verranis.

§. XLVIII. Whilſt theſe uſeful Regulations were making in the City, the War was ſtill carrying on in the Provinces. The *Allies* were as full of Animoſity as ever, and their General filled all the Eaſt of *Italy* with Troubles and Hoſtilities. However, the *Conſul Pompeius* was not ſo much confined to the Siege of *Aſculum*, but he ſometimes turned it into a Blockade, and went to meet the Enemy in the open Field. The Country of the *Veſtini*, which was near that of the *Picentes*, ſtill perſevered in the Revolt. *Vettius Cato* was at the Head of the Rebels, and covered the Country with a great Army. The *Conſul* therefore led the beſt of his Troops againſt him, and defeated him in a pitched Battle; and then the *Veſtini* were ſtruck with Terror. They had already deliberated among themſelves, whether they ſhould not have recourſe to the Clemen-

Cic. Phill. 11.

149 The *Amminean* Wine was, in *Virgil's* Opinion, the beſt that grew in *Italy*. He commends it for its Strength, and bearing Age; and prefers it to thoſe of Mount *Tmolus* in *Phrygia*, and of the Promontory of *Phanæus* in *Phrygia*, though reckoned the beſt: and to that of the white Grapes of *Greece*, which were famous for their yielding a great deal, and keeping long.

Sunt etiam Ammineæ *Vites firmiſſima Vina,*
Tmolius aſſurgit quibus, & Rex ipſe Phanæus,
Argitiſque minor, cui non certaverit ulla
Aut tantum fluere, aut totidem durare per annos.
Georg. 2.

Pliny, B. 14. declares himſelf to be of the ſame Opinion; and ſays, the older it was the better it grew. *Principatus datur* Ammineis, *propter firmitatem, ſenioque proficientem ejus utique vitam. Cato, Theophraſtus, Varro,* and *Columella*, do likewiſe extol the Value and Delicacy of it; and the latter, as well as *Pliny*, mentions ſeveral ſorts of Vines, which were called *Amminean*. That which bore little Grapes, was called *Minor Amminea*, in Oppoſition to that which bore greater and was therefore called *Major Amminea*; and there was a third Sort, that bore double Grapes, and was therefore called *Gemella Amminea*. The latter produced a rough, but very laſting Wine. There was a great deal of this Sort grew in the Territory of *Capua*, and on the Sides of Mount *Veſuvius*, and of *Sorentum* in *Campania*. To which *Columella* adds a fourth Sort, whoſe Leaves were covered with a Down, like Cotton. It produced pretty good Wine, but it could not be kept long. It decayed immediately after it came to its Maturity.

Macrobius pretends, that theſe Wines were called *Amminean*, from a Part of Mount *Falernus*. *Amminea ſcilicet a regione; nam Amminei fuerunt, ubi nunc Falernum eſt.* But becauſe *Virgil* has plainly diſtinguiſhed the *Amminean* from the *Falernian* Wine; a learned Man of our own Age is of Opinion, that we ought to read here *Falentum*, inſtead of *Falernum*. And ſome conjecture, not without ſome probability, that, in *Virgil's* time, a Plant of the beſt Sort, which was cultivated in ſeveral Parts of *Italy*, was called by this Name. And indeed, *Phylargius*, on the Credit of *Ariſtotle* in his *Politicks*, ſays, That the Wines here ſpoken of, were brought by the *Ammimeans*, a People of *Theſſaly*, into *Italy*. This at leaſt is very certain, That in *Gallienus's* time, the Term *Amminean* was uſed, to ſignify any good Wine whatſoever, whether it grew in *Greece* or *Italy*. *Columella* ſays moreover, That the Ancients knew no other Vines but the *Amminean*, and always called the oldeſt by that Name. The bold Etymology of *Servius*, is as falſe, as it is puerile. He ſays, All that is meant by the Word is, that the Vines ſo called did not bear black Grapes. *Amminea, quia ſine minio, ſine rubore.* It happens unfortunately that *Pliny* ſays the direct contrary, in his 14th Book. Nor is the Opinion of *Alciatus* of more weight. He thinks, without any Proof, That the Word *Ammineum*, only anſwered to the *Greek* Word ἄμπελον, and was uſed only to ſignify that the *Amminean* were *the beſt* of Wines.

150 *Pliny* tells us, *B.* 14. That the *Meaſure* here ſpoken of, was the *Amphora*, or *Quadrantal*. It contained three *Roman Modii*, which contained each 26 Pounds $\frac{2}{3}$; or in other Words, it was equal to two *Urnæ*, or eight *Congii*. See Vol. 2. p. 597. It will doubtleſs ſeem ſtrange, that in the moſt populous City in the World, where there was ſuch Plenty of Gold and Silver, Proviſions ſhould be ſold ſo cheap. But it ought to be conſidered, That in a democratical State, the Dearneſs of Proviſions was the moſt uſual Pretence for Inſurrections. The Magiſtrates were in great Danger from an indigent and ſtarving Populace; and therefore the *Ædiles* made it their chief Buſineſs to take care, that Things ſhould be cheap and plenty. In ſome barren Years, the *Conſuls* and Senate were obliged by the Clamours of the People, to ſupply the Wants of the poor Citizens with Money out of the publick Treaſury.

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Epit. Liv. L. 75. *c.* 19.

cy of the *Romans*, or whether if they laid down their Arms, they might not claim the Privileges granted by the late Law, to ſuch of the *Allies* as ſhould return to their Duty; and *Pompeius* thought theſe Diſpoſitions favoured a Reconciliation, with a Nation which he had almoſt ſubdued. He granted General *Vettius* a Conference, between the two Camps; at which *Cicero* who was making his firſt Campaign under the *Conſul*, was preſent. *Vettius* at firſt mixed ſome Roughneſs with his Civilities; but after he had ſaluted *Pompeius*, he ſaluted likewiſe his Brother, who was lately come from *Rome*. And when *Sextus Pompeius* very kindly replied to him, *And what Name ſhall I give you? Vettius* civilly anſwered, *Call me your Friend by Inclination, and your Enemy by Neceſſity*. How this friendly Conference ended we are not told; but Hiſtorians give the *Conſul Pompeius* the Honour of ſubduing the *Veſtini*; and he afterwards returned from before *Aſculum*, the Reduction of which had been his favourite Point through the whole Campaign.

§. XLIX. On the other hand, the *Conſul Porcius Cato* was ſignalizing himſelf in the Country of the *Marſi*; though a Curſe ſeems to have attended the [151] Army that was fallen to his Lot. The *Conſul Rutilius*, who had firſt commanded it, and after him *Cæpio*, had loſt their Lives. *Marius* himſelf had gained but little Glory after he had taken upon him the Command of it, and had reſigned it. But it muſt be confeſſed, that it was employed in that Part of *Italy*, which abounded moſt with brave Soldiers. Nevertheleſs, *Porcius* had hitherto gained many Advantages over theſe formidable *Marſi*; and in a Tranſport of Joy, after a conſiderable Victory, he is ſaid to have gone ſo far as to ſay, that his Exploits had ſurpaſſed thoſe of the renowned *Marius*, in his laſt Campaign. We are alſo told, that this Rhodomontade was told to young *Marius*, and ſo ſtrongly affected him, that he was from that time wholly bent on revenging the Contempt the *Conſul* had ſhewn to his Father. In the mean time, *Porcius*, ſtill greedy of Glory, drove the Enemies as far as to the Lake *Fucinus*, and reſolved to force their Camp. The Victory was ready to declare for him, the *Marſi* beginning to make but a very weak Reſiſtance; but at the inſtant that he was promiſing himſelf an entire Conqueſt, he was killed by a Dart from an unknown Hand. It was indeed never well cleared up, whether the Dart was thrown from the Rampart, or the *Roman* Army: But the Suſpicion of killing the *Conſul* was caſt on young *Marius*. He already began to ſhed *Roman* Blood, and revenge his own, and his Father's Quarrels, on his Country. The *Marſi* took Advantage of this unforeſeen Accident; and, though ready to ſink, recovered themſelves, chaſed the *Romans*, and cut them in Pieces, in their Retreat.

Vell. Pater. L. 2. *App. Bell. Civ.* *Epit. Liv.*

The Loſs of a *Conſul* would have again thrown *Rome* into a Conſternation, if ſhe had not been comforted by the News ſhe received from her other Generals. The *Pro-Conſul Coſconius* [152] had forced the *Samnites* to retire into *Japygia* [153], to the Borders of

151 According to *Dio Caſſius*, whoſe Fragments *Monſieur le Valois* has collected, the Army of *Porcius Cato* was, in a great Meaſure, a Collection of idle Men, without Experience, or Courage, who had been raiſed in haſte, in *Rome*; and with them were incorporated ſome old Soldiers, whoſe great Age and Infirmities made them uncapable of military Labours. So that the General was forced to continue in Inaction. It would not have been prudent in him, to have run the Hazard of a Battle with ſuch ill choſen Troops; and being uneaſy at having the Command of Men who ſo little regarded the Glory of the *Roman* Name, and the Intereſts of their Country, he came to Threatnings and Reproaches with them. But theſe Cowards, who knew not what Obedience was, grumbled at the Reprimand; and diſperſing themſelves abroad ſought for Stones to kill the *Conſul*. But it fortunately happened, that the Field they were in had lately been ploughed, and they could find nothing but Clods of Earth to throw at him. The chief Author of the Revolt was *Caius Titius*; who before he turned Soldier, had ſpent his Youth at the Bar. He had been a mercenary Orator, ready to appear for any one that would pay him; and retained nothing of his former Profeſſion, but an unbridled Impudence, which ſupplies the Place of Merit, with ſuch Sort of Men. Having been accuſtomed to throw out Invectives againſt the moſt valuable Men, he did not ſpare the *Conſul*, and thereby blew up the Fire of Rebellion in his Army. *Porcius* being informed of his ſeditious Diſcourſes, had him brought to *Rome*; but he found Favour with his Judges, and was acquitted.

See Pl. 10. No. 6. Page 253.

152 It is uncertain, whether the *Coſconian* Family was originally *Patrician*, or *Plebeian*. We find the Name of one *Marcus Coſconius Epicurus*, on one of *Gruter's* Inſcriptions. *Livy*, B. 30, mentions one *Marcus Coſconius*, a *Military Tribune*. Another of the ſame Name was *Prætor*, in the Year of *Cicero's Conſulſhip*; as he informs us, in his *Oration for Publius Sylla*. He ſpeaks likewiſe, in his *Epiſtolæ ad Familiares*, of one *Caius Coſconius Calidianus*, who had been adopted from the *Calidian* Family into the *Coſconian*; which the Surname of *Calidianus* ſeems to ſhew. We have but one Medal *, or *Denarius*, of this Family, the Face of which is a *Rome*, wearing an Helmet. The Reverſe is a Chariot drawn by two Horſes; the uſual Impreſſion of the *Denarii* called *Bigati*, as we have elſewhere obſerved. On both Sides are the Names of one *Lucius Coſconius*, one *Lucius Licinius*, and one *Gnæus Domitius*. They were probably the *Triumviri Monetales* on that Occaſion; that is, were a Sort of Commiſſioners appointed by the *Conſuls*, or People, to inſpect the Mint; as we have obſerved. Vol. 3. p. 703. Note 8a.

153 Old *Japygia* contained in length, *Apulia-Daunia*,

of the *Adriatick* Sea. There the *Romans* defeated in a pitched Battle that *Marius Egnatius*, who had ſignalized himſelf ſo much among the Rebels. He loſt his Life in the Battle, and left his Troops to *Trebatius* the *Samnite*, who took upon him the Command of the vanquiſhed Army. It was ſtill large enough to keep the Field, and *Trebatius* encamped it on the Banks of the [154] *Aufidus*, over-againſt the *Roman* Camp, with the River between them. *Trebatius*, was full of Ardour, as is uſual with young Generals, to raiſe a Reputation, by beginning with ſome ſignal Action; and he challenged *Coſconius*, and gave him his Choice which of the two Armies ſhould croſs the River. *Let* Trebatius *then come to us*, replied the *Roman*, *ſince he is in ſuch haſte to be beaten! And we will, receive the vanquiſhed Enemy like Conquerors!* Upon this the *Samnite* paſſed the *Aufidus*, and drew up his Troops in Battalia along the River ſide. But the *Romans* would ſcarce give them Time to form themſelves. They attacked them with Fury, preſſed them hard, and drove them into the River; and in ſhort, made a terrible Slaughter of them. *Trebonius*, after the loſs of 15000 Men, had much difficulty to get ſafe with the Remains of his ſhattered Army into *Canuſium*; and the Fruit of this Victory was, that *Coſconius* ravaged the Countries of the *Larinates* [155], *Venuſii* [156], and *Pediculi* [157], whom he at laſt ſubdued, and forced to obey the *Romans*.

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Dio Caſſ. Epit. Liv.

§. L. Theſe Loſſes led on the Confederates gradually to their Ruin; and they now began to be in Pain for *Corfinium*, the Capital of their new Republick, which they made a Rival to *Rome*. They deſerted it, and removed their Senate and Magazines, to *Eſernia*, in the Country of the *Samnites*. And in order to repair the Misfortunes of their tottering Confederacy, they ſent an Embaſſy to *Mithridates*, to *Pontus* in *Aſia*. This Monarch [158] had already begun to declare War with the *Romans*, and the Treaties he had made againſt them, with the neighbouring Kings, ſeemed to promiſe him the Conqueſt of all *Aſia*, if not the ſpeedy Ruin of the imperious Republick. And whilſt the Deputies were in their Voyage, *Pompædius* made it his Buſineſs to ſecure a Sea-port, by which he might keep up a Communication with the Eaſt, and facilitate his Paſſage into *Sicily*, whither he intended to extend the Revolt. A Deſign mighty well laid, and it would perhaps have ſucceeded, if the good Fortune of *Sylla*, and the Conſtancy of the *Conſul Pompeius*, had not prevented theſe pernicious Deſigns, and rendered them abortive, before the Year expired. *Sylla*, of whom we have ſaid little hitherto, was the Hero of this Campaign. Though only a Subaltern, honoured with the Title of a *Pro-Conſul*, he eaſily effaced the Glory of his Rival *Marius*, who had hitherto eclipſed him. As ſoon as *Marius* had left the Army, *Sylla*, with the Troops he commanded, overran all the Countries of the Rebels, ſtaying in no particular Place, but haſtening wherever Victory called him.

Diod. Sic. Ecl. L. 17.

He firſt beſieged the City of *Stabiæ*, in *Campania*, took it by Aſſault, and gave it up to be plundered by his Soldiers. Then he went to join one of the *Roman* Armies, which had juſt killed its General *Poſtumius*, in a Mutiny, under Pretence, that he had ſome treacherous Deſign in view. This *Roman Pro-Conſul* had been nominated to command the Fleet, and endeavoured to force his Soldiers to embark. But the Haughtineſs of his Conduct, and his ill Uſage of them made him hated by his Troops; and in a Fit of Rage, they knocked him down with Stones, and finiſhed him with Staves. As ſoon as they had done this, *Sylla* appeared at the Head of his little Army, and his Appearance filled the Mutineers with Terrour. They took it for granted, that he would make ſevere Examples of them, and vigorouſly puniſh the wicked Violence offered to the Perſon of a *Pro-Conſul*. But *Sylla*'s true Character was not yet known. He was naturally cruel, but he at preſent concealed his inhuman Diſpoſition, under the Appearances of good

Plin. L. 3. c. 1. Epit. Liv. Plut. in Sylla. Oroſius. L. 5.

niana, *Apulia-Peucetiana*, and *Meſſapia*. In this Country, which is now a Part of the Kingdom of *Naples*, were comprehended *Calabria*, ſome Part of the *Baſilicata*, *the Land of Bari*, that of *Otranto*, and the *Capatinata* towards Mount *Garganus*, between the Rivers of *Fortore* and *Cervaro* on one Side, and thoſe of *Cervaro* and *Offanto*, on the other.

154 According to *Polybius*, this is the only River that divides the *Apennines*. See Vol. 3. p. 320. Note 6.

155 The *Larinates* inhabitated the City of *Larinum*, in the Country of the *Frentani*, on the Frontiers of *Apulia*.

156 See Vol. 2. p. 376. Note 58.

157 See Vol. 2. p. 195. Note 35.

158 *Mithridates* was then at leaſt 30 Years of Age. He had aſcended the Throne, after the Death of his Father, in the Year of *Rome* 631, at the Age of 10 Years according to *Strabo*, or 12, according to *Eutropius*. *Memnon* gives him a Year more. So that, in this Year 664, he muſt have been about 44, or 45.

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Nature; and regulating his Clemency and Cruelty by his Intereſt, either ſpared or ſacrificed Men, as the State of his Affairs required. His Aim at this time was to acquire ſo much Glory, as to force the Republick to promote him to the *Conſulate* the next Year; and with this View, when he came up with the Troops, whoſe Hands were ſtained with the Murder they had committed, he, to their great Surprize, treated them with Moderation. He only added the Criminals to his own *Legions*, and made them one Body; and when he was reproached with ſuch extraordinary Clemency, replied, *I have my Views. Theſe Men, to whom I have given Life, will be ready to ſacrifice it for the Good of their Country. Either their Rebellion will ſoon be puniſhed with Death in Battle, or they will wipe off the Shame of it by a glorious Victory.* Whereas *Sylla*'s real Intention in it was, to get himſelf a Party againſt the Jealouſy of *Marius*, and to procure Votes againſt the next Election.

Vell. Paterc. App. de Bell. Civ. L. 1.

§. LI. When his Army was thus doubled, *Sylla* went on new Enterprizes. He ventured to lay Siege to a ſtrong City, called *Pompeii* [159], not far from *Stabiæ*, and in the ſame Province. A General of the *Allies*, named *Cluentius*, haſtened to the Relief of this important Place, and encamped about 400 Paces from the *Roman* Army. The Multitude of his Soldiers increaſed his Confidence, (for it was common for the *Italian* Troops to exceed the *Roman* in number) and he marched out into the Plain in order of Battle. *Sylla*, who would not decline the Challenge, fell on the Enemy with Precipitation, tho' a great part of his Army was then buſy in forraging: But he found that Valour cannot always prevail over Numbers. He gave way, and was very near being routed, when his Cavalry very ſeaſonably returned from forraging. Then the Action was renewed, the repulſed recovered their Courage, the Victory, which was not long in ſuſpence, declared for the *Romans*; and the Army of the Rebels retired with Loſs, in order to return ſoon to the Charge.

Ciſalpine Gaul was not free from that Spirit of Revolt, which prevailed in the Eaſt of *Italy*; and *Cluentius* ſoon received a Reinforcement of *Gauls*, which repaired his Loſs in the laſt Battle. And now, being ſtronger and more reſolute than ever, he appeared again in the Plain, and came and inſulted *Sylla*, within reach of his Entrenchments. The *Pro-Conſul* was not very patient; and he aſſembled his Troops round his Tent, and harangued them thus. *I know your Valour, and you know the Enemy; but perhaps you have not yet a ſufficient Knowledge of me. However, ſince a great Part of you owe your Lives to my Clemency; Go, Soldiers, and merit the Pardon I have given you, by a Victory. Don't be ſparing of thoſe Lives which the Publick has ſtill a Right to take from you, by the Hands of the publick Executioner. It wholly depends on your Bravery, whether your Crime ſhall be buried in Oblivion, or not. I have been indulgent to you, in hopes of ſeeing you conquer; but if you are beaten, I will execute the Law upon you with the utmoſt Severity.* The Army ſeemed exceeding well diſpoſed to do their utmoſt; and they aſſured their General of it by repeated Acclamations.

App. de Bell. Civ. L. 1.

Whilſt all Things were thus getting ready for the Action, a *Gaul* of a gigantick Stature marched out of the Enemy's Squadrons, and by way of Prelude to the Battle, challenged the braveſt of the *Romans* to fight him, in ſingle Combat, at the Head of the two Armies. *Sylla*, to ſhew his Contempt for the *Gaul*, ſent out againſt him a young *Moor*, who was little, ugly, and ſquat; but brave, a good Horſeman, and very expert at throwing a Javelin. With the firſt he threw, he ſtruck the *Gaul*, and laid him dead on the Sand; and this ſlight Affair was both the Cauſe and Prognoſtick of one of the moſt memorable Victories the *Romans* had ever gained. The *Gauls* were ſtruck with a Pannick. They diſperſed, and their Flight produced that of the Confederates whom *Cluentius* commanded. The *Romans* took Advantage of their Diſorder, purſued them faſter than they fled, and cut 30000 of them in pieces. Nevertheleſs, *Cluentius* with ſome difficulty reached *Nola*, with the Remains of his Army, there reſted for ſome Days, aſſembled all the Troops he could, and encamped near the City, ſtill obſtinately adhering to the Confederates. On the other hand, *Sylla* no longer delayed attacking him in his new Poſt, than was neceſſary, to make himſelf Maſter of *Pompeii*. As ſoon as that City had ſurrendered at Diſcretion, he, in haſte to proſecute his Victory,

[159] *Pompeii*, or *Pompeium*, as *Salluſt*, *Seneca*, and *Tacitus* call it, or *Pompæa*, as *Strabo*, was formerly a maritime City of *Campania*. In the Reign of *Nero*, it was almoſt buried in its Ruins. *Cicero* had near it a Country-Houſe which he calls *Pompeianum*. See Vol. 2. p. 283, Note 90.

advanced

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advanced towards *Nola*, and encamped at a due diſtance from the Enemy, deſigning to put an end to the Expedition he had ſo happily begun. There the Preſages were taken upon the Altar, which was always built before the *Prætorium*, in the Place called *The Augural* [160]; and then *Poſtumius*, who performed the Office of *Aruſpex* in the Army, declared that Heaven promiſed *Sylla* ſome uncommon Piece of good Fortune. No ſooner was the Sacrifice begun, but a Snake came out from the Foot of the Altar, and twiſted his Body round it; and then all the Soldiers depending [161] on this lucky Preſage, ran to Arms without heſitation. This Prepoſſeſſion raiſed their Courage, and the Enemy were immediately intimidated, and routed upon the firſt Onſet. In their Fright, they thought to have found an *Aſylum* in *Nola*; but the Inhabitants opening only one of their Gates, for fear the *Romans* ſhould enter their City with the Fugitives, the *Romans* made a terrible Slaughter of them near *Nola*; and which ſeems very incredible, we are told, that *Sylla* did not loſe one Man in this bloody Battle. But *Cluentius* periſhed in it, and with him 20000 of thoſe *Samnites*, who had formerly been formidable to the *Romans*. In ſhort, *Sylla* reduced this fierce Nation ſo low, that it durſt not appear again in the Field; his victorious Army gave him near *Nola*, one of theſe *Obſidional Crowns* [162], which had nothing to recommend them, but the Honour the *Romans* were pleaſed to annex to them. Nevertheleſs, *Sylla* was ſo pleaſed with it, that he ordered the Ceremony to be painted in his fine Houſe at *Tuſculum*, as the moſt glorious Monument of his Life.

§. LII. After he had plundered the Camp of the *Samnites*, *Sylla* did not tarry to enjoy the Repoſe his Victories procured him; but firſt granted a general Pardon to his Troops, and rewarded the braveſt of them, and then led them on to new Exploits. *Campania* being ſubdued, he croſſed it without Oppoſition, and brought his *Legions* into *Hirpinia*; and as this Country was wholly devoted to the Rebels, he made it his Buſineſs to fill it with Terror. The firſt Place he inveſted there was *Aſculana* [163], whoſe Fortifications being only Wood and Turf, were not ſtrong enough to hold out long againſt a victorious Army: But the Inhabitants expected an Army of *Lucani* [164] to come immediately to their Relief, and endeavoured to ſuſpend the Attacks of the *Pro-Conſul*, and amuſe him with Negotiations, till their Friends arrived. *Sylla* therefore, who ſaw through the Artifice, granted them only one Hour to deliberate about ſurrendering; and in the mean time, ſurrounded the Walls with combuſtible Matter, and threatened to burn both them and their City to Aſhes. Then Fear prevailed over Obſtinacy; and *Aſculana* capitulated, tho' all the Favour the *Roman* would grant the Inhabitants, was their Lives. He gave up their Houſes to be plundered by his Soldiers; and by this Example of Severity, made the *Hirpini* more tractable. They came in Crowds to offer the Keys of their Cities to the *Pro-Conſul*, imploring him to favour them ſo far, as to leſſen the Rigour of military Executions; and he made his natural Cruelty give way to his Ambition, contented himſelf with ſubduing *Hirpinia* without ruining it, and immediately fell upon *Samnium*.

Auth. de Vir. Illuſtr.

Appian. Epit. Liv. L. 75. c. 24.

§. LIII. The *Allies*, as we have obſerved, had removed their Senate and Magazines from *Corfinium* to *Eſernia*, and conſequently had ſettled their laſt Bulwark among the *Samnites*; and *Sylla* believed the good Fortune which every where attended him, would

160 In this Place were kept the ſacred Pullets, and here the *Roman* Generals always conſulted the *Auſpices*, before they gave Battle, or ſet out on any important Expedition. See Vol. 2.

161 According to *Plutarch*, *Sylla* in the Memoirs he wrote of his own Life, gloried in this ſort of Events, whether true or falſe. He loved to give himſelf out for a Man whom the Gods foretold to the World, and whoſe future Grandeur they preſaged by Prodigies. Like an able Politician, he took advantage of the Credulity of a ſuperſtitious People, to bring them into his Intereſt. And it was with this View, he made a pretended Phænomenon, whether real or fictitious, to ſerve the Purpoſes of his Ambition. *Plutarch*, in his *Life of Sylla*, relates it thus. When the Republick had given him the Command of a *Roman* Army, againſt the *Allies* of *Italy*, he had no ſooner begun his March, but the Earth opened, and vomited out Flames, which reached to the Skies. The Diviners, when conſulted on this Occaſion, anſwered, That the Republick was bringing up an Hero who was already remarkable for his beautiful Face; That this great Man would one Day be a Sovereign; and That he would only uſe his Power, for the Happineſs and Tranquillity of *Rome*. Upon this Deſcription, ſays *Plutarch*, *Sylla* could not miſtake himſelf. He was handſome, and had remarkably fine white Hair. As for his Valour, it was known to all the World. He gave ſignal Proofs of it, in *Africa*, *Italy*, and the Eaſt.

162 See Vol. 1. p. 415. Note 51.

163 *Aſculana* was anciently one of the Cities of *Hirpinia*. It is now known by the Name *Frieento*, an Epiſcopal City in *The Further Principality*, about 20 Miles from *Benevento*.

164 See Vol. 2. p. 156. Note 33.

follow

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follow him [165] into this Country likewiſe, which was full of Mountains, Forreſts, and Rocks, and pave the Way under his Feet. But Experience ſhewed him, that as fortunate as he was, he could not change the Nature of the Places that led to *Eſernia*. He found the Roads impaſſable; when he was in the middle of a narrow Paſs, *Aponius*, the famous General of the *Samnites*, in a manner ſurrounded him; and then the *Caudian Forks* came to his Remembrance. Nevertheleſs, he found Means to recover this falſe Step, but more by Addreſs than good Fortune. He ſoon reſolved what to do; for he confeſſed, that he had always found Inſtinct a better Guide, than long Deliberations; and under Pretence of a Treaty, procured ſeveral Interviews with *Aponius*, and agreed to a Truce. But when the Ceſſation of Arms had made the *Samnites* more negligent, he filed off his *Legions*, one by one, in ſilence, and in the dark; quitted his Camp himſelf, leaving only one Trumpet in it, to proclaim the Watches of the Night; and laſt of all, the Trumpet likewiſe eſcaped, and followed the Rout of the *Roman* Army croſs Woods and Mountains. The *Pro-Conſul's* new March was likewiſe as well judged, as his Departure. After he had taken a large Compaſs, he came and fell upon the Rear of the Enemy, who were buſy in plundering his deſerted Camp, ſo vigorouſly, and ſo unexpectedly, that the *Samnites* were ſeized with Fear, and fled without making any Reſiſtance. There was a great Slaughter made of them, and *Apollonius* himſelf eſcaped with great difficulty. He was inconſolable at his Defeat, and wounded in the Head; but he found a ſafe Retreat in *Eſernia*, which was too ſtrong and too inacceſſible for *Sylla* to beſiege it; and he therefore determined not to attempt it, but turned another Way.

Plut. in Sylla. Frontin. Strat. L. 1. c. 5.

App. de Bell. Civ. L. 1.

§. LIV. On the Banks of the [165] *Tifernus*, which runs at the Foot of the *Apennines*, there ſtood a conſiderable City named *Bovianum* [167], which diſputed the Right of being the Capital, with all the other Cities in *Samnium*. It was ſituated partly on the Declivity of the *Apennines*, and partly in the Plain, as far as to the River, and was defended by three Citadels, which made it one of the ſtrongeſt Places in *Italy*. Towards the Side of the Hills, it was guarded only by a ſingle Rampart; but on the ſide of the Valley, by three Forts; and when *Sylla* came up to it, he pretended to attack only the weakeſt Part of the City, which drew the beſieged thither to withſtand the Aſſault. But he had likewiſe given Orders to another Body of the *Pro-Conſular* Troops to ſtorm one of the Forts, whilſt himſelf made a Diverſion for the Forces in the City; and as ſoon as the Detachment had ſcaled one of them, they gave the *Pro-Conſul* notice of it, by Fires on the Platform. Then *Sylla*, with incredible Expedition, enlarged the Breach he had begun; and the Enemy, after they had diſputed it with him three Hours, gave way, and ſurrendered at Diſcretion.

§. LV. After the Reduction of this City, the Rebels had only two Places of Importance left, *Eſernia* in *Samnium*, and *Aſculum* in the Country of the *Picentes*. This laſt City had long been beſieged by the *Conſul Pompeius*; and a great deal of Blood had been ſpilt in attacking and defending it. The Beſieged had from their Walls ſeen 75000 *Romans* engaged with above 60000 *Italians*; the former endeavouring to reduce, and the latter fighting to preſerve it. But now, about the Time that *Sylla* reduced *Bovianum*, *Pompeius* entered *Aſculum*; and puniſhed the Inhabitants of this very guilty City, with all the Severity they had deſerved. They had firſt ſet up the Standard for the Revolt, and ſignalized their Rebellion by the Murder of a *Roman Prætor*; and therefore Vengeance was executed upon them without Mercy. *Pompeius* ſaved only a few of their Chiefs to grace his *Triumph*; the reſt, whether *Præfecti*, *Tribunes*, or *Centurions*, all fell by the Axes of the *Lictors*; and all the Slaves that were found in the Place, were ſold, for the Benefit of the Republick. To the reſt of the Burghers, the *Conſul* granted Life and Liberty; but confiſcated their Lands, and gave all their Furniture for Plunder to the Soldiers. And now, after the Surrendry of *Bovianum* and *Aſculum*, we may look upon the War with the *Allies*, which had coſt ſo much *Roman* Blood, and had conſiderably depopulated *Italy*, as finiſhed; and it may be affirmed, That the Rebels who begun it, reaped the greateſt Advantage from it. They were all

made

[165] *Sylla* boaſted, that he knew how to fix the Inſtability of *Fortune*. She was his Favourite Divinity, and he ſcorned not to acknowledge any other; and therefore he uſed to ſay, that he owed all his Succeſſes to her.

[166] This River divided the Canton of the *Frentani* from old *Apulia*; and the neighbouring Mountain and City borrowed their Names from it; as appears by *Livy*, *B.* 8 and 10. See Vol. 2. p. 297. Note 18.

[167] See Vol. 2. p. 205. Note 45.

made *Citizens of Rome*, ſome ſooner, ſome later. So that, *Rome* reaped nothing but Glory from a two Years War, which almoſt reduced her to the laſt Extremity. The only Benefit ſhe gained was, That ſhe thereby taught her Neighbours to dread the Forces of a Capital, which was able to give Law to the reſt of *Italy*, and indeed to the whole World. Year of *ROME* DCLXIV. CN. POMPEIUS STRABO, & L. PORCIUS CATO, Conſuls.

§. LVI. And now, Autumn far advanced, and the firſt Froſts being come in, it was neceſſary for the Generals to lead back their *Legions* to *Rome*; and *Sylla* came thither ſome Days before his Army. This Hero, had acquired ſuch an uncommon Share of Glory in the Campaign, that the People could not well refuſe him the *Conſulate*. He therefore put on the white Robe, enrolled himſelf among the Candidates, appeared before the People in full Confidence, or rather with a Right, of prevailing over his Rivals; and the Aſſembly did him the Juſtice to nominate him *Conſul*, almoſt unanimouſly. He had alſo Intereſt enough to get his Friend *Q. Rufus* [168] *Pompeius*, whoſe Son had lately married his Daughter *Cornelia*, choſen his Collegue. It may ſeem ſtrange, that ſo great a General ſhould not attain to this Dignity, till ſo late in Life, being 49, when he was promoted to the *Conſulate*. But it muſt be remembered, that it was one ſingle Enemy, who retarded his Advancement to high Stations. Tho' a very great General, he could not obtain them, till he had entirely eclipſed the Glory and Credit of *Marius*; and when he was come to the higheſt Station, he took care to be effectually revenged of his Rival. He made uſe of all the Weight his new Office gave him to deſtroy *Marius*, and to recover the Glory, which he had been forced to loſe, when a Subaltern. We ſhall ſoon ſee the Eyes of the Republick, and indeed of the whole World, fixed upon him. All Men extolled his Bravery; his Friends ſaid that his Prudence even ſurpaſſed his Valour; and his very Enemies agreed, that *Rome* had never had a more fortunate General. And ſo far was he from being offended, at aſcribing his Succeſs to his good Fortune, that he himſelf boaſted that he had *Fortune* at his Command. *I own*, ſaid he, *that I am the Favourite, and the Creature of that Goddeſs. I owe all my Proſperity to her.* And indeed he adopted no Title with more Pleaſure, than that of *the Fortunate*. But if he was always fortunate in War, he was not ſo in his Wives. *Ilia*, and *Julia*, his two firſt, died very young, and left him only Daughters. *Cælia* [169] his third was divorced for Barrenneſs. And as he had always been a good Huſband, he contracted a great Alliance, as ſoon as he was nominated *Conſul*. He married for his fourth Wife *Cæcilia* [170] *Metella*, whoſe Birth, and Beauty, had made her the Ambition of all the young Noblemen in *Rome*; and this Preference raiſed great Jealouſy againſt him. Great as *Sylla* was, he was not thought worthy of ſo fine a Lady; which is likewiſe another Proof as of the Merit of the Wife, ſo likewiſe of the good Fortune of the Huſband. *Dio. L. 40.* *Velleius L. 2.* *Plut. in Sylla.*

But, tho' the *Roman* People had juſt put him at the Head of the Republick, he did not diſappoint *Cn. Pompeius* of the Honours he had deſerved. When the latter had preſided at the Election of *Sylla* and his Relation *Q. Pompeius*, he had nothing more to deſire, but to obtain a *Triumph*. Indeed the Republick might likewiſe have granted that Honour to *Coſconius*, *Sylla* himſelf, and all the Generals, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the War with the *Allies*; but none of them had commanded in Chief. Beſides, it was *Pompeius* only, who, inveſted with the *Conſular* Dignity, had put an end to the troubleſome Hoſtilities of theſe Neighbours. It was the taking of *Aſculum*,

168 We find together on two Medals *, the Names of *Quintus Pompeius Rufus*, and *Lucius Cornelius Sylla*, with the Title of *Conſul*, and the *Curule Chair*. The Dart, Palm-Branch, and Crown on the ſecond Medal, are Symbols of the higheſt Dignities with which they were inveſted. The Augural Staff on the Reverſe, inſcribed with the Name of *Lucius Sylla*, ſhews that he was an *Augur*. We ſee on the firſt, the Images of both *Conſuls*. Tho' we have elſewhere obſerved, that in the firſt Ages of the Republick, no Magiſtrate was ſuffered to have his Picture ſet on the current Coin. This was a Branch of Royalty, the very Name of which was odious to the *Citizens* of *Rome*, after the Expulſion of *Tarquin the Proud*, their laſt King. The Senate firſt granted this Prerogative to *Julius Cæſar*. Afterwards, the ſucceeding Emperors aſſumed it as an inſeparable Right of Sovereignty. From whence it is evident, that the Medal on which we ſee the Heads of *Lucius Sylla*, and *Pompeius Rufus*, muſt have been the Work of ſome of their Deſcendants. Theſe, as Inſpectors of the Mint, or *Triumviri Monetales*, as they were then called, ordered this *Denarius* to be ſtruck, to perpetuate the Memory of their Anceſtors, and the Nobleneſs of their Families. Or perhaps, *Sylla*, when become abſolute, in his *Dictatorſhip*, might aſſume a Power of coining what Money he pleaſed, as a mark of the ſovereign Power he had uſurped. * *See Pl.* 10. No. 7, 8. *Page* 253.

169 Nevertheleſs *Sylla*, according to *Plutarch*, did Juſtice to the Virtue of *Cælia* his third Wife; gave her publick Marks of his Eſteem; and was not divorced from her till he had loaded her with Honours and Preſents.

170 *Cæcilia Metella* was the Daughter of one *Quintus Cæcilius Metellus*, who had had the Honour of being *Pontifex Maximus*.

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for which the Republick was indebted to him, that had removed all Fear at home; so that the Revolt was no longer felt, but in some distant Provinces. To which we may add, that if many others had likewise *triumphed*, it would have been a kind of Insult on the Nations of *Italy*, which the Republick was willing to bring to, or keep in, their Duty, by gentle Methods. All these Considerations, induced the Senate to permit him, and him alone, to enjoy that Honour. *The sixth* [171] *of the Calends of January*, which was a little before he quitted the *Consulate*, was the Day fixed for his Procession; and the Prisoners he had taken from the *Allies*, were the only Ornaments of it. Among them, *P. Ventidius* [172], and his Wife, walked before the Victor's Chariot in Chains; and the Mother carried in her Arms, her young Son, who tho' now a Captive so early in Life, afterwards became a *Consul* in *Rome*, and rode himself in *Triumph* to the *Capitol*, after he had conquered the *Parthians*. This famous [173] *Ventidius*, who was afterwards one of the most renowned Generals *Augustus* had, was a Slave to the *Romans*, almost from his Birth. He was the Sport of *Fortune* for some Time; and after she had first used him ill, he became her Favourite. But we must return, and not anticipate Events; and therefore shall only observe farther, That the *Pompeius Strabo* who now *triumphed*, was the Father of *Pompey the Great*.

Aulus Gell. L. 15. *c.* 4.

171 *The Sixth of the Calends of January*, answers to our 26th Day of *December*. So that *Pompeius Strabo* triumphed six Days before his Successors took Possession of the *Consulate* on the *Capitol*.

172 *Appian* ranks this *Publius Ventidius* among the chief Commanders of the Troops of the Confederates. *Aulus Gellius* on the contrary, speaks of him only as a very mean Person; and adds, That his Son surnamed *Bassus*, was reduced to the vile Condition of a Muleteer, till *Julius Cæsar* first, and after him *Augustus*, put him in the Way of rising to great Preferments. This gave rise to the satyrical Verses mentioned by the same Author, *L.* 15. *c.* 4.

Concurrite omnes Augures, Haruspices,
Portentum inusitatum conflatum est recens;
Nam mules qui fricabat, Consul factus est.

Come ye Augurs *and* Aruspices, *and tell us the Meaning of this new Prodigy. He that cleaned Mules is become a* Consul.

173 The *Roman* Writers who mention the *Triumph* of *Cneius Pompeius Strabo*, are divided, as to *Publius Ventidius Bassus*. *Dio Cassius* says, That the Conqueror who triumphed over the *Parthians* in the Reign of *Augustus Cæsar*, was the Father of young *Ventidius*, the same Man who appeared with his Wife, in the humble State of a Captive, in the triumphal Procession of the *Consul Strabo*. But it is not easy to reconcile this with the space of 52 Years, which the Historians agree there was, between the Year of *Rome* 664, and the Time which the *Romans* made their Expedition against the *Parthians*, which was the Year 716. So that, at this rate, the Father of young *Ventidius* must have been 82. This is the least that can be allowed, considering that he must then have had the Experience and Ability of a General, since he was one in the Confederate Army, according to *Appian*, *Bell. Civ. L.* 1. It is therefore more reasonable to adopt the Opinion of the other ancient Authors, who all, except *Dio*, give this same *Ventidius* the Honour of having vanquished the *Parthians*, and of having raised himself, by his Merit, to the highest Offices in the Empire.

THE

THE Roman Hiſtory.

BOOK LVI.

§. I. AS ſoon as *Sylla* was entered on his Office, with *Q. Pompeius*, his Collegue, he laid aſide the Thoughts of applying himſelf any more to the War with the *Allies*. He had already ſignalized himſelf enough in it, and what remained to be done was not enough to ſatisfy ſo great a Mind. He had formerly been the chief Actor againſt *Mithridates* in *Aſia*, and had ſettled *Ariobarzanes* on the Throne of *Cappadocia*; and his Inclination now led him to the Country, where he promiſed himſelf a very plentiful Harveſt of Glory. *Mithridates* had thrown off the Maſk, and ſhewn his ill Intentions to *Rome* by open Hoſtilities. In ſhort, *Sylla*'s Heart was ſet upon going into *Aſia*; and whether by Agreement between the *Conſuls*, or by Lot, the War with *Mithridates* was aſſigned him. But it was not without much Oppoſition, that he was at laſt able to lead the *Roman Legions* thither. It was not till after he had ſpilt a great deal of *Roman* Blood, had taken *Rome*, and given his Country the fatal Precedent of turning his Arms againſt her, in order to ſupport his private Intereſt. This is a Piece of Hiſtory which ought to be ſet in a juſt Light; and when truly repreſented, it will ſhew us the Character of the *Romans* of this Time, the ſtrong Inclinations they had to Sedition, and the Neceſſity there was of their being governed by one Man.

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When *Sylla* ſtood for the *Conſulſhip*, he was oppoſed by a Competitor, who was ſupported by Intrigues, but had not paſſed through the uſual Steps to the firſt Dignity. This was one [1] *C. Julius Cæſar*, of the ſame Name with the Deſtroyer of the Republick, but very different from him in Age, and Merit. The Conqueror of the World was at this Time but twelve Years old. The *Cæſar* [2] of whom we ſpeak, was proud

1 The *Caius Cæſar* here ſpoken of, was the Son of *Popilia*; who had had, by her former Husband, *Quintus Lutatius Catulus*, who ſhared the Honour of having defeated the *Cimbri* with *Marius*.

2 The Ancients agree, That the *Julian* Family came originally from *Alba Longa*. We have obſerved, Vol. 1. That after the total Deſtruction of that City the *Julii* were tranſplanted to *Rome*, in the Reign of *Tullius Hoſtilius*. Nevertheleſs it is true, according to *Livy* and *Dion. Hal.* that one *Julius Proculus* had followed the Fortune of *Romulus*, and been honoured with the Title of Senator, immediately after his removal. Whence it follows, that only *Proculus* of the *Julian* Family had a Settlement in *Rome*, when the others of the ſame Family came to people the riſing Colony. From that time the *Julii* held the firſt Places among the *Citizens* of *Rome*. In the firſt Ages of the Republick, we ſee ſeveral of this Family raiſed to the Dignity of *Conſuls*, and *Military Tribunes*. The *Libones*, and *Mentones*, two Branches of the *Julian* Family, had their Share of the firſt Dignities. And ſoon after the *Iuli* appeared. This Surname in which they gloried, ſhewed the Antiquity of their Origin, by carrying it back to *Iulus*, the Son of *Æneas*, and Grandſon of *Venus* and *Anchiſes*, according to the fabulous Traditions of thoſe Times. This laſt Branch was perpetuated, or rather revived in the *Cæſars*. The moſt general Opinion is, That this Surname was given them, becauſe the firſt of them could not be brought into the World without cutting open his Mother. Hence the Surgeons to this Day call that *The Cæſarean Operation*. Some have thought, with leſs Probability, that one of the *Julii* had long *Hair*, and that they were ſo called from the *Latin* Word *Cæſaries*. Others chooſe to ſay, That he had *blue Eyes*, and was therefore called *Cæſar*, *a cæſiis Oculis*. Nor is the Conjecture of *Servius* leſs frivolous. He ſays, That the Word *Cæſar* ſignified in the ancient *Punick* Language, an Elephant; That *Caius Julius*, the Grandfather of the firſt *Roman* Emperor, killed one of theſe Beaſts in *Africa*, with his own Hands; and That from thence he aſſumed the Surname of *Cæſar*, and tranſmitted it to his Deſcendants. *Servius* did not conſider, that this Nick-name is more ancient

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proud of his Nobility which he traced up to [3] *Æneas*, beloved by the People for the fine *Games* he had given them in his *Ædiliſhip*, and eſteemed for his Wit, and for an eaſy, pleaſing kind of Eloquence; and he thought it in his Power to obtain not the *Conſulſhip* only, but likewiſe the Command of the Army deſigned againſt *Mithridates*. But they who were zealous for the old Regulations oppoſed him. The ambitious *Cæſar* deſired to be *Conſul*, before he had been *Prætor*; and contended, that the *Roman* People had always granted ſuch kind of Diſpenſations, and might now ſhew him the ſame Favour which they had formerly ſhewn to the two *Africani*. But, as it was a kind of Preſumption in him to offer ſuch a Petition in the *Comitia*, it is eaſy to imagine that it was rejected. His moſt zealous Oppoſer was [4] *P. Sulpicius*, a *Tribune of the People*, who was otherwiſe his Friend. The Republick could not now be at a Loſs for Generals to ſend againſt *Mithridates*. Not to mention *Sylla*, who began to be very eminent, many other Generals had been formed in the War with the *Allies*. Upon theſe Conſiderations, the unſeaſonable Deſires of the Candidate were rejected; and *Sulpicius* had the Honour of having ſupported with Steddineſs, the ancient Cuſtoms of *Rome*.

Thus *Sulpicius* began his Office of *Tribune*, with an Act of Equity which gained him ſome Reputation; but he ſoon tarniſhed it, by giving himſelf wholly up to a Spirit of Faction. He devoted himſelf to the ſeditious *Marius*, and conſulted him only, whoſe former Glory ſtill impoſed on a few Incendiaries. He prevailed on the young *Tribune* to concur with him in endeavouring to ſupplant *Sylla*, and by the Authority of the People deprive him of the Commiſſion he had from the Senate, to lead the *Roman Legions* into *Aſia*, and bring *Mithridates* to Reaſon.

§. II. It is ſurpriſing indeed, that *Marius* at his Age, ſhould ſtill be forming Schemes of Glory and Ambition; ſince his Infirmities had forced him in the laſt War, to lay down the Command of the Army he led againſt the *Marſi*. But though fat and heavy, and worn out with Gouts and Rheumatiſms, yet he was ſtill deſirous of appearing at the Head of an Army beyond Sea. Such Strength can Emulation, or ra-

ancient than the Man, he ſpeaks of. *Livy* mentions one *Sextus Cæſar* who was *Prætor* in *Sicily* in the Year 545, after the Battle of *Cannæ*, and commanded a *Roman* Army, in that quality.

That the *Julii*, eſpecially the *Libones*, *Mentones*, *Iuli*, and *Cæſari*, had been *Patricians* of the firſt Order, *Majorum Gentium*, is not to be doubted. All Authors agree in it. Nevertheleſs we muſt except one branch, which was not ſo noble, if it be true, That one *Appius Julius* had been *Tribune of the People*, in the Year 304, as ſome MSS of *Livy* affirm. But we have proved, Vol. 1. p. 489. Note 137, that the Copyiſts, either through Ignorance, or Haſte, put the Name of *Julius* inſtead of that of *Villius*.

*See Plate 10. No. 9. Page 253.

To ſupply the defect of the Hiſtorians, a * *Conſular* Medal has preſerved the Memory of a fifth Branch, which is diſtinguiſhed from the others, by the Surname of *Burſo*, which is on the reverſe. The winged *Victory*, which holds a Crown in her Hand, and guides a triumphal Chariot, the Head of *Mercury*, the Trident, and the two Darts, allude to ſome remarkable Action, of which we have no account in Hiſtory.

[3] This was thought the certain Origin of the *Julian* Family among the *Romans*. And therefore *Julius Cæſar* boaſted of being deſcended from the Gods. He was fonder of this Imagination than any of his Anceſtors; and loved to declare to the World, That the Blood of the Gods ran in his Veins, and That he was deſcended in a right Line from *Venus*. He talked thus, in the funeral Oration he made for *Julia* his Aunt. *Amitæ meæ Juliæ maternum Genus ab Regibus ortum, paternum cum Diis immortalibus conjunctum eſt. Nam ab Anco Martio ſunt Marcii Reges quo nomine fuit mater; a Venere Julii, cujus gentis familia eſt noſtra.* In moſt of the Medals he cauſed to be ſtruck, in his *Dictatorſhip*, he was altogether as careful to tranſmit to Poſterity the Grandeur of his Family, as his Victories and *Triumphs*. We ſometimes ſee them bear the Figure of *Æneas* carrying his Father on his Shoulders, as in the Medal mentioned Vol. 1. p. 33. But oftner, a *Venus* in different Attitudes, as in the Medal N° 10. in Plate 10, Page 253. The Face of it, is an Head wearing an Helmet, and the Reverſe, the Goddeſs riding in a Chariot, and drawn by two winged Loves.

[4] One of the *Tribunes of the People* named *Publius Antiſtius Labeo* joined with his Collegue *Publius Sulpicius*, againſt *Caius Cæſar*. The Quarrel ran high, and *Aſconius* ſays, the *Comitium* had very like to have been turned into a Field of Blood. But the Candidate choſe rather to ſacrifice his private Intereſt to the Tranquillity of the Publick, and deſiſted.

We may form ſome Judgment of this *Antiſtius*, by the account *Cicero* gives of him, in his *Brutus*. He ſays, he was a contemptible Declaimer, who at firſt diſcovered no Talent, but that of impudently barking at his Adverſaries, and ſtunning the Judges with his Clamours. Till at length, being weary of reaping no other Benefit from his wretched Speeches, but the Shame of being hiſſed at, and ridiculed, he condemned himſelf to ſilence for ſome Years! But when he was become a *Tribune of the People* he appeared on the Stage again. Then he found Means to impoſe on the Multitude, and gain himſelf the Reputation of an Orator of Conſequence. And it may be ſaid, to his Praiſe, That by conſtant Uſe he acquired ſo eaſy a manner of Speaking, that he excelled the two famous Orators *Pomponius* and *Carbo* in this particular; and this was what gained him ſo much Credit among the People. He became the Oracle of the Bar, and was employed in moſt great Cauſes. But *Cicero* adds, that he wholly owed this great Character to the Misfortunes of the Times. *Rome* was then a Prey to the Factions of *Marius* and *Sylla*. Merit and Virtue durſt not appear in open Day-light. The Laws and Eloquence could not be heard amidſt ſo much Noiſe and Confuſion.

ther Jealouſy, give to ambitious Minds! He could not bear to ſee *Sylla* gather the Laurels in the Eaſt; and his Rivalſhip was more effectual, than any other Remedy, to cure, or at leaſt to make him diſſemble, his Infirmities. The old General appeared again in the [5] *Field of Mars*, and mixed with the Youth there, as if he intended again to be inſtructed in, and inured to, bodily Exerciſes. Which, no doubt, was to give the People to underſtand, that he was ſtill inclined, and had Strength enough, to bear the Fatigues of a War in a foreign Country.

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At the ſame time, the *Tribune* [6] *Sulpicius* ſupported the Pretenſions of his Friend *Marius*, with his Eloquence, and with many Artifices. His Point in view was to get the Command of the Armies in *Aſia* transferred from *Sylla* to his Friend; and he applied himſelf to it with very great Addreſs. In the firſt Place, he gained himſelf Credit among the People by ſeveral Laws which were contrary to the publick Good; and never mentioned *Marius* in the *Comitium*, till his own Authority there was well eſtabliſhed. The only way to make his Court to the People being by mortifying the Senate, his firſt *Plebiſcitum* was againſt them. It prohibited any of the *Conſcript Fathers* to borrow more than 2000 *Drachmæ* [7]; which, conſidering that Money was ſcarce at *Rome*, and at the ſame time all Things venal there, was in effect putting it out of their Power, to carry on their Intrigues, or buy Votes. By another Law, the *Tribune* got it enacted, That the Strangers, who were lately come for the Right of *Citizenſhip*, ſhould be blended together with the other *Citizens* even in the *Country-Tribes*; and conſequently ſhould have the very ſame Right of voting, each in his *Tribe*, as others had, without any Diſtinction. This was effectually making himſelf Maſter of a Majority of Votes on any Occaſion. He had great Reaſon to conclude, that all theſe new *Citizens* would be under his Influence, and vote as he ſhould deſire. So that this was ſtrongly eſtabliſhing his Authority, and making himſelf formidable. And when this was done, he ventured to be a little more open in his Declarations in favour of *Marius*. All his old Friends, who had been the Peſts of the Republick, had been baniſhed, when Tranquillity reigned in *Rome*: And ſome *Tribunes*, of the *Marian* Party, had made ſome Attempts to get them recalled, which *Sulpicius* himſelf had oppoſed. He had not then entered into ſo ſtrict a Friendſhip with thoſe ſeditious Men, as to ſacrifice the publick Peace to them. But, ſince his giving himſelf up blindly to his Friend *Marius*, he had much altered his Sentiments and Conduct. He now, regardleſs of the Diſcourſes and Reproaches of Men of Honour, demanded the recalling of thoſe who, he ſaid, had been baniſhed without a Hearing; and, being Maſter of the People, he obtained what he deſired. All the Ancients have lamented the Aſcendant which the Orators then aſſumed over the common People. Their Art, and their Speeches contributed more to the Ruin of the Republick, than Arms. *Sulpicius* may juſtly be ſaid to be the Trumpet, who by his Eloquence ſounded the Alarm to the civil Wars, and ſtirred up *Citizen* againſt *Citizen*, Father againſt Son, and Brother againſt Brother.

Plut. in Sylla.

Pædian in Corn. *Appian.* *Epit. Livian.*

§. III. During theſe Shocks, which *Marius*, with the Aſſiſtance of the factious *Tribune*, gave to the publick Liberty, the two *Conſuls* were preparing to take the Field. Tho' the Commotions of the *Allies* were much leſſened, they were not entirely quelled in all Places. *Lucania* obſtinately perſiſted in the Revolt. It was therefore thought proper to ſend thither a large Body of *Romans*, under the Command of a Lieutenant-General named *Gabinius*. He was a brave Officer, who, in the two preceding Years, had ſignalized himſelf againſt the *Marſi*, by taking ſeveral Cities. But the War with the *Lucani* proved fatal to him. As he was purſuing the Enemy, whom he had routed, he received a mortal Wound, which ſunk him to the Ground, and raiſed the Courage of the Rebels. However, another Expedition againſt the *Marrucini*, was more ſucceſsful. *Ser. Sulpicius* overcame them, and brought the whole Country into Subjection to *Rome*. And this Advantage was followed by another of greater Impor-

Epit. Liv. App.

5 See Vol. 3, p. 540. Note 85.

6 *Sulpicius Rufus* was ſcarce arrived at the Age of Manhood, when he entered the Liſts with the famous *Marcus Antonius*, in the Oration he made againſt *Caius Norbanus*. According to *Cicero*, he had all the chief Qualifications of an Orator, an Energy of Expreſſion, a Majeſty in his Sentiments, a Vehemence of Style, a Grandeur in his Action, and great Gracefulneſs in his Elocution. He wanted nothing to have made him a compleat Orator, but the Delicacy, Wit, and Gaiety of *Lucius Craſſus*, whom he took for his Pattern. *Cicero* ſpeaks of *Sulpicius* in ſeveral Parts of his Works.

7 *Sulpicius*, ſays *Plutarch* in his *Life of Sylla*, was ſo far from obeying the Law he had made himſelf, that he died 3000000 of *Drachmæ* in Debt; which at 10 *Sols* to each *Drachma* make 1500000 *French Livres*. 96875 *l. Ster.* *Arbuth.*

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tance. The [8] *Veſtini*, and *Peligni* came voluntarily, and ſubmitted to the old *Conſul Cn. Pompeius*, who was returned to his Camp at *Aſculum*, after his *Triumph*. But *Pompeius* had promiſed them Peace, and an entire Amneſty, only upon this Condition, that they would deliver up to him *Vettius*, the Ring-leader of their Rebellion; and they were dragging this General, after he had been baſely treated by his own Soldiers, to the *Roman* Camp in Chains, when one of his Slaves, moved with Compaſſion at his Misfortunes, and warmed with a generous Zeal for the Honour of his Maſter, thought it his Duty to deliver him, from the Slavery to which he was deſtined. To this end, he fell furiouſly on one of the Guards that attended *Vettius*, ſnatched away his Sword, and plunged it into the Body of his Maſter, who by his Looks and Geſtures expreſſed his Gratitude to this faithful Servant. He inſtantly died of the Wound; and the Slave, who immediately ſtabbed himſelf with the ſame Sword, did not ſurvive him many Minutes. So true is it, that noble Sentiments, and what the prophane Authors call true Magnanimity, is not excluded from the Breaſts of the meaneſt Perſons!

Mac. Saturn. L. 1.

After the ſurrendry of the *Veſtini* followed that of the *Marſi*, among whom the Revolt had begun. *L. Licinius Murena*, and *Q. Cæcilius Pius* obliged them to ſue for Peace. But *Pompædius* ſtill ſupported the ſinking Cauſe, in the Country of the *Samnites*. He had juſt armed 20000 Slaves, as his laſt Effort, and had retaken *Bovianum*, which *Sylla* had reduced. *Æmilius Mamercus*, Lieutenant-General to *Sylla*, in his Abſence fought *Pompædius* with the Troops left under his Command, and killed 6000 of the Enemy. But the utter Ruin of this famous General of the *Allies*, was the Work of *Cæcilius Pius*; who, after he had taken *Venuſia*, turned his Arms againſt *Pompædius*. The latter had had the Aſſurance, to decree himſelf a *Triumph*, and to enter *Bovianum* in a Chariot, amidſt the Acclamations of his Army. After this he encamped near *Teanum*, and was meditating new Exploits, when *Cæcilius* and *Servius Sulpicius* gave him Battle, in which he was vanquiſhed, and himſelf and another General of the Confederates killed. His Death put an End to all the Hoſtilities among the *Italians*, and the War was then no where continued but in a Corner of *Lucania*, which it was eaſy to pacify, and in and about *Nola*. So that *Rome* again enjoyed ſome Serenity, in the firſt Months of the *Conſulate* of the fortunate *Sylla* and his unfortunate Colleague, who not many Months after was cut off by a Hand, from whom he had leaſt Reaſon to expect it. Such were the Manners of the *Romans* at this Time. When their Ambition was to be gratified, they had no regard to Law, or Religion, or Relation, or Principles of Honour, or even to Humanity itſelf.

Jul. Obſeq. c. 116. Oroſ. L. 5. c. 18.

Liv. Epit. L. 77. c. 9.

§. IV. In the mean time, *Sylla* came to take Poſſeſſion of the Troops which he was to command in his Year, and marched towards *Campania*. His Deſign was to finiſh the Reduction of his Province, and ſettle it in perfect Peace; and to diſpoſe his old Soldiers to go with him into *Aſia*. *Nola* was ſtill to be reduced; and *Sylla* had already formed the Blockade of this rebellious City, when he was obliged to leave his Army, and return to *Rome*. The Cauſe of his ſudden Departure was this. The *Tribune Sulpicius*, at the Head of the Party *Marius* had raiſed up, cauſed terrible Diſorders in the Capital. The *Conſul Pompeius* complained of it; but he had neither Authority nor Spirit enough to withſtand the Enterprizes of the audacious *Tribune*. *Sulpicius* carried all before him in *Rome*, not by Perſuaſion, but by Violence and Force of Arms. Neither the *Gracchi*, *Saturnini*, nor any other furious *Tribunes*, had ever carried their Inſolence to ſuch Exceſs as *Sulpicius* now did. He was a Monſter of Impudence, Avarice, and Inhumanity. He had taken into his Pay 3000 armed Men, who guarded him in all Places Sword in Hand, and among theſe he choſe out 300 *Knights*, whom he called the *Anti-ſenate*. Surrounded continually by theſe deſperate Men, he publickly and deliberately exerciſed the moſt unjuſt Tyranny in *Rome*. He had opened publick Offices in the *Forum*, where the Right of *Citizenſhip* was ſold to the meaneſt Strangers, and to *Freedmen* juſt come out of Slavery; and the Profits of theſe Sales were applied to his own Uſe. Beſides, he would have no publick or private Cauſes tried at any Tribunal but his own. In ſhort, he would have been deemed a real Sovereign, if he had not been a Vaſſal to *Marius*, a greater Tyrant than himſelf. The latter, tho' he kept behind the Curtain, influenced *Sulpicius* in all he did, and

Plut. in Sylla.

8 It ought to be remembred, that the *Veſtini* inhabited that Part of *Further Abruzzo*, which lies between the Rivers of *Piomba*, and *Peſcara*. But the *Peligni* poſſeſſed that Part of *Hither Abruzzo*, which is near *Sermona*, and borders on the Rivers *Peſcara*, and *Sangro*.

had

had brought him to be only a Tool, to execute his Fury. *Sylla* therefore returned to *Rome*, to oppoſe the Violence of the *Tribune*, with the Authority of the *Conſul*.

As ſoon as arrived, *Sylla* joined his Collegue, and both endeavoured to find Means to lay the Storm which *Marius* had raiſed by ſummoning the People, in order to propoſe to them the Law for incorporating the *Allies* into the 35 *Tribes*. In the firſt Place, they ſuſpended, for ſome Days, the aſſembling of the People, in the *Comitium*. It was there that *Sulpicius* had erected his Throne, the *Roſtra* being the Place from whence he lorded it over the Multitude, partly by the Livelineſs of his Orations. The *Conſuls* therefore ordered ſeveral *Feriæ* to be kept; that is, they forbad the Judges to hold their Seſſions, and the People to repair to their *Tribunals* on theſe Days. And this ſhort Vacation would have calmed the Storm, if *Sulpicius* had ſuffered his Party to keep it. But it was no ſooner proclaimed than broken. The *Tribune* immediately left his Houſe, attended by his Guards, whom he ordered to hide Daggers under their Robes; and marched croſs the City to the Temple of [9] *Caſtor*, where the *Conſuls* were haranguing the Senate, who were aſſembled by their Order. The *Conſcript Fathers* were terrified when they ſaw *Sulpicius* enter; and more ſo when they heard him inſolently command them to diſannul the *Conſular* Decree, which ordered the Courts of Juſtice to be ſhut up. The *Conſuls* refuſed to repeal their own Ordinance; and there inſtantly aroſe a general Murmuring through the whole Aſſembly. Then, upon the firſt Appearance of Reſiſtance, the *Tribune*'s Partiſans drew out their Ponyards, and fell on the defenceleſs Senators, with great Fury. The *Conſul Pompeius* was ſurrounded the Aſſaſſins, and narrowly eſcaped with his Life. His Son, a young Senator, who had lately married *Sylla*'s Daughter, was [10] wounded by the Villains in a thouſand Places, and died in the Temple, which ought to have been his Protection. As for *Sylla*, he, with an Intrepidity worthy of him, made his Way through the Murderers, and got out of the Temple. But he was purſued by *Sulpicius*'s Men, and whether it was that he could find no other Retreat, or that he had a Mind to conſult with *Marius*, he [11] entered his Houſe. In all Probability, nothing but extreme Neceſſity could oblige him, to lay himſelf at the Mercy of his moſt inveterate Enemy. However, *Marius* thought himſelf obliged to keep within ſome Bounds, and to ſave Appearances; and did not care for being reproached with having ſtained his Houſe with the Blood of a *Conſul*. He only forced *Sylla* to ſwear, that he would diſannul the Decree, concerning the Vacation, and aboliſh the *Feriæ* he had appointed. After exacting this Oath, *Marius* himſelf let *Sylla* eſcape by a back Door; and *Sylla* kept his Word. He went directly to the *Comitium*, and in the Preſence of the People, recalled the Order for interrupting the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, and the uſual Aſſemblies. By this Act of Moderation, or Policy, he ſo far pleaſed *Sulpicius* himſelf, that the *Tribune* ſuffered him to return to his Army in *Campania*, without depriving him of his Office. But he did not uſe *Pompeius* ſo tenderly. He made the People, whoſe Suffrages he had at his Command, to paſs a Decree, whereby they declared this *Conſul* deprived of his Office and Authority.

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App. de Bell. Civ. L. 1.

Plut. in Mario & Sylla.

§. V. Thus would *Sylla* have been alone at the Head of the Republick, if this Decree had taken Place; and he repaired in all haſte to his Camp near *Nola*, where he wholly employed himſelf in preparing for his Departure for *Aſia*. During theſe Preparations, *Sulpicius* exerciſed in *Rome* a more abſolute Authority than ever; and at length the Time came for his diſcloſing the Scheme, which he had long ſince concerted with *Marius*. This was, to transfer to that old Warriour the Commiſſion which had been granted *Sylla*, to make War with *Mithridates*, in the Eaſt. At this Point all his Enterprizes, during his whole *Tribunate*, had been levelled; and with the ſame Impudence, which he had ſhewn in all his Proceedings, he aſſembled

9 *Plutarch* does not ſay that the Senate aſſembled in the Temple of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*. According to him, the *Conſcript Fathers* were deliberating in the *Forum*, over againſt that Building, when *Sulpicius* came upon them, attended with his Guards.

10 According to *Appian*, young *Pompey* attempted to ſuppreſs the Audaciouſneſs of *Sulpicius* and his Company, and the Threatenings he uſed increaſed the Fury of theſe Villains. They all joined againſt him, and were not afraid to murder the Son of the chief Magiſtrate in the Republick.

11 *Sylla*, in the Memoirs he wrote of his own Life, relates this Matter ſomewhat differently. He does not allow, that he choſe to retire into *Marius*'s Houſe, to ſave his Life. But only ſays, That he was ſo ſurrounded on all Sides with this Company of armed Men who were in Pay with *Sulpicius*, that he was forced to do it. And adds, That when he was there in the midſt of naked Swords, he could not help giving Way for a Time to the Fury of theſe Banditti, by ſubſcribing the moſt unjuſt Laws.

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the *Roman* People, and extorted from them a Decree in favour of *Marius*, and againſt *Sylla*. They paſſed a Law, enacting, That the *Conſul* ſhould continue in *Italy*, and *Marius*, tho' now only a private Man, ſhould go and command the *Roman Legions* in *Aſia*. *Sulpicius* did not conſider, that this was puſhing *Sylla* to the Wall, and muſt therefore put him out of all Patience. Party-Zealots ſeldom uſe any Diſcretion; they are generally very fond, upon the leaſt Succeſs, of mortifying their Adverſaries as much as poſſible. On the other hand, *Sylla*, who was ſenſibly affected with this Blow, and thought it Time to exert himſelf, upon the firſt Rumour of this Alteration, aſſembled his Soldiers, and made them a very artful Harangue, which he better underſtood how to compoſe, than the moſt famous Orators of his Age. Without declaring his Intention of leading them to *Rome* to ſuppreſs the Audacioufneſs of the furious *Tribune*, he managed ſo, as to bring his Soldiers themſelves, to pray him to march them to the Capital, Colours flying, and Sword in Hand.

Plut. in Syll. App. B. C. de Bell. Civ.

App. Bell. Civ. L. i.

Brave Romans, ſaid he, *I underſtand by Fame, that it is deſigned you ſhall croſs the Seas, and fight the eaſtern People, under the Command of another General. All Things are now in great Uncertainty at* Rome. *The* Tribune Sulpicius *is daily bringing about more Changes there, than the Winds raiſe Storms upon the Seas, over which you are to paſs.* Sylla *then, whom your Victories the laſt Year have advanced to the* Conſulate, *will no longer command you! I ſhall be deprived of my dear Children, who have been my Glory, and in whom I placed my Happineſs!* Marius *will bring you under another kind of Diſcipline, than the gentle Treatment which you have experienced. Can you bear his Looks, or hear the Thunder of his Voice, without Terror? Will Victory it ſelf make you amends for the Rigours and Hardſhips, which you muſt ſuffer in his Camp? Beſides,* Marius *is not now the Hero he formerly was; tho' he was even then brave, more from a Severity of Nature, than true Valour. Age has now chilled that martial Vigour, which enabled him, to become with me, the Conqueror of King* Jugurtha, *the* Teutones, *and the* Cimbri. *You ſaw him degenerate in the laſt Campaign, and conceal his timorous Inaction, under the Pretence of want of Health. But what is it to you, whether he be grown a Coward, or infirm? The Queſtion is, Whether he can now lead you on to Glory? I could have done ſo, and made you Maſters of the Dominions and Spoils of* Mithridates. *A Happineſs, which the Fates indeed once promiſed me: But* Sulpicius, *by his unjuſt Proceedings, and* Marius, *by his Intrigues, have deprived me of it. They have extorted a Decree from the People, againſt their Will, whereby* Marius *is made your General. Adieu then, my dear Companions in Battles and Victories! Adieu for ever! All I can do is to regret my Loſs, and lament my Misfortune.*

Had it been decent for Soldiers to weep, Tears might probably have dropped from their Eyes, at this Speech; at leaſt their Fury was very viſible in their Looks. During theſe Tranſactions, two *military Tribunes*, one of which was *Gratidius*, a Relation of *Marius*, arrived in *Sylla*'s Camp, with notice to the Troops that their General was changed, and with Orders, to lead them to *Marius*, who was waiting to embark them. And then the Rage of the *Legionaries* could be kept within no Bounds. They buried the two Meſſengers from *Marius*, under an heap of Stones, and unanimouſly cried out; *Let us march to* Rome! *It is there, that we ought to avenge the Injuries done to the* Conſular *Dignity, and the Oppreſſion of our Liberties!* The *Conſul*, as may well be imagined, did not oppoſe the Ardour of his Soldiers; it was Time their Hatred ſhould break out. Nevertheleſs, he pretended only to comply with the Impetuoſity of his *Legionaries*, and give way to the Force of the Stream. In the mean time, *Rome* was divided between *Sylla* and *Marius*, with regard to the diſputed Commiſſion. Men of Senſe, thought it a ridiculous Thing, for a Man of no Birth, who was paſt 70, and whoſe Body was a mere lump of Fleſh, to undertake a War beyond Sea, and to pretend to take from a *Conſul* who was ſtrong and in his Vigour, an Office that was his due. And the Pretence he [12] made uſe of to diſguiſe his Ambition, was laughed at. He pretended,

Plut. in Syll.

12 The boundleſs Ambition of an infirm, decrepid old Man, was Matter of Ridicule among *Sylla*'s Party. *A Man*, ſaid they, *of his Infirmities, and ready to ſink under the Weight of old Age, has nothing to do but to go to the warm Baths at* Baiæ, *to cure him of his Rheums and other Complaints. He has nothing elſe for preſerving the Remains of an expiring Life, which will very ſoon bring him to the Grave.* And indeed *Marius* had a fine Country-Houſe near *Bayæ*, and *Miſena*; and there the old Warrior, who was hardened with military Fatigues, gave himſelf up to Effeminacy, and indulged himſelf in baſe Pleaſures, unworthy of his Age and Profeſſion. *Plutarch* tells us, That before this Houſe came to *Marius*, it belonged to *Cornelia*, the

pretended, that he desired it only for the Instruction of young *Marius*, his Son; whereas every one knew, that a low Jealousy of *Sylla* was his chief Motive. It was this that had led him to act that mean Part in *the Field of Mars*, of mixing with the Youth, and pretending to learn afresh the Use of Arms. Year of *ROME* DCLXV. L. Cornelius Sylla, & Q. Pompeius Rufus, Consuls.

§. VI. But *Rome* was no less alarmed at the Approach of *Sylla*, than displeased at the ill-judged Ambition of *Marius*. The Senate were struck with Terror at the News. *What a Precedent is this!* said the wisest among them, *We have never yet seen a* Consular *Army treat* Rome *as an Enemy. Will* Sylla *dare to lay Siege to it? Shall we shut the Gates against a* Consul? *Or will he march his Army into the City? What then will become of our Temples, Houses, Wives, and Children?* The *Conscript Fathers* therefore ordered two *Prætors, Brutus* and *Servilius*, to meet *Sylla* upon the Road, and stop him in his March. But the proud *Consul* was more exasperated than ever. He had been informed that *Sulpicius*, at the Instigation of *Marius*, had massacred all his Friends in *Rome*, by way of Reprizal for the Murder of *Gratidius*; and therefore gave the two Deputies from the Senate a coarse Reception. His Troops broke the *Fasces* of these *Prætors*, tore off their Cloaths, and it was with Difficulty that they escaped the Cruelty of the Soldiers. The Road from *Rome* to *Nola* was now always full of People, going and returning, to and from the Camp, and City; and all the Officers of the *Consular* Army, except the *Quæstor*, either for fear of disobliging *Marius*, or perhaps from Principles of Honour, deserted. On the other hand, all that disliked the Violences of *Sulpicius* left *Rome*, for fear of being involved in a general Massacre. So that, the Consternation was universal. The most earnest to have recourse to *Sylla*, was his *Collegue*, Q. *Pompeius*, whom *Sulpicius* had deprived; and he joined him with all the Troops he could get together. With this Reinforcement *Sylla*'s Army consisted [13] of six *Legions*; and they, warmed with his Spirit, breathed nothing but Vengeance and Plunder. At the Head of these formidable *Legionaries*, the two *Consuls* advanced towards the Capital; and then, the Evil was too near, to suffer *Marius* to continue unactive. He made what Preparations he could, and invited the Slaves to take up Arms in defence of *Rome*, in hopes of Liberty. But finding it difficult to get Men to follow his Standards, he continually sent Messenger after Messenger, to amuse the *Consul* with rambling Proposals, in the Name of the Senate; and at last, *Sylla* pretended [14] to comply. He declared himself ready to suspend Hostilities, but upon Condition, that *Marius* and *Sulpicius* should immediately leave *Rome*, and come and confer with the Heads of the Republick Face to Face. Knowing, That these Authors of this Tempest in the State, would never venture to appear in the Plain, and That they only pretended to capitulate, to gain Time; in order therefore to elude one Artifice by another, he promised to wait for them, at the Village of *Pictæ* [15] *Tabernæ*, between 25 and 30 Miles from *Rome*, in the *Lavican* [16] *Way*: and the better to carry on the Deceit, he immediately

Plut. in Sylla.

App. Bell. Civ. L. 1.

the Mother of the *Gracchi*, who had bought it for 65000 *Drachmæ*, or 37500 *Livres*; and that afterwards *Lucullus* gave for it 2500000 *Drachmæ*, that is the Value of 1250000 *Livres*. And this considerable difference in the Price will appear less surprizing, if it be considered, that the Riches and Luxury of the *Romans* daily increased; and consequently the Price of Things must in Proportion. Or perhaps, the House might be so much advanced in Price, only on account of some Embellishments, or Appendages that *Marius* had added to it.

13 According to *Plutarch*, *Sylla*'s Army consisted of 30000 Foot, and 5000 Horse.

14 *Marius* and *Sulpicius* had only a few factious Men, to oppose a powerful and enraged Enemy, and therefore their only Means to stop *Sylla* in his March, was to interpose the Authority of the Senate. The two Deputies that came to him from this august Body, did all they could to prevail on the two *Consuls* to suspend their Resentments, and not suffer their Army to come nearer the City than five Miles; and *Plutarch* says, That *Sylla*, not knowing what Part to choose, had recourse to the Sacrifice usually offered up before great Expeditions. He consulted the *Auspices*, and sought for some Sign of the Will of the Gods, in the Entrails of the Victim. *Postumius*, one of the *Aruspices*, promised Success in his Enterprize, with such Confidence, that he offered to be bound, and suffer Death, if his Prediction did not prove true. The next Night, adds the *Greek* Historian, made the Truth of the Presage more manifest, and fully confirmed *Sylla* in his Design of marching his Army to *Rome*. In his Sleep, he thought *Bellona*, or some other warlike Deity, appeared to him, and put Thunder into his Hand, that he might throw it at *Marius*'s Party; and he imagined he saw the Goddess herself directing his Aim, and his wounded Enemies expiring at his Feet. Upon the Credit of this Vision, which he related to his Collegue, he promised himself a compleat Victory, and resolved to continue his March.

15 This Village is called in *Latin* by the ancient Geographers, *Pictæ Tabernæ*, or *Picta Diversoria*; whence it is conjectured that some Inns were built here for the Reception of Travellers. Instead of ταβερνας, as we read in *Strabo*, we find in most of the Copies of *Plutarch*, πυλας, which is a Mistake of the Copyist.

16 *The Lavican Way* was so called, because it led from *Rome* to *Lavicum*, an ancient *Colony* from *Alba Longa*, which was in the Neighbourhood of *Zagaruolo*, or *De la Colona*, according to *Holstenius*. It lay between the two Aqueducts, one of which was called

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mediately ordered his Pioneers to pitch a Camp there. But all this was only to deceive thoſe who wanted to amuſe him. As ſoon as the Deputies from *Marius* were gone, he doubled his Pace, and marched his *Legions* with ſuch Expedition, that they were within ſight of *Rome* in a few Hours. Many noble *Romans*, who were retiring to their Country-Houſes, aſked *Sylla* upon the Road, what he was going to do at *Rome?* and his Anſwer was, *to deliver the City from her Tyrants.*

In ſhort, at a Time when it was leaſt expected, a Detachment from the *Conſular* Army, commanded by *Caius Mummius*, came and ſeized *The Eſquiline* [17] *Gate*. *Sylla* ſoon followed, and poſted a whole *Legion* there. *Pompeius* led another to the Gate [18] *Collina*, and made himſelf Maſter of it. A third *Legion* was poſted at the Head of the Bridge [19] *Sublicius*, and ſhut up the Entrance into the City, on the Side of the River. A fourth *Legion* did the Office of an Army of Obſervation without the City, by patrolling about the Walls near the *Gate* [20] *Cœlimontana*, and defending the Approaches to it. And laſtly, the two other *Legions* were ordered to march into the Heart of it. When they came to the End of the Street that faced *the Eſquiline Gate*, they met with ſome Reſiſtance. *Marius* appeared, followed by a Company tumultuouſly aſſembled, and offered to fight the *Conſular* Troops. Sudden Emotions had often been ſeen in *Rome*, and Battles had ſometimes been fought, without Order, or Preparation. But now a Battle was fought there, in due Form, by regular Troops, and with ſound of Trumpets. Upon hearing them, the *Citizens* who were all formed to War, were ſeized with a martial Ardour; and having no Arms, their firſt Impetuoſity led them, to go up to the tops of their Houſes, and throw down Stones indifferently on the Troops of both Sides. *Sylla* ran to the Head of his two *Legions*, ordered them not to retire, and with a Flambeaux in his Hand, threatened the *Citizens* to burn their Houſes, if they did not [21] deſiſt from all Hoſtilities. This appeaſed the Inhabitants, who became only Spectators of the Battle; and then *Sylla* drove [22] *Marius* from Street to Street, as far as to the Temple of the Goddeſs [23] *Tellus*; where the Attack was renewed, and the Advantage equal. *Sylla* therefore ſent for ſome of the *Legionaries* which he had left at one of the Gates; and at the ſight of this Reinforcement his Ardour increaſed. *Marius* and his Troops had like to have been ſurrounded, and they retired as they fought, towards the *Capitol*, which ought to have been an *Aſylum* for them; and as *Sylla* was purſuing Sword in Hand, he ſaw ſome of his Soldiers plundering an Houſe. Upon this, he immediately ſuſpended further Action, poſted Guards in all Quarters of the City to hinder the like Diſorders, and very deliberately puniſhed the Robbers, in the Place where the Robbery was committed. In the mean time, *Marius* made his eſcape, and poſted himſelf in the Citadel of *Rome*; but *Sylla* had now gained the Confidence of the *Romans*, by ſo exemplary and ſeaſonable an Act of Juſtice.

§. VII. He and his Collegue were in motion all Night, labouring to preſerve *Rome* from Pillage: And they at length prevailed on their Soldiers to agree, That no *Citizen* ſhould be injured in his Goods. As ſoon as it was Day, they aſſembled the People in the *Comitium*, and there harangued them in as much Tranquillity, as if there had been no Blood ſhed in *Rome*, the Day before. *Did you*, ſaid they, *elect us to be your ſupreme Magiſtrates, in vain? The Evils the Republick has long ſuffered, called for a ſpeedy Remedy; and we were of Opinion, that they could not poſſibly be cured without the Loſs of ſome Blood. And what yet remains to be done, after this little bleeding, which*

called *Aqua Marcia Tepula*, and the other *Aqua Claudia*; and it ended at *Anagnia*, where it joined *The Latin Way*.

17 Some think this Gate ſtood where *Porta Major* now does. See Vol. 1. p. 212. Note 59.

18 See Vol. 1. p. 212. Note 60.

19 The Bridge *Sublicius* is now no longer in Being. See the preceding Volumes.

20 The Gate *Cœlimontana* took its Name from *Mount Cœlius*. It was called *Querquetulana* from the *Oaks* that covered this Hill. It is now called *St. John's Gate*, becauſe *St. John* was thrown into boiling Oil near it. Some Moderns confound this Gate with another which was called *Aſinaria*. The latter, which is much leſs than the former, was near *The Baptiſtery of Conſtantine*, and led to a Street which terminated in the Gardens of *Aſinius Pollio*, at the Foot of the Hill *Aventinus*. Add to this, that *Feſtus* places the beginning of *The Aſinarian Way*, pretty far from the Gate *Cœlimontana*, between *The Latin Way*, and that which led to *Ardæa*.

21 *Plutarch* ſays, That *Sylla* ordered his Archers to throw burning Darts, to the tops of the Houſes.

22 *Sulpicius* and *Marius* in vain called the Multitude of *Citizens*, that were Spectators of the Battle, to their Aſſiſtance; no Body ſtirred. And it was with as little Succeſs, that they promiſed Liberty to the Slaves that ſhould take up Arms againſt *Sylla*: none accepted the Offer.

23 Under the Name of *Tellus*, the Pagans worſhipped the *Earth*, or rather *Nature*, as the common Parent of all Beings. See Vol. 2. and 3. of *Iſis* and *Cybele*.

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may give ſome Relief to this groſs Body, is this. To ſearch the Evil thoroughly to the bottom, and purge off that Heap of Corruption which infects us. The Cauſe of all this has been the exorbitant Authority of the Tribunes. *What Right had they to aſſume a Power of bringing what Petitions they thought proper before the People, and of drawing up Laws without communicating them to the Senate? By what Artifices have they enervated the Senatorial Body, by filling it with weak Men, who had not Courage enough to ſupport the Authority of their own Rank? Why have our* Comitia *degenerated from their firſt Inſtitution? King* Servius Tullius *eſtabliſhed them by* Centuries: *But the* Tribunes *have taken care that they ſhall aſſemble* [24] *only by* Tribes. *And this has made them Maſters of the Queſtions of moſt Importance. The common People who are governed by their Paſſions, have often out-voted the moſt ſenſible and moſt illuſtrious Parts of the Republick. Hence theſe terrible Confuſions and Diſorders. Let us therefore reform three Particulars, and then our Diſtractions and Oppreſſions will ceaſe with the Violences of the* Tribunes. *Make it a Law for the future,* Roman People, *1ſt, That no Law ſhall ever be brought before you, till it has firſt been ſeen and approved of by the Senate; 2dly, That the* Comitia *in the* Field of Mars, *ſhall not, for the future, be held by* Tribes, *but by* Centuries; *and 3dly, That the Senate ſhall hereafter be filled with none, but Men of the greateſt Families and Reputations of any in the Republick. To which I muſt add, That we deſire, by way of Preliminary, That the Laws of the* Tribune Sulpicius *be annulled* [25].

The *Conſular* Authority made ſome Impreſſion on the People; and the Arms of *Sylla* made them perfectly tractable. They enacted whatever the *Conſul* deſired, and thereby *Sylla* was at liberty to go to *Aſia*, and make War with *Mithridates*. But this did not content him. He thought it neceſſary to extinguiſh the Firebrand of Diſcord, in the Blood of *Marius* and *Sulpicius*; and to that end, he inveſted the *Capitol*, and forced them to leave that and the City too, for fear of falling into the Hands of their Purſuers. After this, the *Conſuls*, now Maſters of the People, and more ſo of the Senate, proſcribed by a Decree of the *Conſcript Fathers*, twelve of the moſt ſeditious *Tribunes*, or their moſt zealous Friends. The firſt was *P. Sulpicius*, then *P. Cethegus*, *D. Junius Brutus*, *Curius* and *Quintus Granius*, *P. Albinovanus*, *M. Lætorius*, *Q. Rubrius Varro*, and laſtly, the two *Marii*, Father and Son, with two Senators, who had taken up Arms againſt the *Conſuls*, and had ſollicited the Slaves to rebel. But after all, *Sylla*'s greateſt Reſentment was againſt *Marius* and *Sulpicius*; and after he had confiſcated their Eſtates, he ſet a Price upon their Heads. The twelve proſcribed Perſons endeavoured to hide themſelves, to eſcape the Rigour of the Decree; and *Sulpicius*, whom *Sylla*'s Hatred cauſed to be purſued with moſt Care, was firſt found, concealed in his Country-Houſe, in the midſt of the *Laurentin* Marſhes. One of his Slaves betrayed him, in hopes of the promiſed Reward. So that the Wretch was the Death of his Maſter, through a ſordid Avarice. One of *Sylla*'s Guards beheaded *Sulpicius*; and his Head was brought to *Rome*, and fixed upon a Stake over againſt the *Tribune of Harangues*, where he had made ſo many ſeditious Speeches. And then the treacherous Slave received at once, both the Reward, and the Puniſhment, of his Treaſon. *Sylla* ordered the Money to be paid him for the Diſcovery of *Sulpicius*; and at the ſame time commanded, that he ſhould be thrown down from *the Tarpeian* Rock, for betraying his Maſter. A juſt Puniſhment! and *Sylla* thought to do himſelf Honour by it.

§. VIII. As for *Marius*, *Sylla*'s Emiſſaries purſued him with as much Zeal, as they had ſought *Sulpicius*; and the People murmured at it, from the natural Compaſſion always ſhewn to Heroes, when fallen into Misfortunes. The Miſchiefs they have done are then forgotten, and nothing remembered, but their preſent Sufferings and paſt Glory. The Senators themſelves, tho' rejoyced to ſee the People humbled, yet murmured at the Decree that proſcribed *Marius* and his Accomplices. Moſt of them, jealous of the Honour of their Body, were grieved to ſee their Collegues condemned to Death, like Villains and Robbers. Nay, the *Romans* in general ſhewed a Coldneſs to

24 See Vol. 2. p. 336. Note 11.

25 *Sylla* added, That the *Tribunes* muſt be forbidden their continual Harangues, whereby they ſpread the Fire of Sedition; and That in order to ſet Bounds to the Audaciouſneſs of theſe *Plebeian* Magiſtrates, it was proper to make a Law, expreſly enacting, That thoſe *Citizens* who had been *Tribunes* ſhould not afterwards aſpire at the *Curule* Offices. After which, ſays *Appian*, he proceeded to the Choice of 300 of the moſt illuſtrious of the *Roman Citizens*, who were incorporated into the Senate; that Body having been then reduced to a very ſmall Number, either by Death, or the Deſertion of thoſe who had ſided with *Marius*.

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Sylla, when the next Elections came on. It was of great Importance to him, to have two Perſons choſen *Conſuls*, who were of his Party, and devoted to his Intereſt. He had little to fear from the *Tribunate*, which he imagined, he had brought into Contempt. The ſucceeding *Conſuls* only were formidable to him; and he therefore preſented two of his own Friends, for Candidates. One was *Nonnius*[26] his Siſter's Son, the other *Servius Sulpicius*, who had long ſerved under him. But the *Roman* People were not diſpoſed to follow his Inclinations.

The politick *Sylla* therefore dropped the Canvaſs for the two Perſons he had propoſed. Tho' he had the Power in his Hands, he choſe rather to conciliate to him the Minds of the People, than to oppoſe their Deſires; and he declared he would not diſturb the Freedom of the Elections. *L. Cornelius Cinna* was then in great Eſteem, and the popular Party had ſet him up for the *Conſulſhip*. The Attachment he had always ſhewn to *Marius* made him agreeable to the Multitude; tho' he was ſuſpected of all the Vices that then infected *Rome*. He had neither Sincerity, nor Truth, nor any real Love for his Country. He knew no other God but Fortune, nor any other Virtue, but a brutal Conſtancy in ſupporting a ſeditious Faction, by which he expected to advance himſelf. Nevertheleſs he, by his Diſſimulation, deceived *Sylla*; who in a private Converſation found no difficulty in prevailing on him to renounce his former Engagements to *Marius*. But that alone did not ſatisfy the *Conſul*, who brought him to the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*; and there, in the Preſence of ſome common Friends, he ſwore an inviolable Attachment to the Party of the Senate. He ſubmitted to the common Ceremonial, in all appearance, with Chearfulneſs; and letting fall a Stone which he held in his Hands, pronounced the uſual Form of an Oath; *May the Gods reject me, as I throw away this Flint, if I break my Word!* Yet ſtill the Oath of a Cheat was a poor Security. And therefore *Sylla* thought it proper to take another Precaution; which was, That the ſecond *Conſul* ſhould be a Man of Integrity, whoſe Love for the publick Good was the governing Principle of his Life. This was *Cn. Octavius*, whoſe Wiſdom *Sylla* believed would be a proper check to *Cinna*'s Sallies, if he ſhould diſcover any Inclinations to vary from theſe Engagements.

L. Cornelius Cinna, and *Cn. Octavius*[27], were proclaimed *Conſuls* for the next Year; ſome Months before *Sylla*'s Office expired. And he ſoon perceived, that the bare Hopes of having one of *Marius*'s Friends in the *Conſulate*, put many People in Motion. A great Number of rich Men, and Women, who were devoted to their Pleaſures, were afraid the popular Faction would ſink. If the Senate prevailed, a Reformation would infallibly follow, and an Enquiry be made after the Goods that had been uſurped from the State. And therefore the Women aſſiſted the Rich with their private Intrigues, in order to procure the recalling of the Exiles. An Intereſt was ſecretly made in *Rome*, for *Marius*, tho' a Fugitive and proſcribed. Whilſt, on the other hand, *Sylla* was wholly intent on making the beſt uſe of the little Time, he and his Collegue *Pompeius* were to enjoy the *Conſulate*; and their chief Aim and Endeavour was to get the *Marii*, Father and Son, ſeized, and to rid the Republick of them. They ſent out ſome Squadrons of their Horſe to ſearch for them in all Places, and bring them to *Rome* alive, or dead; and *Sylla* ſet a Price upon their Heads. One of the Hiſtorians makes it a Crime in him, to have thus exceſſively perſecuted an Hero, who, tho' his Enemy, had ſaved his Life, when he fled to his Houſe for Refuge, in a popular Tumult. But there was a great difference between the two Caſes. How could *Marius* expect to eſcape with Impunity, if he had offered Violence to the Perſon of a *Conſul*? When *Sylla* fled to his Houſe for Refuge, he had all the *Inſignia* of the *Conſular* Dignity, and had not been condemned by any judicial Aſſembly. But *Marius* had now been proſcribed by a Decree of the Senate; and it could not be pretended, that the Sentence was unjuſt. *Sylla*'s Conduct therefore in this Affair was blameleſs.

Plut. in Sylla.

§. IX. The Dangers *Marius* ran, during his Flight, were indeed ſuch, as would even melt us into Tears, if we could forget his Crimes; and remember only his Victories. As ſoon as he had left *Rome*, all the World, his moſt intimate Friends not ex-

Plut. in Mario.

26 The Family of the *Nonnii* muſt have been *Plebeian*, ſince, as will appear hereafter, ſeveral of them were made *Tribunes of the People*.

27 *Cn. Octavius* was the Son of another *Octavius* who was *Conſul*, in the Year of *Rome*, 625; and the Grandſon of him, who was *Conſul* in the Year 589, and was honoured with a naval *Triumph*, after the Victory he had gained at Sea, over the Fleet of *Perſes*. According to *Cicero*, he deſerved the Reputation of a great Orator, by the eloquent Speeches he made at the Bar, and before the People aſſembled in *Comitia*.

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Plut. in Mario.

cepted, forſook him. Attended only by young *Marius* his own, and *Granius* his Wife's Son by a former Huſband, he retired to one of his Country-Houſes, called *Solonium*, not far from [28] *Lanuvium*. From thence he ſent his Son for Proviſions to the Houſe of *Mucius* [29] his Wife's Father, whoſe Eſtate was near his own; and young *Marius* found no body there, but the Slave who took care of the Farm. In the mean time, *Sylla*'s Cavalry inveſted the whole Canton, whither the *Marii* were thought to have fled for Refuge; and a ſudden Fear ſeized the Father, and made him leave *Solonium*, without waiting for his Son's Return. He immediately ſet out for *Oſtia*, accompanied by *Granius* only. In this Port, which was not far off, he found a Bark, which his Friend *Numerius* had provided for him againſt all Events, and went a-board. A favourable Wind ſpringing up, he ſet Sail, without any manner of Proviſions, and ſteering from Weſt to Eaſt, coaſted along the *Italian* Shore. The City of *Terracina* [30] would have been a ſafe Retreat for him; but *Geminius*, one of his moſt furious Enemies, commanded there; and *Marius* therefore ordered the Maſter of the Bark, to avoid a Port which might prove fatal to him, and keep from the Shore. Soon after, a violent Storm aroſe, and drove the weak Veſſel into the main Sea; they were forced to return to the Shore, to get Refreſhments in the Neighbourhood of [31] *Circæum*; and *Sylla*'s Party had already Poſſeſſion of that Port. What then was to be done? The great *Marius*, oppreſſed with Hunger, exhauſted with the Fatigues of the Sea, and ſurrounded with Perils both by Land and Water, choſe to ramble about the Fields, in equal Dread, whether he met People there, or met them not.

On the other hand, *Marius* the Son ran no leſs Hazards at the Country-Houſe of his Father-in-Law *Mucius*. *Sylla*'s Soldiers broke into it, and ſearched every Corner of it; but the Slave who took care of the Farm, adviſed him to an Expedient to ſave his Life, which ſucceeded. He packed him up in a Bundle of Beans, loaded him on the Cart to which the Horſes were ready put, and brought him to *Rome*. His Wife *Mucia* immediately prepared Proviſions for his Departure; and after a few Hours reſt, he left the City, repaired to the next Port, went on board a Veſſel which was ready to Sail, and had a good Paſſage. He arrived ſafe in one of the Ports of *Africa*, where the great *Marius* was known and revered.

Whilſt the Son was enjoying this ſeeming Tranquillity, in a friendly Country; the Father ſupported his Weakneſs by his Courage, and walked a great Pace croſs the Fields, notwithſtanding the heavineſs of his Body. As he went, he begged Bread of ſome Cowherds he met, who had none for themſelves; but they adviſed him to take care to avoid the Scouts, who were hovering about in that Neighbourhood. He therefore crawled on as well as he could, tho' ready to faint with Weakneſs, to a Wood, and there ſpent the Night. The next Day he continued his Walk, and amuſed *Granius* and the Domeſticks that were with him, with ſeveral Stories, to leſſen their Fatigues, and encourage them. He told them, that when a Child, ſeven young [32] Eagles fell down out of the Air into his Lap; and that the Diviners had foretold that he ſhould be ſeven times *Conſul*. *Courage therefore, Companions*, ſaid he, *my Deſtiny is not yet fulfilled. Let us preſerve our ſelves for better Times!* Theſe Words much encouraged his People;

28 The City of *Lanuvium* was 20 Miles, that is about 7 Leagues from *Rome*, on *The Appian Way*. The *Italians* now call it *Civita Lavina*, and *Civita Iudovina*. We have elſewhere mentioned the Worſhip its Inhabitants paid to *Juno Soſpita*.

29 This *Mucius* was the famous *Quintus Scævola*, who was one of the moſt virtuous and moſt learned Citizens in *Rome*. We have already ſeen him ſucceſſively raiſed to the firſt Dignities in the Republick, and honoured with the Title of *Augur*. This venerable old Man was ſtill alive, when *Sylla* appeared in *Rome* as a Conqueror, after the Defeat of *Marius*. And when all Things gave way to the Will of the victorious, *Scævola* did not forget what he owed to the Father-in-Law of his Daughter *Mucia*. He alone dared oppoſe, in *Sylla*'s Preſence, the Sentence of Condemnation, which the Senators were going to paſs againſt *Marius*. When he was called on in his Turn to vote, he kept a profound Silence. And when he vouchſafed to ſpeak, it was only to inſult the Conqueror, who threatened him with the ſevereſt Vengeance, if he refuſed to ſubſcribe the Decree of Proſcription. *It is in vain for you*, ſaid he, (according to *Val. Max. B.* 3. from whom we have taken this Account) *to attempt to intimidate me by Threatenings. You may let out, if you pleaſe, the little Blood that is left in my Veins. Neither the Sight of the armed Soldiers that ſurround you, nor the Fear of any Puniſhment that you can deſign for me, ſhall ever force me to declare that Hero an Enemy to his Country, to whom* Rome *is indebted for her Safety, and for her moſt glorious Conquests.*

30 *Terricana* ſtood in the Country of the *Volſci*, which is now a Part of the *Campagnia di Roma*. See Vol. 2. p. 147. Note 21.

31 The City of *Circæum*, according to *Cluver* and Father *Briet*, ſtood where *Civita Vecchia* now does, near the Village of *S. Felicita*.

32 This Fable was to doubt the Invention of *Marius*, if it be true, as *Plutarch* obſerves, that an Eagle never brings more than two young ones at a Time.

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and they travelled on by the Sea-ſide, near the Strand; but when they were got within about 2500 Paces of [33] *Minturnæ*, they ſaw Horſemen at a great diſtance riding full ſpeed towards them. And then, as intrepid as *Marius* was, he was afraid to die out of a Battle. Nevertheleſs he took Courage at the Sight of two *Felucca's*, which were under Sail near the Shore; and he and his Company immediately threw themſelves into the Water, and ſwam to the Ships. They were ſcarce got a-board, when the Squadron who were in queſt of him, came to the Strand; and the Commander of it called out, and commanded the Mariners to ſet the Proſcribed aſhore, or caſt them into the Sea. Upon this, the Maſter of the Barks long deliberated, whether he ſhould deliver up *Marius* to his Enemies, or ſecure his Eſcape; and at laſt, Compaſſion prevailed. The *Felucca's* continued their Courſe, and one of them landed *Granius* in the Iſland of [34] *Ænacia*; the other put into the Mouth of the *Liris*, there to wait for a good Wind to put out to Sea.

There his Trouble and Wearineſs forced *Marius* to go aſhore, to try to get a little Reſt. The Mariners and Domeſticks preſſed him to take ſome Refreſhment, but in vain. His Grief and the Motion of the Ship had given him ſuch a loathing to Meat, as he could not conquer. However, he lay down upon the Turf, endeavoured to get ſome Reſt, and ſlept very ſoundly. In the mean while, a Gale aroſe and filled the Sails; the Ship unmoored, and left him aſleep on the Graſs; and when he awoke, he found himſelf, to his great Surprize, entirely deſerted. No Ship at Anchor; no Domeſtick about him; all diſappeared. The Solitude was horrible, and his Fears increaſed, and he had ſcarce Strength enough to expreſs his Grief in Sighs. However, in a little Time, he recovered his Spirits, and reſolved to ſeek his Fortune where he could. To this end, he walked croſs the Marſhes at the Mouth of the *Liris*; and finding no beaten Path, he often fell into the Mire and Water up to the Waiſt; but at length, arrived at the Hut of a Peaſant, who was at work in clearing the Marſhes. The honeſt Man was ſtruck with the Air of *Marius*, whom perhaps he likewiſe knew; and he ſaid; *If you want Reſt, my Hutt is pretty quiet; and if you would hide your ſelf from your Enemies it is ſcarce acceſſible.* But Fear made *Marius* deſirous of being hid in a more private Place. His Hoſt therefore led him to a Place in the Marſh which was full of Weeds, made him lay down in a Ditch, and covered him with light Stuff; and the Precaution ſoon appeared not to be vain. He was ſcarce laid down, e're he heard a great Noiſe round the Hutt. *Geminius* had ſent armed Men from *Terracina*, upon a Suſpicion that *Marius* had fled for Refuge to the Marſhes of *Minturnæ*. Theſe Men intimidated the Peaſant, with threatening him for harbouring an Enemy to the Republick, who was proſcribed by a Decree of the Senate; and *Marius* hearing this Diſcourſe, was afraid of being diſcovered. In order therefore to deceive, both the Man that hid him, and the Soldiers that ſought for him, he left the Ditch in which he had been in a manner buried, pulled off his Cloaths, and ran and plunged himſelf into the middle of the Lake of [35] *Marica*, up to the Mouth in Water, and covered his Head with Reeds. Nevertheleſs, he could not after all eſcape the Searches of his Purſuers. The Water was muddy, in the Place where he threw himſelf into it, which made it not difficult to diſcover him; and they drew him out of his new hiding-place, tied a Cord about his Neck, and led him naked to *Minturnæ*, there to be executed according to the Decree of the Senate, which had already been publiſhed, in all the Cities in *Italy*.

Vell. Pat. L. 2. *App. L. 1. De Bell. Civ.* *Plut. in Mario.*

§. X. But Heaven had not determined that this melancholy Day ſhould be the laſt of his Life. Providence preſerved him, to be its Inſtrument in puniſhing the Iniquity of *Rome*. The Magiſtrates of *Minturnæ* would not immediately ſhut him up in their Priſons. The *Roman* Senate had indeed condemned him; but his Faction was ſtill formidable. That of *Sylla* might ſoon decay, eſpecially ſince his *Conſulſhip* was near expiring; and it was therefore dangerous to prefer either Party to the other. The *Minturnenſes* therefore were divided in Opinion, many of them being afraid of bringing on themſelves the Reproach of having ſpilt the Blood of one of the Heroes of the Republick; and whilſt they were deliberating what to do, the Publick entruſted him with

33 *Minturnæ* ſtood in the *Terra di Lavoro*, a little above the Mouth of the *Liris*, now known by the Name of the *Garigliano*. This City is now buried in its Ruins. See Vol. 2. p. 168. Note 66.

34 See Vol. 2. p. 205. Note 58.

35 The Marſh or Pool of *Marica* took its Name from a Divinity, to whom the Inhabitants of *Minturnæ* paid great Honours. We have ſpoken of her and her Worſhip, Vol 3. p. 468. Note 93.

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Val. Max. L. 8. c. 2.
Plut. in Mario.

one [36] *Fannia*, a rich Woman, who was ſeparated from her Huſband. One *Timius* had formerly married her, tho' no Stranger to the Debaucheries of her Youth. Her Incontinence it ſelf had been his Motive to it. He concluded, that Marriage would not cure her of her violent Inclination to Licentiouſneſs; and having nothing in View but to get her great Fortune, he gave her more Liberty, than Huſbands uſually did. All he wanted was to ſurprize her in ſuch a manner, as to be able to proſecute her for Adultery; and it was not long, before he had the Proofs he deſired. Then he proſecuted her at *Rome*, and the Cauſe was heard by *Marius*, who was *Conſul* the ſixth Time. The Huſband to corroborate his Evidence of the Debaucheries of his Wife, exaggerated her Gallantries before Marriage; and tho' the Accuſation was juſt, *Marius* ſaw through his Intentions. The *Conſul* found, that he had had nothing in view in marrying a rich Wife, of an infamous Character, but to get her condemned by Law to loſe her Fortune, and to have that Fortune adjudged to himſelf, by way of Reparation for the Diſhonour he had ſuffered by her; and he made an equitable Decree. He convicted *Fannia* of ſeveral infamous Practices, ſeparated her from her Huſband, at Bed and Board, and condemned her to pay a ſmall Fine of 4 *Drachmæ*; but he ordered her Fortune to be returned her.

The People of *Minturnæ* therefore took it for granted, that ſhe would uſe her new Gueſt ill; but it proved otherwiſe. She, like a truly abandoned Woman, was leſs affected with the Mark of Infamy he had ſet upon her, than with the Reſtitution of her Eſtate, which he had procured for her. And ſhe therefore careſſed him, entertained him ſumptuouſly, and adviſed him to take Courage; which was all ſhe could do for him. She could not poſſibly contrive his Eſcape, in the little Time the Magiſtrates were deliberating about his Fate; and the Reſult of their Deliberations was, That they muſt obey the Decree of the Senate, and ſend him to the publick Priſon, to be executed there. But the *Minturnenſes* were unwilling that any of their Citizens ſhould diſgrace himſelf by taking away the Life of ſo glorious a Conqueror; and they choſe out an Executioner among the Troops of the Garriſon. Some ſay he was one of the [37] *Cimbri*, others, that he was by Birth a *Gaul*; and he entered the Dungeon where *Marius* was ſhut up, with a naked Sword. But then it appeared, what ſurpriſing Impreſſions the Glory of great Men ſometimes make, on the Hearts of the moſt barbarous. The *Cimber* ſaw the Eyes of *Marius* ſparkle, in this gloomy Place, as in a Day of Battle; and he pretended at leaſt, that he heard a Voice which ſaid, *Stop Wretch! How dareſt thou take away the Life of* Marius! This filled the Soldier with Horror; and he immediately came out of the Priſon, and declared, *It ſhall never be ſaid, that* Marius *periſhed by my Hands.* This led the *Minturnenſes* to examine again their Reſolutions; Compaſſion made them repent, of having delivered ſo great a Man into the Hands of an Executioner; and they cried out, *Let him be gone from our City, and ſeek his Fate elſewhere! It will be very happy for us, if we are not one Day ſeverely puniſhed, for the ill Treatment we have already given him.*

§. XI. After this the *Minturnenſes*, to make amends for their Fault, carried him to their Port, which was only a few *Stadia* from their City; but in order to get thither, they were obliged to paſs through a Wood conſecrated to the Nymph *Marica*, in which all Strangers that entered it were condemned [38] to ſpend their Lives. This was the

[36] *Plutarch* adds here an Accident, which he ſays raiſed the Hopes of *Marius*. The Moment *Fannia*'s Door was opened to receive the Priſoner, an Aſs, which had run away from its Keeper, made a full ſtop, and looked ſtedfaſtly at him; and then, after ſeveral bounds round *Marius*, it went to drink at a neighbouring Fountain. This was enough to raiſe the Spirits of the unfortunate proſcribed General, who thought he had nothing to expect but Death. *Marius* was ſuperſtitious, even to Childiſhneſs. What was purely accidental, often paſſed with him for ſome myſterious Event. And he now fancied, that the meeting of this Aſs ſhewed him the Will of the Gods, and that the jumping of the Animal foretold him a more happy Deſtiny for the future. The Aſs, ſays *Val. Maximus*, had left its Paſture to go to the Water; and *Marius* took this as an Admonition from Heaven, that the Water would be more favourable to him, than the Land. And therefore, when the *Minturnenſes* reſolved to ſave him from the Purſuit of his Enemies, he conjured them to conduct him to the Sea-ſide, where he found a Bark which brought him to the Iſland of *Ænaria*. Thus was every Thing among the Pagans ſtamped with Marks of their Superſtition. The moſt ſenſible of their Hiſtorians, are not free from theſe lamentable Prejudices. They love to deceive themſelves, with Things that are merely natural, and have no Relation to the Event in queſtion.

[37] This Man, according to *Vell. Paterculus*, had been taken in the famous Battle, where great Part of the *Cimbri* were cut in pieces. After the Battle the reſt of them were ſold to the beſt Bidder by *Marius*. This Hiſtorian makes him to have been one of the publick Slaves of the Magiſtrates of *Minturnæ*.

[38] We cannot gueſs what private Motive of Religion could induce the *Minturnenſes* to ſubject themſelves

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the Cuſtom of the Place, and the Superſtition of the Country. But an old Man ſoon ſolved the Difficulty, and rectified the Miſtake. He pronounced, That *when the ſaving the Life of* Marius *was the Point in view, whatever they did muſt be agreeable to the Gods*; and then the whole Company marched through the Wood [39] towards the Sea. There they had prepared a little Ship at their own Expence, loaded it with Proviſions, and Preſents to *Marius*; and when all Things were ready, a good Wind aroſe, and they ſtood looking on the Hero, whom they had condemned to die, till he was out of ſight. Nevertheleſs, the illuſtrious Exile was not yet come to the end of his Labours. He firſt ordered his Pilot to ſteer for the Iſland of *Ænaria*, where he arrived ſafe; and there he rejoined his [40] Son-in-Law *Granius*, and took with him ſome of his Friends who had voluntarily retired thither. Then he weighed Anchor, and ſailed for *Africa*, which he would have reached in a few Days, if the Crew had not unfortunately wanted Water. But they were forced to turn towards *Sicily* on that account, and they landed ſome Men near the City of [41] *Eryx*. The Senate of *Rome* had ſent Orders to the Governors there, not to receive any of the Proſcribed, but treat them as Enemies to the Republick; and to this end, all the Coaſt was lined with Soldiers. As ſoon therefore as the *Quæſtor* who commanded them underſtood, that *Marius* was in the Ship, he fell on the Sailors who were buſy in drawing Water in a neighbouring Spring, and killed ſixteen of them; but *Marius* eſcaped, and went to ſeek his Fortune elſewhere. After ſome Days Sail, his Ship arrived at the Iſland of [42] *Meninx* near the [43] *Little Syrtis*; and from thence it was but a ſhort Paſſage to the Continent of *Africa*. *Marius* therefore landed [44] there, and ſought Refuge in the Territory of *Carthage*. Here he thought himſelf ſafe; and had now ſufficient Leiſure in his Solitude to reflect on the Frailty of human Grandeur. The Sight of the Ruins of one of the moſt ſtately Cities in the World, now level with the Duſt, gave him a little Comfort under the Variety of his own Misfortunes. And whilſt he was there, giving himſelf up to Sorrow, a Rumour was ſpread in *Utica*, that he had landed at the old Port of *Carthage*. *Sextilius* [45], who then governed the *African Province* for the *Romans*, in Quality of *Pro-Prætor*, was a politick Man; and he neither cared to diſobey the Orders of the Senate, nor to incur the Hatred of all the *Marian* Party, by putting this great Man to Death. He therefore immediately ſent to him one of his *Lictors* in whom he could confide, to ſignify to him, That he muſt ſeek a Retreat elſewhere, and That *Sextilius* would not embroil himſelf with the Republick. The *Lictor* had likewiſe Orders to ſhew him perſonally great Civilities, but oblige him to remove, if he would avoid worſe Treatment. At this News, the brave *Roman* was ready to ſink under the Weight of his Calamity; and he ſaid to the *Lictor*, *Go tell your Maſter, that you*

ſelves to ſo unreaſonable a Reſtraint. They who make *Marica* and *Circæ* the ſame Goddeſs, have conjectured, that by this odd Law, they propoſed to ſympathize with the Goddeſs, in her Grief at the Eſcape of *Ulyſſes* whom ſhe loved. Perhaps they thought to repair her Loſs, by dedicating every thing to her that came within her Wood.

39 *Marius*, according to *Plutarch*, thought himſelf indebted to *Marica*, for the good Offices the Inhabitants of *Minturnæ* did him, in the Extremity to which he was reduced. And therefore, as ſoon as he returned to *Rome*, at the Head of a great Army, his firſt Care was to hang up in the Temple of this Goddeſs, a Picture which repreſented him in his Misfortunes.

40 *Appian* relates the Thing otherwiſe. He ſays, That the Magiſtrates of *Minturnæ* looked on the Terror and Confuſion of the Slave, as the Effect of the Providence of the Gods, who took Care to preſerve *Marius*; and from this religious Motive, ſet him at Liberty, and gave him leave to go whither he pleaſed. *Let him go*, ſaid they, *and fulfil his Courſe; and ſuffer the Sentence of Death pronounced againſt him by the Senate, any where elſe rather than here. We conjure the Gods to forgive us, if a ſuperior Power forces us to deny an hoſpitable Retreat, to a Man, who formerly ſaved the Republick from the Incurſion of the Barbarians.* *Marius*, when at Liberty, was wholly intent in ſeeking a ſafe Retreat, and without keeping any Road, arrived at laſt at the Sea-ſhore. Near it was a miſerable Hutt, open on all ſides; and being exhauſted with Fatigues, he ſtalked on to it, and covering himſelf with Leaves, for the greater Safety, lay down to ſleep. But the Noiſe of ſome Horſemen who purſued him, ſoon awoke him, and he fortunately ſaw a little Bark moored on the Shore. He ran, and with Precipitation threw himſelf into it, in ſpight of the Fiſhermen to whom it belonged, cut the Rope that held it, and abandoned it to the Winds and Waves, which brought it to a little Iſland. There *Marius* found ſome of his Domeſticks, who had deſerted him; and they joining him again, went with him into *Africa*, where he hoped for a ſafe Retreat from the Fury of his Enemies.

41 See Vol. 2. p. 475. Note 11.

42 The Iſland of *Meninx*, on the Coaſt of *Barbary*, is the ſame which the ancient Geographers called *Lotophagitis*, becauſe formerly inhabited by *Lotophagi*. See Vol. 2. p. 585. Note 21.

43 See Vol. 2. p. 585. Note 20.

44 When *Marius* arrived in the Iſland of *Meninx*, he was informed that his Son had landed there with *Cethegus*, and had from thence gone to *Numidia*, to demand Succours of *Hiempſal*, who reigned there.

45 *Appian* gives this *Prætor* the Name of *Sextius*.

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found Marius *ſitting on the Ruins of* Carthage, *and that his Fate is as deplorable, as that of this* [46] *unfortunate City!*

Whether the *African Prætor* was moved with this Meſſage from the venerable old Hero, is uncertain; but *Marius* ſeems to have continued ſome Time there. His Son found him there, and gave him this Account of his Adventures. *I had a very good Voyage to* Africa; *and when I was landed on the Coaſt of* Numidia, *I found there a Prince, who owed all his Fortune to your Favour. This was* Mandreſtal, *the Son of* Hiempſal, *the Remains of the Blood of the* Numidian *Kings, whom you had ſpared, after you had made your ſelf Maſter of* Jugurtha, *and his Dominions; and to whom you had given a Part of his Father's Kingdom, with the Title of Sovereign. So that this little King received me in a very gracious Manner. But I ſoon perceived, that his Careſſes were not ſincere, and that he kept me ſo long at his Court, only to gain Time to learn from* Rome *the Cauſe of my Rambles.* Cethegus, *my Companion in Misfortunes, and myſelf began to ſuſpect ſome Treachery lay concealed under his Civilities; and when we preſſed for leave to quit his Dominions, his bad Deſigns diſcovered themſelves by his affected Delays. I was watched Day and Night, and always kept in ſight. In ſhort, I was in a kind of Captivity; and Love was my Reſcue. One of the fineſt Women in* Mandreſtal's *Seraglio had entertained a great Reſpect for me. My Name, Youth* [47], *and* Roman *Manners, affected her; and ſhe ſhewed her Regard for me, almoſt as ſoon as ſhe ſaw me. I at firſt neglected to enter into any Correſpondence with her, from an awful Regard to the ſacred Laws of Hoſpitality. But I afterwards found that her Concern for me, was not ſo much the Effect of an irregular Appetite, as of a virtuous Compaſſion for my Misfortunes. I therefore entered into a Friendſhip with the fair* Numidian; *and to her Care and Addreſs I owe my Deliverance.*

But, whilſt young *Marius* was relating to his Father the various Circumſtances of his Flight, as he was walking with his faithful *Cethegus*, on the Sea-ſhore, the old Hero ſaw two Scorpions fighting with one another with great Fury, and the Sight mightily alarmed him. Having the Weakneſs, to ſhew a great Regard for *Auguries*, and to turn into Prognoſticks almoſt every Thing he ſaw; he was moved at the Sight of this unexpected Battle, and it afterwards happened, that what he apprehended proved true. *Let us flee, Son*, cried he, *let us flee; ſome great Danger threatens us here! Let us inſtantly embark, and leave a Shore which the Gods warn us to quit!* This ſaid, he and his Company immediately entered into a Fiſherman's Bark, cut the Cable, and were ſcarce got off, when they ſaw the Coaſt covered with Soldiers. *Mandreſtal* had ſent them, to retake young *Marius*, and ſacrifice him to the Hatred of *Sylla* and the Senate. But by good Fortune, they were out at Sea, and out of reach; and they retired to the Iſland of *Cercina* [48], which proved more faithful to them than the Continent. They there found [49] *Albinovanus*, who was proſcribed by the ſame Decree, and they four ſpent the Winter together, in travelling about the Iſlands near *Africa*, often by Water, but generally by Land. *Plut. in Mario.*

§. XII. In the mean Time, *Sylla's Conſulſhip* was ready to expire; and the Republick enjoyed a little Reſt after ſo many Agitations, as long as *Marius* continued at a Diſtance from *Rome*. The two Collegues, *Sylla* and *Pompeius* acted in concert, and made it their whole Buſineſs to quiet the Minds of the People. And they would have ſucceeded in it, if the Republick had not appointed a Man to ſucceed them, who was ready to deſtroy the Work, which their Prudence and Conſtancy had raiſed. Nevertheleſs, *Cinna* yet concealed his bad Heart, and ſeemed reſolved to continue true to his Oaths. The *Conſuls* therefore reſolved, in this ſeeming Calm, to take the Field. *Pompeius Rufus* had not yet appeared at the Head of his *Legions*. They were commanded by *Pompeius Strabo*, the late *Conſul*, who had continued in his old Camp, with the Title of *Pro-Conſul*. This General, who had had the Honour of one *Triumph* already, hoped to merit a ſecond, by giving the finiſhing Stroke to the War with

46 *Marius*, by comparing his Fall with the Ruins of this once powerful City, gave the *Pro-Prætor* an affecting Inſtance of the Inſtability of human Grandeur.

47 *Plutarch* ſays, That the Beauty and fine Stature of young *Marius* had captivated the Heart of this Woman.

48 The little Iſland of *Cercina*, lays near the *Little Syrtis*, and towards the Coaſt of the Kingdom of *Tunis*. It is now called *Cercara*, or *Cercari*. Its Soil is very dry, and will ſcarce ſupply the Wants of a ſmall Number of Inhabitants.

49 According to *Appian*, *Cethegus*, *Albinovanus*, *Lætorius*, *Granius*, and ſome others of the proſcribed, had left *Numidia*, in order to join *Marius*.

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the *Allies*, and concluding an advantageous Peace with them; and this made him extreamly deſirous of continuing in the Office, in which he had acquired ſo much Honour. Indeed the *Conſul Pompeius Rufus* ſeems by the Name to have been his Relation; but *Strabo* thought it hard to be deprived of the Generalſhip, by a Man whom he deſpiſed for his little Knowledge in the Art of War. Beſides, Ambition was hereditary in the Branch from which *Strabo* came, and he tranſmitted it to his Son *Pompey the Great*. The *Pro-Conſul* therefore reſolved to have the *Conſul*, who came to ſucceed him, aſſaſſinated. There had never yet been an Inſtance of ſo flagitious an Attempt in the Republick; but in theſe Times of Diſcord, Boldneſs and Force were too ſtrong for the Laws. In order to ſucceed in this Attempt, *Strabo* applied himſelf artfully to his Troops, who loved him, and had procured him a *Triumph* the laſt Year; and he worked them up to a Reſolution, not willingly to part with their old General. Nevertheleſs the *Conſul* his Succeſſor was quietly received in the Camp; and it being cuſtomary for the new General, to harangue the Troops when he took Poſſeſſion of his Command, *Pompeius Rufus* aſſembled them round the *Prætorium* without Tumult, or Murmur. *Strabo* himſelf inveſted him with his Office, and the Ornaments of his new Dignity, without diſcovering the leaſt Reluctance. But when the *Legionaries* were again aſſembled the next Day, to aſſiſt at the Sacrifice uſually made by Generals, at their Inſtallation, the Soldiers who had been hired by their old General, turned their Arms againſt the new one, while he was performing the Office of a *Pontifex*. *Pompeius Rufus* fell down dead, at the Foot of the Altar he had erected; his Guards were diſperſed; and in the Tumult *Pompeius Strabo* appeared, and acted his Part with great Dexterity. He knew that no Crime could be more odious than for the *Roman* Soldiers to dip their Hands in a *Conſul*'s Blood, and therefore even ſhed Tears over the Dead, and broke out into violent Invectives againſt the Aſſaſſins. But nevertheleſs, his Conduct afterwards ſoon raiſed Suſpicions of his being himſelf the Author of this cruel Act of Treachery. It was obſerved, That no Enquiry was made after the Criminals; and That, though he was continued in his Office, he took no Care to avenge the Death of his Relation, and the Injury done the Publick.

Vell. Pat. L. 2. Val. Max. L. 9.

Sylla was terrified at the Death of his Collegue; and the more, becauſe he knew he had not many Days to continue in Office. But the Decree which empowered him to go into *Aſia* to make War with *Mithridates* was ſtill in force; and he therefore reſolved immediately to embark his victorious Troops, and carry them thither. His *Legionaries* were exceeding zealous to follow him, and all Things were ſoon in ſuch Forwardneſs, that nothing could now ſtop him, except contrary Winds, or the Dilatorineſs of thoſe, who were ordered to provide the Ships and their Crews. Nevertheleſs he was forced to continue in *Italy* ſome Days after his *Conſulſhip* ended; and had the Mortification to ſee the firſt furious Steps of that *Cinna*, whom he thought entirely come off from his mad Zeal for the *Marian* Faction.

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Plut. in Sylla.

§. XIII. *Cn. Octavius*, and *L. Cornelius Cinna*, entered upon the *Conſulſhip*, on the firſt Day of *January*; and when arrived at the higheſt Pitch of Honour, *Cinna* ſoon forgot the Imprecations he had made at the Altars. Party-Zealots are ſeldom ſcrupulous of breaking their Words, or Oaths. They promiſe only in order to ſerve their Intereſts, and as ſoon as they have gained their Point, retract. And ſuch was *Cinna*'s Conduct. The firſt Step he took in his Office was againſt his Benefactor *Sylla*, to whom he had ſworn an inviolable Adherence. At the Motion of *M. Virginius*, a *Tribune of the People*, he ordered him to be cited to appear before the People, to give an Account of his Adminiſtration and Conduct. After a *Conſulate* which had produced ſuch Troubles, it was no difficult Matter for ill-deſigning Men, to find Cauſes of Complaint againſt him. He had deſpiſed the Decree of the *Roman* People, whereby they had transferred to *Marius* the Commiſſion for making War with *Mithridates*; and had made a very ill Uſe of his Aſcendant over his *Legions*, by carrying them to beſiege *Rome*, and make himſelf Maſter of it by force: and in ſhort, had exerciſed an abſolute Authority, and made his Adminiſtration odious by Proſcriptions. Indeed the good he had done his Country ſerved him for an Excuſe, but his Violences were a very bad Precedent; and both the *Conſul Cinna*, and the *Tribune Virginius*, his Enemies, put the worſt Conſtruction on them, and condemned them. *Sylla*, therefore, fearing the Conſequences of this Citation, haſtened his Departure for *Aſia*. He knew, that the Law, which forbad the *Tribunes of the People* to cite any Officers to appear, who were actually employed in the *Roman* Armies in foreign Countries, was ſtill in force;

force: And he immediately came to *Capua*, embarked his Troops, ſet ſail for the Eaſt, and left *Rome* at the Mercy of *Cinna*, and the *Marian* Party. The Province which he undertook was fruitful in Events. But before we come to the Relation of them, it will be proper to take a View of the Situation of *Rome* under the *Conſulate* of *Cinna*.

Year of *ROME* DCLXVI.
CN. OCTAVIUS, & L. CORNELIUS CINNA, Conſuls.

After *Sylla*'s Departure, *Cinna* uſurped an Authority in *Rome*, which immediately gave Umbrage to the Senate, and to all thoſe who were not engaged in the Heat of Party. His firſt Attempt was in Favour of the *Italians*, to whom the Right of *Citizenſhip* had lately been given. It has been obſerved, that in order to leſſen the Power they might acquire by their new Right of Suffrage, they had been ranked among the laſt and meaneſt *Centuries*, which were ſeldom admitted into the Incloſure to vote, and *Cinna* now undertook to have them blended with the moſt ancient *Citizens*, and placed as they were, in the oldeſt *Tribes*. His own Intereſt, and the ill-natured Pleaſure he took in deſtroying any Work of *Sylla*, might probably determine him to attempt this; and ſome ſay, that the new *Citizens* paid him 7000000 [50] *Seſterces*. However, his Practices could not be kept ſo ſecret, as to be concealed from his Colleague *Octavius*, who with great Reaſon and Probity was attached to the Senate, as the moſt honourable and moſt juſt Party; and who immediately foreſaw, that this firſt Step tended to procure the Return of *Marius*, and of the other proſcribed Perſons. It was very viſible, that by gaining the Affections of the new *Citizens* by this important Piece of Service, *Cinna* would ſecure their Votes for recalling the Exiles. *Octavius* had the moſt ancient and moſt honourable *Citizens* with him. They could not bear to ſee the new Comers enjoy the ſame Privileges which had been hereditary in their Families from the Riſe of the Monarchy; and this Diſpute between the old and new *Citizens* ſoon broke out into open Violences.

App. L. 1. de Bell. Civ. Florus. Velleius. Oroſius.

§. XIV. When *Cinna* ordered the People to be aſſembled in the *Comitia* to paſs the Law he intended to propoſe, he directed the new *Citizens* [51] to take Daggers under their Robes, to ſuſtain the Attacks of the old *Citizens*; and when the *Tribes* aſſembled, the old *Citizens* came likewiſe armed with Weapons which they concealed. *Cinna* appeared in the *Roſtra*, began his Speech in ſuch a Manner [52], as ſhewed his Deſign was to get the Law paſſed in Favour of the new *Citizens*; and, ſome venerable *Citizens* immediately went to the Houſe of *Octavius*, to inform him of the Innovation. Upon this, *Octavius*, who having foreſeen the Attempt, had prepared himſelf againſt all Events, immediately directed a conſiderable Number of old *Citizens* to attend him to the *Forum*; and there a Battle enſued, in which much Blood was ſhed. The *Romans*, when ſhut up within ſo narrow a Compaſs, did not ſpare their Blows; and many of both Sides fell, but the old *Citizens* were ſtrongeſt. Though they were comparatively few in Number, they over-powered the new *Citizens*; are ſaid to have killed 10000 of them upon the Spot; and purſuing the reſt to the Gates of the City, they at length forced them to leave *Rome*. *Cinna*, when driven from the Aſſembly where he preſided, ran through the Streets, and called upon the Slaves to join and aſſiſt him. But no Body appearing, he was driven from Quarter to Quarter; and at laſt he likewiſe left the Capital, attended by ſix *Tribunes* [53] of his Faction, and retired to the

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50 Theſe ſeven * Millions of *Little Seſterces*, at the Rate before mentioned, make near 875000 *Livres*.

51 The *Allies* were ſo numerous in the *Forum*, that the Inhabitants of *Rome* could ſcarce find room to range themſelves, according to their *Tribes*.

52 *Cinna*, in an artful Diſcourſe, uſed all Arguments to prove, That the People of *Italy* could not be refuſed the ſame Prerogatives which the *Citizens* of *Rome* had hitherto enjoyed, without Injuſtice. He repreſented, That the *Latins* and *Italians* ought to be conſidered as one Nation with the firſt *Romans*; That they all ſpake the ſame Language, and were Members of the ſame Body; That the Safety of the Republick depended on their perfect Unanimity: That the better to cement this Union, it was neceſſary to retrench the eight laſt *Tribes*, and incorporate the new *Citizens* in the old *Tribes*, by lot; and That this Harmony between all the Members of the Republick, would add greatly to its Strength, and make the Enemies of the *Roman* Name tremble.

The *Allies* applauded the *Conſul*'s Speech, and with great Clamours inſiſted, that the Law ſhould immediately be put to the vote. But the *Citizens* of the old *Tribes* violently exclaimed againſt their Pretenſions; inveighed againſt the *Conſul*; and their bitter Reflexions upon him, were in effect the Signal of a Rebellion. The *Italians* and *Latins* immediately drew out their Swords from under their Robes, and fell with Fury on the old *Citizens*, and forced them to quit the Field of Battle. The greateſt Part of them fled for Refuge to *Octavius*, *Cinna*'s Collegue, and excited him to revenge this new Aſſault.

53 *Cicero* gives us ſome Knowledge of two of theſe ſix *Tribunes*, in his *Brutus*. One was the ſame *Virginius*, who had the Boldneſs to accuſe *Sylla*, and cite him before the Tribunal of the People, to give an Account of his Adminiſtration. The other was *Publius*

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the neighbouring Cities. His first Recourse was to *Tibur* and *Prænestæ*, where he endeavoured to raise Men and Money, to support what he called the Cause of the *Allies*; and then he went over all *Campania*, as far as to the Neighbourhood of *Nola*. Besides the Friends he found in the Provinces round *Rome*, his Party was still considerable in the Capital itself. Another [54] *Caius Marius*, different from the Exile, one *C. Milionius*, and especially [55] *Q. Sertorius*, all of the Senatorial Order, had joined his Faction, upon some Disobligations which they ascribed to *Sylla*. The Senators having now a Right to be elected *Tribunes*, *Sertorius* had canvassed for that Office in the late *Consulship*; and upon failing of Success, had imputed his Disappointment to *Sylla*, and therefore joined the contrary Party. He was equally skilled in civil and military Affairs; was a Man of Eloquence and a brave Officer; and was therefore deemed exceeding well qualified, either to preside in the *Comitium*, or to command Armies. But these few Friends which *Cinna* had left in the Senate, could not secure him in that Assembly. As soon as he had left *Rome*, the *Conscript Fathers* declared him deprived of the *Consulate*, and chose one *L. Cornelius Merula*, then High-Priest, or *Flamen* of *Jupiter*, to succeed him.

Epit. Liv.

§. XV. This new Insult increased *Cinna*'s Desires of Revenge, and he sought every where among the Nations of *Italy*, for discontented Cities to espouse his Quarrel. Several of them furnished him with Money, to buy Troops, to punish those old *Citizens* of *Rome*, who were so proud of their Right of Suffrage, and so averse to communicate it to Foreigners; and he was soon rich enough to attempt the Fidelity of a considerable Body of *Roman* Troops which he found in the Neighbourhood of *Capua*. One *Appius Claudius* commanded them, in Quality of *Pro-Consul*. Whether he had his Consent, or had only gained over the *Legionary Tribunes* of his Army without his Privity, *Cinna* came to the Army in his *Consular* Habit, and although deposed, insisted on his being a General legally appointed by the People; and the *Tribunes*, corrupted by the Money he had liberally distributed among them, readily acknowledged him for their General, and with their Acclamations prevailed on the Soldiers to do the same. And indeed, the Cause of *Cinna* was not altogether unjust. What Right had the Senate, to destroy what had been done by the whole Republick in the *Field of Mars*? In these Times of Confusion, nothing was lasting at *Rome*. The People disannulled the Laws made by the Senate; and the Senate abrogated those made by the

Ius Magius Chilo, who was thought an eloquent Man, and his Speeches to the People were not contemptible.

54 This *Caius Marius*, to whom *Cicero* and *Pædianus* give the Fore-name of *Marcus*, was the Son of *Gratidius of Arpinum*, who was killed fighting with the *Cilician* Pyrates, under the Command of *Marcus Antonius*. Afterwards being adopted by old *Marius*, he took the Name of his adoptive Father, according to custom.

55 *Quintus Sertorius*, though of an obscure Family, has made his Name famous among Posterity, by his great military Virtues. *Nursia*, a City of the *Sabines*, gave this great Man birth; and he lost his Father, when he was very young. *Rhea*, his Mother, took all Care, during her Widowhood, to give him a liberal Education; and he always had the Tenderness of a Son for her. Under the prudent Care of this virtuous Woman, he prepared himself insensibly for Heroism. He was very young, when the Desire of Glory brought him to *Rome*, and he first applied himself to the Bar, where he acquired by his Eloquence, the Reputation of a great Orator. But the Profession of Arms was a readier Way to Glory, and more suitable to his Genius. He therefore made his first Campaign under *Quintus Servilius Cæpio* against the *Cimbri* and *Teutones*, who had overrun the *Gauls*, and threatned *Italy* with a speedy Irruption. After the entire Defeat of the *Roman* Army by these Barbarians, *Sertorius* owed his Safety entirely to his Courage. His Horse was killed under him, in the Heat of the Battle, and to compleat the Misfortune, he received a dangerous Wound, which seemed to reduce him to this Dilemma, that he must either surrender to the Enemy, or die. But, in this Extremity, he threw himself into the *Rhone*, armed with his Cuiras and Buckler, and swam to the opposite Bank of the River. Soon after, he appeared braving the greatest Dangers, under the Command of *Marius*, when General of the *Roman* Troops, in *Transalpine Gaul*. He ventured to go into the Camp of the *Cimbri*, dressed like a Woman of *Gaul*, in order to inform himself of the Strength and Designs of the Enemy. This bold Action gained him the Applause of *Marius*, and those military Rewards which were given only to the brave. When he was become a *Military Tribune*, in *Spain*, where *Didius* commanded the *Roman* Army, he there gave fresh Proofs of his Valour, especially at the taking of *Castulo*. Afterwards, when *Quæstor* in *Cisalpine Gaul*, he was a great Help to the Republick against the *Italian* Confederates. He signalized himself by many brave Actions during this War, and gained great Advantages over the Enemy. In the Heat of a Battle where he was exposing himself to all Dangers, he lost an Eye; which was Matter of Glory and Triumph to him. This signal Mark of his Courage greatly recommended him to the *Citizens*. The first Time he appeared in the *Circus*, after his Return from the War with the *Marsi*, he was received with the Acclamations of the People, who made the Amphitheatre ring with their Shouts and Applauses. Such was the Character and Conduct of *Sertorius* before he aspired at being made a *Tribune of the People*. But *Sylla*, jealous of his Merit, got him excluded; and from this ill Usage, he conceived an implacable Hatred against *Sylla*, which did not end but with his Life.

People.

People. Edicts and Decrees were multiplied as each Faction prevailed; were as eaſily diſannulled, as they had been before enacted by Violence; and the Republick already appeared to be on the Brink of Ruin. Year of *ROME* DCLXVI. CN. OCTAVIUS, & L. CORNELIUS CINNA, Conſuls.

Cinna immediately ſecured theſe Troops by the military Oath, which he adminiſtered to them with as much Authority, as if he had never been depoſed; and then the Cities of the *Allies* joined him with the leſs Reluctance, when he had already a *Roman* Army under his Command. All the *Italians* hoped, That, through his Protection, they ſhould obtain the Right of *Citizenſhip* in as full a Manner, as any of the ancient Inhabitants of *Rome* enjoyed it; and wanted to revenge the Death of their Sons or Brothers, who had been killed in the late Maſſacre at *Rome*. And when *Cinna* found his Army increaſed by the Concurrence of all the neighbouring Nations, he reſolved to recal the proſcribed from their Baniſhment; and gave notice to *Marius*, who was yet confined in the Iſlands that bordered upon *Africa*, that he might return to *Italy*, without Fear of the Senate and its Decrees. *Cinna* had already aſſembled 30 *Legions*, which conſiſted partly of malecontent *Romans*, who were ill affected to the Government of the Senate; and theſe Motions were too publick not to ſtrike Terror into the old Inhabitants of *Rome*. *Octavius* and *Merula* had continued there, to preſerve the Capital at leaſt, from the Infection, that ſpread in the Provinces; and they immediately fortified both the City, and Citadel, by placing all the *Balliſtæ* and *Catapultæ* in the Magazines, on the Ramparts. But this, though ſufficient to enable them to ſuſtain a Siege, was not enough either to drive away the Enemy, or to preſerve *Rome* from a Famine; and they therefore ſent Agents into the neighbouring Cities, to aſſemble an Army ſufficient to withſtand that of *Cinna*. Indeed *Metellus* was at the Head of a Body of Troops in *Ciſalpine Gaul*, which the *Conſuls* might have commanded; but he was a great Way from *Rome*, and the Want was preſſing. *Octavius* and *Merula* therefore had recourſe to *Pompeius Strabo*, who was at the Head of the great Army, the Command of which he had kept to himſelf by the Murder of a *Conſul*; and who was yet making War, with ſome ſmall Remains of the revolted *Italians*, on the Coaſts of the *Adriatick* Sea. But *Pompey* was a Politician; and he did not think proper to chooſe his Party ſo ſoon, in a civil War. If he had pleaſed, he might with great Eaſe have immediately put a Stop to all *Cinna*'s Attempts. But he affected Delays, and was willing the Trouble ſhould increaſe, in Hopes of being made neceſſary to the Republick by that Means, and procuring himſelf new Honours. *Oroſ. L. 5. c. 19.*

§. XVI. In the mean time, *Marius*, preſſed by the repeated Sollicitations of *Cinna*, and prompted by his own Deſire of Revenge, readily left the Coaſt of *Africa*, and landed in one of the Ports of *Hetruria*. With him, were his Son, all the proſcribed he had about him, and ſome *Mauruſian* Horſe. And indeed *Marius* himſelf was as good as a great Army, to the Party he eſpouſed. His Experience and Valour promiſed certain Victory over his Opponents. So that, when *Pompeius Strabo* came to offer *Cinna* his Services and his Army; *Cinna*, who depended on *Marius*, deſpiſed the Offer, and little regarded Succours which came too late, and which he did not want. *Pompeius* therefore, was now glad to be admitted among the Generals of *Octavius* and *Merula*; though he did not appear on the Side of Juſtice, till he had firſt been rejected by the Rebels. In the mean time, the great Multitude, to which *Cinna* gave the Name of a *Conſular* Army, was at firſt divided into two Bodies; the one commanded by himſelf, and the other by the famous *Sertorius*, already a great Officer, tho' not arrived to the Heighth of his Glory, till the War he carried on alone in *Spain*. Theſe two Generals had each his Province, in the common Work, of beſieging and taking *Rome*, deſtroying the Senatorial Party, humbling the Nobility, and lodging all the Authority of the Republick only in the Hands of *Plebeians*. *Marius*, as ſoon as landed in *Hetruria*, immediately aſſembled there [56] ſuch *Italians*, as the Fame of his Name brought to him, and then ſignified to *Cinna*, that he was ready to acknowledge him to be a true *Conſul*, and to join him with his little Body of Troops. But, as *Marius* had been proſcribed by a Decree, and neither Senate, nor People had yet taken off the Proſcription; *Sertorius*, who in ſome meaſure, ſhared the Command with *Cinna*, was not for receiving him among the Defenders of the People [57]. *Plut. in Mario.* *Oroſ. L. 5. c. 19.* *Plut. in Mario & Sertorio.*

56 *Marius* enlarged his Company with Labourers, Shepherds, and all the Slaves, that crouded to him, upon the News of his Arrival in *Tuſcany*. He firſt gave them their Liberty, and then enrolled them all; and according to *Plutarch* and *Appian*, ſoon raiſed himſelf a formidable Army: And he choſe the moſt robuſt, and beſt made Men, of all the Volunteers that came to him, to be his Guard.

57 *Sertorius*, ſay the Hiſtorians of his Life, who was naturally prudent and moderate, was afraid, that the

Year of ROME DCLXVI. CN. OCTAVIUS, & L. CORNELIUS CINNA, Consuls.

Marius, said he, *was in his Time, one of the most famous Generals Rome has bred; and I pretend not to dispute with him the Glory of what is past. But have not his Labours, and his great Age, diminished the Strength of his Body, and the Vigour of his Mind? Shall we not have Cause to repent of admitting into our Confederacy, a* Marius, *who is very different from him, whose Valour the Republick admired before our Civil Broils? What occasion have we, for a Man, who is insatiably covetous of Glory, and ever ready to envy it in his Competitors, and rob them of it? What will* Cinna *himself, at the Head of this fine Army, be, but a Subaltern to* Marius? *Shall we suffer him to assume to himself all the Success of a War, which is entered into for the publick Good? We cannot make him our Associate, without making him our Master. Besides, What addition of Strength will his weak Reinforcement bring us? Are five or six thousand Men more, such an Addition as to assure us of Victory? Let him carry them to our Enemies, if he pleases, and join* Octavius *and* Merula. *But what am I saying? He cannot possibly engage in any Alliance with the Nobility. He is too much abhorred by them, ever to enter into their Service. What remains then, but that we decline his Offer, in as civil a Manner as we can? Let us send him Word by his Messenger, That we are of Opinion, his Presence will only hurt his own Party; That since he is proscribed, he has nothing to do, but to keep himself concealed for the present, in some private Place in* Italy; *and, That after we have taken* Rome, *our first Care shall be to restore him both in Estate and Character.*

Cinna heard *Sertorius* patiently, and approved of his Reasons; but had taken his Measures before he consulted him. *I have,* said he, *already done all I could to bring* Marius *back to* Italy. *It was upon my Word only that he left* Africa; *and therefore I cannot avoid associating this great Man with me, and taking his Assistance to destroy the Senate.* This Answer surprized *Sertorius*, but he put a good Face upon it, and said; *Why then did not you tell me, you had determined in his Favour, before you asked my Opinion? However, since the Thing is done, let us say no more of it; but let him come and assist us with his Arms and Advice.* Then *Cinna* immediately sent back the Courier, with Orders to offer his Master the Title of *Pro-Consul*, and a Power to choose [58] *Lictors* for his Guard. But *Marius* put on the Appearance of great Humility, on this Occasion. He refused to accept of the Title offered him, for Fear of raising Jealousies in *Sertorius*; and he came to the Camp of the Rebels, with a slow Pace, without Guards, and more like a Criminal or Supplicant, than with the Pomp of a General. The old Republican understood all the Artifices of the most refined Policy; and hoped, by beginning with this Dissimulation, to pave the Way for signalizing his old Age with new Feats of Arms, and for acquiring new Dignities.

App. Bell. Civ. L. 1. Plut. in Mario.

§. XVII. And now, *Cinna*, *Marius*, and *Sertorius*, took each his Province, in the civil War which they determined to carry on, with *Rome* and the Senate; and resolved to march directly to the Capital. *Cinna* was to block it up on the Side of the *Tyber*; *Sertorius*, to do the same on the opposite Side; and *Marius* to intercept all [59] Provisions, surprize the maritime [60] Cities which might send any, and stop up the Passage of the *Tyber* from *Ostia* to *Rome*. Its only Defenders from within were the Senate, the old *Citizens*, and the two *Consuls Octavius* and *Merula*; and the latter were both good Men, and much better qualified to maintain the Laws and Religion in their Purity, than to sustain the Attacks of an Enemy, and repel them with Vigour. *Octavius* was so scrupulous an Observer of the ancient Customs, that he constantly refused, even in this Crisis, to arm the [61] Slaves to strengthen the Garrison. He was more intent on consulting

the wild and revengeful Temper of *Marius* would carry him to those excessive Cruelties, which the Historians lay to his Charge, and the bare mention of which is shocking.

58 *Plutarch* says, That *Cinna* had sent *Lictors* to attend *Marius*, and That the latter had sent back the Guard and all other Marks of Distinction, as ill suited to his Fortune. On the contrary, he appeared in publick in an old coarse Habit; and his Hair and Beard in Disorder, his slow and negligent Walk, his gloomy and thoughtful Air, put People in Mind of his past Misfortunes. But it was easy to discover in his Looks, the Fury that raged within him, and the black Schemes he was forming to glut his Revenge.

59 *Marius* had built Bridges over the *Tyber*, at proper Distances, with design to stop the Merchant-ships that should bring Provisions to *Rome*; and forty Gallies, which were his Fleet, were at the same Time cruising on the Coast, to catch up all Ships with Provisions, and stop all Passes.

60 In this Expedition, *Marius* made himself Master of *Ostia*, and either killed the greatest Part of the Citizens, or at least stripped them of all they had. But the different Sorts of Cruelties, which the barbarous General exercised in this unfortunate City, which was given up as a Prey to the Avarice of the Soldiers, were only the Preludes to the Misfortunes which he made his Country suffer.

61 The most venerable *Citizens* of *Rome* in vain pressed the *Consul Octavius*, to arm the Slaves in defence

ing Diviners, than holding Councils of War; and had more Dependence on the Answers of the *Aruſpices*, than on the Valour of the brave Soldiers, with which *Rome* was full. *Pompeius*, who had come over to the *Conſuls*, after *Cinna*'s Refuſal, was encamped without the Walls, pretty near the Poſt which *Sertorius* had taken; and the firſt Act of Hoſtility began between theſe two Generals. It was rather a Skirmiſh or Rencounter than a general Action, but was remarkable for an Accident, which might well give the *Romans* an Abhorrence for civil Wars. Two Brothers had taken up Arms, one under *Sertorius*, the other under *Pompeius*; and in the Battle fought in the Evening between theſe two Generals, wherein only 600 Men were killed upon the Spot, it happened, that one of the Brothers gave the other a mortal Wound, without knowing him. But as ſoon as he heard the Voice of his dying Brother, he was not able to conquer his Grief. Turning towards himſelf the Sword which he had plunged into his Brother's Body, he cried out, *Alas, dear Brother, tho' different Intereſts have divided us, one common Funeral-Pile ſhall unite us!* and immediately killed himſelf. This moving Accident made ſome Impreſſion on the Soldiers. But the Violence of Paſſion, and the Neceſſity of purſuing their Engagements, ſoon hardened all Hearts; and neither Party had any more regard for Relations and Friends.

Year of *ROME* DCLXVI.

CN. OCTAVIUS, & L. CORNELIUS CINNA, Conſuls.

Oroſ. L. 5. c. 19. Epit. Liv.

As the Siege was protracted, the Multitude of the Beſiegers viſibly increaſed; and *Cinna* formed a fourth Army, under the Command of *Papirius Carbo*. In the City was nothing but Dread and Confuſion. The two *Conſuls* were unable to preſerve it againſt the Attacks that were going to be made upon it. *Octavius*'s only Confidence was in the uncertain Prognoſticks of Judiciary Aſtrology; *Merula*'s, in the Protection of *Jupiter*, whoſe *Pontifex* he was; and there were in the City itſelf a great Number of People who were not much attached to the *Conſular* Party. The Senate alone governed by their Councils, and laboured to preſerve themſelves by withſtanding the Efforts of the Reſt of *Italy*, who were entered into a Confederacy to deſtroy them. To this End, they reſolved to endeavour to bring into their Intereſts one of the fierceſt Nations in their Neighbourhood. The *Samnites* had not yet laid down their Arms, but continued in their old Revolt, becauſe they had been by Name excluded from the Right of *Citizenſhip*. A *Roman* General of great Reputation, *Q. Cæcilius Metellus*, the Son of that *Metellus Numidicus* whoſe Exploits in *Numidia* we have related, commanded a *Roman* Army againſt thoſe Rebels; and the *Conſcript Fathers* thought it neceſſary to ſatisfy the *Samnites*, and recall *Metellus* to the Defence of *Rome*. But the Scheme ſucceeded only in part. *Marius* prevented the Senate with Regard to the *Samnites*, and gained them to himſelf, by more advantageous Promiſes than the Senators had made them. *Metellus* returned to the Capital, and thought it his Duty to adhere to the Nobility; and as ſoon as he appeared at *Rome*, all the Soldiery offered to ſerve under him in the Defence of the City. They were diſſatisfied with the weak Indolence of the *Conſuls*, deſpiſed their Orders, deſerted them, and were rejoiced to have ſo much better a General in *Metellus*. It was the Misfortune of *Rome* at this Criſis, that all the Generals ſhe had to defend her were Men of a rigid Probity, and too ſtrictly obſervant of the old Cuſtoms and Laws. *Metellus* himſelf fell into that Miſtake; by ſcrupling to aſſume the Office that properly belonged to the *Conſuls*, and refuſing the Offers of the *Citizens*. This threw many faithful Friends of the Senate into Deſpair; and they deſerted by Companies, to *Cinna*. He, and moſt of his Generals, were not ſo ſcrupulouſly virtuous as their Enemies. *Sertorius* was the only one among them, that had any noble Sentiments, or valued himſelf on his Probity. The three others had neither Honour nor Virtue.

Plut. in Mario. Epit. Liv.

§. XVIII. However, though the Capital was weakened by theſe Deſertions, *Octavius* found Means to raiſe an Army in it, and encamped under the Walls. *Q. Metellus* commanded the *Roman* Troops he had brought from *Samnium*, and *Pompeius Strabo* the *Legions* which *Cinna* and *Sertorius* had rejected. But theſe three Bodies together were not equal in Number to the four Armies of the Beſiegers; and the latter had this Advantage, that neither *Cinna*, nor *Marius*, nor *Cn. Papirius Carbo*, ſcrupled any Attempt or Artifice that would ſerve their Cauſe, how villainous ſoever. *Cinna* undertook

Plut. in Pomp.

defence of the City. They could get only this Anſwer, That it was beneath the Dignity of the Senate, to grant the Right of *Roman Citizenſhip*, to thoſe vile contemptible Wretches. He was, it ſeems, unacquainted with this great Maxim, That all Laws are to be over-looked when the Safety of the State requires it. *Octavius*, truſting to the Diviners and Aſtrologers, flattered himſelf, That he had no need of the Slaves; and That Things would end well for the Republick, without their Aſſiſtance.

Year of ROME DCI.XVI. Cn. Octavius, & L. Cornelius Cinna, Conſuls.

dertook to have *Pompeius Strabo* aſſaſſinated, in his own Tent; but his Son ſaved his Life; which was the firſt remarkable Act of *Pompey the Great*, whoſe Exploits were afterwards admired, and his Misfortunes lamented, by the whole World. Young *Pompey*, who was making his firſt Campaign under the *Pro-Conſul*, his Father, had choſen for his Companion, *Terentius*, a young *Roman* of his own Age; and *Cinna* had engaged this Youth to turn Traitor, kill the *Conſul* and his Son, and debauch his Soldiers. Indeed, old *Pompey* was, through his Inſolencies and continual Treacheries, become the Curſe of his Soldiers; but never did Son leſs reſemble a Father in his Diſpoſitions and Behaviour. Young *Pompey*, whoſe very Looks had an engaging Sweetneſs in them, gained the Affections of all by his Affability and good Nature; but the Father was ſevere, cruel, and had no Kind of Merit to deſerve Eſteem or Regard, except conſiderable Talents for War.

The treacherous *Terentius* therefore undertook to kill his General and his Son, and to carry the *Legions* he commanded to *Cinna*'s Camp; and the Method he took to execute his cruel Deſign was this. He ordered ſome of the Aſſaſſins to ſurround the *Prætorium*, and ſet fire to it; others to run from Tent to Tent and cauſe an Inſurrection among the Soldiers; and took it upon himſelf to aſſaſſinate young *Pompey*, his Companion. But in the Evening before the Night, when this Villany was to be put in Execution, a Friend of young *Pompey* came, and whiſpered him in the Ear, that *Terentius* had reſolved to murder him and his Father, and draw all the Camp into a Revolt. The two Companions were then at Table, ſupping together in a very friendly Manner; and notwithſtanding the Shock of ſuch terrible News, young *Pompey* diſcovered not the leaſt Concern, continued his Supper, as if he had heard nothing ill, and careſſed *Terentius* as much as ever. Nevertheleſs as no Time was to be loſt, he pretended, as ſoon as Supper was over, to want Sleep, and laid down. As ſoon as he perceived that *Terentius* was aſleep, he ſtole out of their Tent without Noiſe, went and placed a faithful Guard round the *Prætorium* where his Father lodged, and watched all the Motions in the Camp. The *Pro-Conſul*, informed of all, and well guarded, ſtirred not out of his Tent; neither durſt any of the Incendiaries come near it, to ſet Fire to it; nor laſtly, did the Son return to his own. In the mean Time, *Terentius*, who thought him in Bed by him, ran his Sword ſeveral Times through the Bedding, the Marks of which appeared the next Morning; whilſt young *Pompey* was appeaſing the Fury of the *Legionaries* by ſuch Acts of Prudence and Magnanimity, as were worthy the oldeſt Commanders. The moſt mutinous had forced open one of the Gates in order to deſert to *Cinna*; upon which the General's Son laid himſelf flat on his Back in the Way, and with that pleaſing Air which charmed all that ſaw him, cried out, *Cruel Soldiers! If you will treacherouſly break your Oaths, walk over my Belly! I will not have the Mortification of ſurviving your Diſgrace.* By this Means, he firſt ſuſpended the Impetuoſity of theſe furious Men; and afterwards wrought ſo effectually upon them by his Careſſes, Bounties, and engaging Speeches, that he reconciled them to his Father; ſo that old *Pompeius* loſt only 800 Men, who had made the greateſt haſte to flee to the Enemy. A Beginning worthy indeed of the Character of the *Great Pompey!* and a ſurprizing Preſage of his future Grandeur!

§. XIX. Thus *Cinna* failed of this fatal Blow; but that did not leſſen his Zeal in purſuing the Siege of *Rome*. The Deſign of the four Armies, of which he was Generaliſſimo was, to make the Garriſon, and the three Bodies of Men which encamped under its Walls to defend it, periſh with Hunger. *Marius* as the moſt experienced General, and moſt warm in taking the City, undertook to ſtop all Proviſions by Water, whilſt his Collegues ſhut up all the Avenues by Land; and choſe himſelf a Body of Guards of about 6000 Villains, taken out of the Goals of all the Cities of *Italy*, and choſen among the moſt famous Debauchees of his Party. This was his favourite Company, whom he called his [62] *Bardiates*, an infamous Appellation, but made honourable by the Licentiouſneſs of Arms; and when aſſiſted with theſe Deſpera-

Plut. in Mario.

62 Some conjecture that this Company of Villains took their Name from the *Greek* Word Βαρδος, which, as *Heſychius* informs us, ſignified, in the Language of the *Ambracians*, a Man who offered Violence to Women: And if this Etymology ſeem too far fetched, this at leaſt may be ſaid, That theſe Brutes deſerved the Appellation in every bad Senſe of that Kind, by their infamous Debaucheries. *Strabo*, in his Account of *Spain*, mentions ſome *Bardiates*, which he elſewhere calls *Bardyales*, who, according to him, were a ſavage and cruel Nation, who lived on the Banks of the *Ebro*. Whence ſome have thought that *Marius* gave his favourite Company, the Name of theſe People, becauſe they imitated them in their Barbarity.

does, nothing was too bad for him to attempt. He ſeized the Cities of *Antium*, *Aricia*, and *Lanuvium*, which might have ſent ſome Proviſions to the Capital; and actually reduced it to extreme Want. All the Banks of the *Tyber* were alſo guarded by his Soldiers, leſt the foreign Merchants ſhould venture to ſend Corn that Way; and he barred up the River, both above and below the Bridge *Sublicius*, with ſtrong *Staccadoe's*. At the ſame time, *Sylla* poſted a Detachment round *Ariminum*, to ſhut up the Paſſes againſt the Inhabitants of *Ciſalpine Gaul*, who were well diſpoſed to ſend Relief to *Rome*. Year of *ROME* DCLXVI. CN. OCTAVIUS, & L. CORNELIUS CINNA, Conſuls. *Epit. Liv. Plut. in Mario. App. de Bell. Civ. L. 1.*

However, the Beſiegers with all their Efforts, had not yet been able to come near the City, neither had the *Ram* been applied to make a Breach; but it was nevertheleſs in exceeding great Danger of being taken, by the Treachery of *Appius Claudius*, a *military Tribune*. Indeed *Marius* could not corrupt him with his Money; but the *Tribune* had formerly been obliged to him, and he turned Traitor out of Gratitude. He was Governour of the Fort of the *Janiculus*, an important Poſt beyond the *Tyber*, at the Head of the Bridge *Sublicius*, which the Beſiegers were very deſirous of getting into their Poſſeſſion; and one Morning he left the Gate half open, and gave *Cinna* notice to come and ſeize it. At the Hour [63] appointed, the three Armies of *Cinna*, *Sertorius*, and *Carbo*, all marched thither; but the Garriſon, tho' ſurprized, made a brave Reſiſtance; and upon this Alarm, the Troops of *Octavius* and *Pompey* inſtantly left their Camps, haſted over the Bridge to the Defence of the Fort, and there fought a Battle, which ended wholly to the Advantage of the *Conſuls*. *Octavius* and *Pompey* repulſed the three Armies of the Enemy, and preſerved the *Janiculus*, which might be deemed one of the Outworks of the Place. By this valiant Action, the Aſſailants ſaw that they who defended *Rome*, wanted neither Strength nor Courage; and from that Time, they had no Hopes of Succeſs, but from length of Time, and particularly from the Famine which was already ſenſibly felt.

It muſt be owned, that *Pompeius Strabo* had manifeſtly diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his Bravery, in this Action of the *Janiculus*. But nevertheleſs, it is probable, that he drew down the Wrath of Heaven on his Party. He was at bottom a very wicked Man, capable of the greateſt of Crimes, if he could conceal them from the Publick. He had got a *Conſul* aſſaſſinated before the Altars; and if he now defended his Country, it was not ſo much out of Affection to her, as out of Ambition, and a Spirit of Revenge againſt *Sylla*, who had deſpiſed his Offers. Beſides, Providence ſeemed reſolved to puniſh *Rome*, for the horrible Licentiouſneſs that prevailed there; and began with *Pompeius* and his Army. A Plague ſuddenly broke out among his Troops, and with ſuch Violence, that in a few Days it carried off 11000 of them. From thence it ſpread to the Army of *Octavius*, but with leſs Fury. Nor was the Plague alone thought a ſufficient Puniſhment for ſo great a Villain as *Pompeius*. The Wretch, who was hated by all Parties, and very unworthy to be the Father of *the Great Pompey*, was killed by Fire from Heaven. A fiery Cloud covered his whole Camp, and terrified it firſt with Lightnings, and then with horrible Claps of Thunder; and at length the Lightening broke the Cloud, fell upon *Pompeius*, ſtruck him dead, and darting through all the Streets burnt the Arms and a great many of the Men to Aſhes. All *Rome* confeſſed the Vengeance of Heaven upon him; and his Body was drawn with an Iron Crook, through all the Streets of the City, like that of a Malefactor. A terrible Example for the *Romans* in general, and eſpecially for the Generals who were beſieging *Rome*, if they had known how to have made a good uſe of it. As for his Army, which had been but too long under his Authority, *P. Craſſus* ſucceeded him in the Command of it. *Vell. Paterc. L. 2. c. 21. Jul. Obſeq. c. 116. App. de Bell. Civ. L. 1.*

§. XX. As the Want of Proviſions increaſed daily at *Rome*, *Octavius*, *Craſſus*, and *Metellus*, the three Generals who defended it, went and encamped near *The Hill of Alba*, along *The Appian Way*, to facilitate the Paſſage of Convoys thither. The *Conſul Merula* continued in *Rome*, to keep the People in order, and command the Garriſon. But the new Encampment brought little Relief to the publick Diſtreſs. *Cinna*, *Marius*, *Sertorius*, and *Carbo*, had joined their Forces, and poſted themſelves above their Enemies, twelve Miles from *Rome*, on the ſame *Appian Way*; which made it impoſſible

63 The Author of the *Epitome of Livy* tells us, That the Expedition of the *Janiculus*, was preceded by a compeat Victory which *Marius* and *Cinna* gained over one of the *Conſular* Armies commanded by *Aulus Plautius*; and That this General was ſlain on the Field of Battle, with the greateſt Part of his Army.

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to convey Provisions into the Capital; and now Hunger, Faintness, and Despair, raised many Murmurs, and caused many Desertions. In short, the *Senatorial* Party had no Resource left, but to end the War by a decisive Action; and as all the Armies were within reach of one another, and those that defended *Rome* were scarce inferior to those that attacked it, either in Number or Courage, it seemed no very hazardous Trial. But *Octavius* wanted Resolution. He was full of Scruples, and thought it a Crime to shed *Roman* Blood; and this single Consideration suspended his natural Valour. Whereas, he ought to have foreseen, that his Inaction would produce much greater Evils, than that of hazarding the fighting, or even losing, a Battle.

Rome suffered greatly by his Irresolutions; and *Cinna* thought this a very proper Season to solicit the Inhabitants of *Rome* to surrender to him. To this end, he treated under-hand with the *Citizens*, and sent faithful Men round the Walls to invite the Slaves to shake off the Yokes of their Masters, come to his Camp, and have their Liberty; and upon these Sollicitations, the *Romans* of all Ranks left the Defence of the City, openly, and in large Companies. So that the Capital was soon deserted to such a degree, that the former Confusions in it were at an end; and in the Camps of *Octavius* and *Crassus*, their Armies visibly decreased. *Metellus*, abandoned his, and despairing of saving *Rome*, went to seek Refuge in *Liguria*, from whence he soon after went over into *Africa*; and *the Conscript Fathers* themselves, for whom the War had been undertaken, were no longer resolute in maintaining it. They were divided in Opinion, each voting according to his Fears or Courage. Some were for running all Hazards, whilst others were for satisfying the Besiegers by advantageous Terms. The audacious pretended to most Bravery, and the timorous to most Wisdom. The former insisted, That the Senate were obliged in Honour to maintain their Decree against the Exiles to the last; That it was beneath their Dignity, to treat with rebellious Subjects as with foreign Enemies; That *Cinna* and *Marius* would abuse their Condescention, and infallibly usurp a Tyranny in *Rome*; That the only Reason why Desertions were so frequent, was the Timorousness of the Senators; That after all, a Remedy might be found for the Famine which raised so general a Consternation; That private Persons ought to deliver the Provisions they had secretly stored up, to the Publick; and That for the future, the Provisions should be given out to every one by Measure. *In short*, added they, *What is become of that Love for our Country, which made our Forefathers so constant in defending the* Capitol? *Are a* Cinna, *or a* Marius *more formidable Enemies than the* Gauls *formerly were? Our Zeal for the publick Good is all degenerated into Selfishness; our* Mucius Scævola's, Horatius Cocles's, *our* Curtius's, *and our* Camillus's, *are no more; and it is the Decay of our Virtue, that is bringing on us the Ruin of our Republick. The few faithful* Legions *that are left us, are ready to shed their Blood, in the Service of their Country; and even the Affections of our* Allies *are not yet alienated from us.* Cisalpine Gaul *is very zealous to join us. Let us then immediately open a Passage for that warlike People, who are desirous of coming to our Relief, by breaking through* Cinna's *Troops who oppose it.*

Plut. in Mario.

But the more fearful spake a very different Language, they aggravated the Miseries of a civil War; pathetically lamented the Condition *Rome* would be in, when taken by Assault, or reduced to the last Extremity, and forced to surrender to the Enemy when it was too late; gave very particular Accounts of the great Numbers of *Italians*, who had inlisted themselves in the four Armies which were under *Marius*; and sighed after *Sylla*, tho' in vain. *Let us not then*, said these timorous Men, *delay coming to Terms with* Cinna, *till Hunger and Want have weakened all our Garrison. We have only the Bodies of those who seem faithful to us; their Affections are with the Enemy. Besides, who knows, but we may be surrounded with Traitors, who will be very ready to save their own Lives, and Fortunes, and Families, at the Expence of the Heads of the most venerable of the Senators? Let us then prevent the greatest of Misfortunes, by a little present Mortification. Let us send a Deputation to* Cinna, *and endeavour to avert the Misery that threatens us, by a Submission. When two great Evils are both inevitable, the least is to be chosen. Prudence and Caution ought to be preferred to a foolish and perverse Obstinacy.* And this Advice prevailed. The Love of the Republick had no longer the Ascendant over private Interest in *Rome*. Liberty was indeed an Idol which the *Romans* had long adored; but the Tyranny of some of the *Tribunes*, and a few of the *Consuls*, had much abated her Worship: And tho' they had no Reason but to expect to see her trod under Foot by *Cinna*, and

and his Accomplices, they reſolved to give her up, rather than hazard their Lives and Eſtates.

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§. XXI. The Senate immediately ſent three venerable Senators to the Camp of the Beſiegers, in the Habit, and with all the uſual Marks, of Supplicants. *Cinna*, who had been depoſed from the *Conſulate* by theſe very *Conſcript Fathers* whoſe Ambaſſadors now came to lay themſelves at his Feet, affected to give them Audience, ſitting on a kind of Throne, in his *Curule Chair* and *Conſular* Robe, and ſurrounded by his *Lictors*; and the firſt Queſtion he aſked was, Whether the *Senate* acknowledged him to be *Conſul*, and they were come to pay their Homage to him, as ſuch? This Queſtion, which they did not expect, ſurprized them; and as they had not Inſtructions how to anſwer it, they deſired leave to return to *Rome*, to conſult their Principals upon it. In the mean time, the *Citizens*, as may well be imagined, when they ſaw the Senators themſelves were forced to capitulate, did not long continue faithful to them. The People daily left *Rome* more and more, and many of the moſt honeſt *Citizens* went to ſeek for Bread and Protection among the Beſiegers. The Senate were at the ſame time much perplexed about the Anſwer to be given *Cinna*; becauſe they could not acknowlege him for *Conſul*, without diſplacing *Merula*, a wiſe Magiſtrate, whom they had in a manner compelled to leave his Office of High-Prieſt of *Jupiter*, againſt his Will. They were in doubt which to chooſe; whether to affront this good Man in ſo notorious a manner, and take upon themſelves the Shame of not being able to ſupport their own Act, or to hazard the Dangers that threatened them; and *Merula* himſelf removed the Difficulty. Like a good Citizen, he preferred the publick Good to his own Honour; freely offered the Senate to abdicate; and it being neceſſary to obtain the Conſent of the People, he mounted the *Roſtra*, and in a full *Comitium* declared, That in order to reſtore Peace to the Publick, he was as ready to reſign the *Conſulate*, as he had been unwilling to accept of it. A glorious Inſtance of a diſintereſted Virtue; and, as will ſoon appear, very ill rewarded!

Vell. Pat. L. 2. c. 22.

Diod. Sic. ap. Valeſ.

As ſoon as he had reſigned, the Deputies of the Senate returned to the Camp of the Confederates, with this ſingle Inſtruction, That they ſhould require an Oath of *Cinna*, That when he came to *Rome*, he would ſpare the Blood of the *Citizens*, and put no *Roman* to Death but by due Form of Law. *Cinna*, tho' little ſcrupulous about taking or breaking Oaths, thought it beneath his Dignity to have any adminiſtred to him in a juridical manner; but promiſed as much as they pleaſed, That when he entered *Rome*, no *Roman* of any Condition ſhould loſe his Life, or at leaſt, that he never would give his Conſent to the Death of any. And whilſt *Cinna* was encouraging the Deputies by humane and kind Anſwers, *Marius* ſtood at the ſide of his *Curule Chair*, in a ſullen Silence; and the Wildneſs of his Looks, and the Rage that ſparkled in his Eyes, ſeemed to threaten the *Romans* with a terrible Maſſacre. However, *Cinna*'s Promiſes were abſolute, with this ſingle Exception, That he would not be anſwerable for the Life of his Collegue *Octavius*, if he appeared in the City, and did not take care to hide himſelf till the Storm was blown over; and as ſoon as theſe Aſſurances were brought to the Senate, they immediately ordered the Gates to be opened to *Cinna* and *Marius*, tho' the Decree which proſcribed the latter, was not yet repealed. Then *Cinna*, attended by *Marius*, who had the Impudence to return to the Capital, ſurrounded by his 6000 brutal Guards, who breathed nothing but Luſt and Slaughter, and by *Sertorius*, *Carbo*, and all his Troops, immediately began his March, and firſt entered the City. *Marius* halted at the City Gates; and when he was preſſed to advance, he replied with a ſarcaſtical Tone, and a malicious Sneer, *Does it become an Exile to return to the Place from whence he was baniſhed?* Not that the Villain had the leaſt Regard for the Laws; but he wanted to be intreated, to go and make a cruel Slaughter of all the Authors of his Baniſhment.

Appian. L. 1. de Bell. Civ.

Plut. in Mario.

§. XXII. Immediately after his Arrival, *Cinna* marched directly to the *Forum*, aſſembled the People there, made it his firſt Buſineſs to diſannul the Decree of Proſcription againſt *Marius* and his Adherents, and then *Marius*[64] thought nothing unlawful. This ſanguinary Man treated *Rome* like a City taken by Aſſault. The firſt Order he gave his Guards was, to ſlay without Mercy all thoſe who ſhould come to ſalute him,

64 According to *Plutarch*'s Account, *Marius* did not ſo much as wait till the *Comitia* were ended. He was ſo impatient to ſhed the Blood of the *Citizens*, that he took off the Mask, when only two or three *Tribes* had voted, and immediately fell upon the City, at the Head of his Guards, who had imbibed his own Spirit.

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and whose Salutes he should not return; so that this Signal was indeed a general Dead-Warrant, and accordingly not one of the many Flatterers who came to make their Court to the new Tyrant were spared, except those to whom he gave a favourable Reception. Q. *Ancharius* the Senator, a Man of Distinction in the Republick, who had been honoured with the *Prætorship*, chose to pay his Compliments to *Marius*, when he was offering a Sacrifice in the *Capitol*; and the Tyrant casting a fierce Look upon him, he was instantly cut in pieces, even in the Temple of *Jupiter*. *Cinna*, for the present at least, appeared more moderate; and at first exercised his Cruelty only on his Collegue *Octavius*, to whom he had given notice, before he came to *Rome*, not to appear there. *Octavius*, who could not submit to be governed by an Equal, and thought it unworthy of his Office to leave *Rome* to the Mercy of a Tyrant, came to the *Janiculus*, ordered his Throne to be erected there, and took upon him to exercise his Office as *Consul*. Tho' his Friends endeavoured to persuade him to retire from the Storm, it was in vain; his Weakness was Divination; and he hearkened to no body but the *Chaldæans*, who were continually about him, and assured him that his Life should be safe. Even after the Arrival of *Censorinus*, one of *Cinna*'s Partizans, with a great Body of Cavalry, he might have escaped, if he would have fled; but he refused the Horse that was offered him, and waited for the Hand that was to assassinate him, without rising from his *Curule Chair*. In short, *Censorinus* came up to him, cut off his Head, and immediately [65] carried it to his Rival. There was a Paper found about him, which contained a Calculation of his Nativity by an Astrologer; and the manner of his Death sufficiently shewed the Vanity of the [66] Predictions, with which he had been amused all his Life. Thus died a *Consul* by the Order of his Collegue, (a Thing unheard of in the Republick) who had not discovered his Imprudence till the latter part of his Life; and who preserved to his Death, a sincere Affection for his Country, which he even carried too far. Tho' brave, he refused to fight a necessay Battle, for fear of shedding *Roman* Blood. Which was having too strict a Regard to the Laws of his Country; and in short, he supported the *Consular* Dignity to the very last, and chose rather to be murdered than demean it.

§. XXIII. As for *Marius* he had not formed himself after those great Patterns of Virtue, of which there were still some Footsteps remaining in *Rome*, notwithstanding her Degeneracy; and he gave very cruel Orders to his *Bardiates*, who acted agreeably to their Name. They committed all the Acts of Lust and Cruelty in *Rome*, that it was possible to invent; till at length they carried their Iniquities so far, that *Cinna* and *Sertorius* consulted together how to rid *Rome* of this detested Crew; and they were all surprized in the Night when asleep, and shot to Death with Arrows, not one escaping. *Marius* was in Despair at the Loss of his Favourite Guards; and as he breathed nothing but Blood, and was afraid that *Cinna* had already fully satisfied his Revenge, he desired a Meeting of the Heads of the Faction, to consider what kind of Government to settle, all Power being devolved on *Cinna* upon the Death of his Collegue, and hoping to acquire himself a sufficient Authority to pursue the horrid Iniquities he had begun. Accordingly the four Chiefs, *Cinna*, *Marius*, *Papirius Carbo*, and *Sertorius* met; and the only one among them that had any Sense of Morality, was *Sertorius*. A strange Perverseness of Temper, and the Affronts he had received from *Sylla*, had drawn him from *Octavius*, and brought him into this Faction; but his Heart was still susceptible of Compassion, and he never carried the military Spirit to Inhumanity. Whereas *Marius* spoke at this Conference like a Madman. *We are now*, said he, *Masters of the Capital, and no one has Raisoness enough to dispute our Power of abrogating old Laws, or making new ones. What remains then, but that we signalize our Resentments against the Authors of our Misfortunes? Let us have no Compassion for Villains, who set no Bounds to their Fury! All my Sufferings were brought on me by the Senate; and it is but just that they should feel all the Weight of my Revenge. Let us destroy all those who*

65 *Appian* says, That *Cinna* exposed the Head of *Octavius*, on *The Tribune of Harangues*; and this mournful Sight struck a Terror and Consternation into the Citizens.

66 Nevertheless, *Val. Maximus* says, That the Consul *Cnejus Octavius* left off laying any Stress on the Predictions of Astrologers, when the Head of a Statue of *Apollo* fell off of it self, and sunk so deep in to the Ground, that it could not be taken out. He concluded, that this Prodigy foretold his approaching Ruin, or Death; and our Author adds, That his Foresight was the Cause of his Misfortune. He calmly waited for the Swords of his Murderers, and thought his Death the inevitable Decree of Fate. And as soon as he was dead, says our Author, the Head of the God was dug out, without any Difficulty.

have

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have endeavoured to deſtroy me. You have ſeen me drag on a miſerable Life, rambling in deſert Places far from the Commerce of Men, and begging my Bread even in the Cottages of the Poor. The Forreſts could not afford me a ſafe Retreat, nor were the muddy Waters in the Marſhes ſufficient to hide me. And in ſhort, I owe the Life which the Hatred of the Senate ſought to take from me, to the pity of a Barbarian. Can we then revenge an exceſs of Rage, without an exceſs of Cruelty? The Time is now come for utterly aboliſhing the Senate. They have been the Cauſes of all the domeſtick Diſſenſions in the Republick ever ſince its Eſtabliſhment; and there never will be any Tranquillity among us, as long as the Government ſhall be divided between the People and the Nobility. Let us then extirpate theſe proud Conſcript Fathers, *whoſe Tyranny is become more inſupportable to us, than was that of the* Tarquins. *A Government divided between two ſeparate Bodies, is a Monſter in Policy. Let us therefore take* Hercules's *Club, and deſtroy this three-hundred-Headed* Hydra. *Let us cut them all off at one Blow; for if only one of them eſcape, all the reſt will grow again, and prove fatal to us. Let us then make uſe of the happy Opportunity which* Mars *and* Fortune *have given us, and ſlay them all without Diſtinction. If any one of you contradict me, I will rank him among thoſe who are Enemies to the publick Good.*

Sertorius endeavoured to moderate this Fury, but in vain; *Cinna* and *Carbo* concurred in it, and it was reſolved to cut the Throats of all the Senators that could be found in *Rome*. All Men of Virtue and known Integrity were, by theſe Chiefs of the popular Faction, devoted to the Slaughter; eſpecially thoſe famous Orators, who had ſo often diverted the Storms which the ſeditious *Tribunes of the People* had endeavoured to raiſe in the *Comitium*. *Antonius* in particular, who by his Merit, Probity, great Wiſdom, and Adherence to the Senate, had incurred the Hatred of the new Tyrants, was one of the firſt that was condemned to die; but he had prudently retired into the Country. So that the Storm firſt broke, on *C. Attilius Serranus*, *P. Lentulus*, and ſome others, whoſe only Crime was their having been at the Head of Affairs, and ſhewn their Zeal for the publick Good, in the higheſt Stations. *C. Cæſar* [67], and *Lucius* [68] *Cæſar* his Brother, *C.* [69] *Numitorius* and *M. Bæbius*, were aſſaſſinated in the Streets. *Caius* [70] *Fimbria* was the Executioner of the Cruelties of *Marius*, and he, finding *P. Craſſus* the Son, purſued him

App. de Bell. Civ. L. 1.

67 We muſt take care not to confound this *Caius Julius Cæſar* ſurnamed *Strabo*, and the Brother of *Lucius*, with that *Caius Cæſar*, who is ſaid by *Pliny*, *B.* 7, to have died ſuddenly at *Piſa* in his *Prætorſhip*. The latter was the Father of the firſt *Roman* Emperor, the famous *Julius Cæſar*.

68 *Lucius Julius Cæſar* had been *Conſul*, in the Year 663; *Cenſor* with *Publius Licinius Craſſus*, in the Year 664; and diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the War with the *Allies*. But neither his Birth nor Virtue could ſecure him from the Fury of the preſent *Conſul*. The cruel *Marius*, to add Inſolence to his Barbarity, ordered this illuſtrious *Citizen* to be ſlain, on the Tomb of the infamous *Varius of Sucro*, that contemptible and ſeditious *Tribune*, who having been the Reproach of the *Tribunate*, had been baniſhed, and had periſhed in the tragical Manner beforementioned. *Nothing was wanting to compleat the Miſeries of the Republick*, ſays *Val. Maximus*, *but the Horror of ſeeing* Cæſar *ſacrificed to the* Manes *of a Villain. This Enormity effaced the Glory of all the Victories* Marius *had gained. He himſelf totally obliterated the Merit of them, by committing more Cruelties in* Rome *itſelf, than he had gained Lawrels in her Defence.* This *Varius*, it ſeems, had been murdered by ſome of *Sylla*'s Faction, and *Marius* was reſolved to revenge his Death, by that of *Lucius Cæſar*.

69 *Florus* ſays, That the Murderers dragged the Bodies of the two illuſtrious Senators, *Caius Numitorius*, and *Marcus Bæbius*, with Hooks, into the middle of the *Forum Romanum*.

70 This *Caius Flavius Fimbria* was one of the moſt furious Zealots of *Marius*'s Party. *Cicero* repreſents him in ſeveral Parts of his Works, as an abandoned Man, who gloried in the moſt atrocious Crimes; and *Val. Maximus*, *B.* 9, gives us this Inſtance of it. After the Death of old *Marius*, *Fimbria* hired ſome of his Faction, to murder the *Pontifex*, *Quintus Mucius Scævola*, on the Tomb of that formidable Chief. The venerable old Man was accordingly attacked by this Company of hired Villains, but had the good Fortune to eſcape with only a ſlight Wound. The barbarous *Fimbria*, was exceedingly exaſperated at miſſing his Blow; and therefore himſelf accuſed *Mucius* at the Tribunal of the People. And when he was asked what he had to lay to the Charge of ſo virtuous a *Citizen*; he, with amazing Impudence replied, That *he had nothing to accuſe him of, but this*; *That he had not ſuffered the Sword that wounded him, to be buried up to the Hilt, in his Body.* *Florus* ſpeaks of another *Fimbria*, who was aſſaſſinated in his own Houſe, by Order of *Marius*; and probably his Crime was his being in the Intereſt of the Nobility. It is uncertain whether this was he, who was *Conſul* in the Year 649, and of whom *Val. Maximus* tells us the following Story, which naturally prejudices one in his Favour. A private Perſon had a Quarrel with a *Knight*, named *Marcus Lutatius Pithyas*, whoſe Vertue and Fidelity he ſeemed to ſuſpect. The *Knight*, piqued at a Suſpicion ſo injurious to his Honour, offered to prove his Honeſty, and choſe *Fimbria* to be the Judge. But he declined the Affair under this Pretence, That he would not defame a Man, who enjoyed a good Reputation. Which was ſaying, in a genteel manner, That he had not the ſame Opinion of *Lutatius*'s Probity, which the World had. We ſhall hereafter ſee ſeveral *Caius Flavius Fimbria*'s appear on the Stage; and it were to be wiſhed, that the Ancients had enabled us to diſtinguiſh one from the other. This would have given more Light, Exactneſs, and Order, to the Facts they relate; and the Moderns would not have been embarraſſed, and forced to have recourſe

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him with a Squadron of Horſe. But *P. Craſſus*[71] the Father met his Son, killed[72] him, for fear he ſhould fall into the Hands of his Purſuers, and then ſubmitted himſelf to be maſſacred by *Fimbria*. This Uproar and Maſſacre laſted five whole Days; and how many Perſons of the firſt Rank were cut off in it were not known. But this we are told, that the Heads of theſe venerable Men were all ſtuck on Stakes at the Foot of the *Tribune of Harangues*; and in the Language of one of the Ancients, formed a dumb Senate, which nevertheleſs cried out for Vengeance. However, *Metella*[73], the Wife of *Sylla*, and her Children eſcaped this general Perſecution of the Nobles, though with Difficulty. All the Eſtates of the Senators were put up to Sale, and their Houſes given up to be plundered; but the People were aſhamed to enrich themſelves[74] with the Spoils of ſo many Men of the firſt Diſtinction.

recourſe to tedious Diſcuſſions, which inſtead of leſſening Difficulties, generally increaſe them. This Sameneſs of Names, Fore-Names, and Surnames, in different Perſons of the ſame Families and Times, create an Obſcurity, which it is very often impoſſible to clear up, by the Help of Criticiſm itſelf. Thus we muſt leave it to the Reader to find out, who that *Caius Flavius Fimbria* was, who is ſaid by *Cicero* to have been accuſed of Oppreſſions by *Marcus Gratidius*, and againſt whom *Marcus Æmilius Scaurus*, then *Prince of the Senate*, appeared as a Witneſs. All we know of him is, that he was acquitted. The Judges had no Regard to the Teſtimony of *Æmilius*, though he proved the Facts he charged on the accuſed by Oath. He was indeed deemed a Man of as great Integrity as any in *Rome*; but it was notorious that he was a ſworn Enemy to *Fimbria*; and this was enough to make his Teſtimony ſuſpected.

71 This is the *Craſſus* whom we have ſeen *Conſul*, in the Year 656; honoured with a *Triumph* after he had ſubdued the *Luſitanians* and other Rebels in *Further Spain*; and *Cenſor*, with *Lucius Julius Cæſar*, in the Year 664.

72 The ſecond Son of *Publius Craſſus* had a more happy Fate; he eſcaped the Cruelty of the Murderers of his Father and Brother. He went into *Spain*, attended by his Domeſticks, and three faithful Friends. This is the *Marcus Craſſus* who is ſo famous in Hiſtory for his immenſe Riches. Upon his Arrival, he found the People ſtruck with Conſternation and Dread, at the bare Names of *Marius* and *Cinna*. Theſe factious Chiefs, had their Emiſſaries in Pay, in *Spain*, as well as other Provinces of the *Roman* State, who were ready to do any Thing to ſerve the prevailing Faction. Young *Marcus* therefore reſolved to retire to a little Country near the Sea-ſide, which belonged to *Vibius Pacianus*. Within his Diſtrict there was a deep Cave, ſurrounded on all Sides by Rocks, which ſhut up the Mouth of it, and ſcreened it from the Winds. There was a Spring of freſh Water near it, and there were Openings enough in it through the Cliffs and Creviſes that Nature had made in the Rock, to give a great Light through the whole Grotto. Here the Fugitive reſolved to fix his Retreat, without making himſelf known to any Body, and wait for better Times. But in the mean while, his Proviſions failed, and he could have recourſe in this Neceſſity to no Body but *Vibius*. He therefore ſent a faithful Slave to him, to implore his Aſſiſtance in this melancholy Situation; and he diſcharged his Commiſſion with Succeſs, and touched the Heart of *Vibius*, with the Account he gave of his Maſter's Misfortunes. The *Spaniard*, though affected and prejudiced in favour of the *Roman*, would not go to ſee him, for fear of troubling the Solitude of a Man who deſired to be unknown: He apprehended his Preſence might give *Craſſus* a freſh Alarm, and make him ſuſpect ſome ill Deſign, in ſuch an unexpected Viſit. But *Vibius* charged his Steward with the Care of carrying himſelf every Day to the Door of the Cave, Plenty of Proviſions, and a certain Quantity of the niceſt Meats, for the Subſiſtence of *Craſſus* and his Followers; and at the ſame time, ſtrictly enjoined this Purveyor to retire ſilently after he had done his Duty; forbad him looking into the Cave under Pain of Death, and promiſed him his Liberty, if he faithfully executed theſe Orders. So that *Craſſus* was wholly indebted to this generous *Spaniard* for his Preſervation. He continued there eight Months, till the Death of *Cinna*. Then he left his Solitude, and appeared in publick; and ſome of *Sylla*'s Party to the Number of 2500 immediately joined him. At the Head of this new Army, he paſſed through many *Spaniſh* Cities; and *Plutarch* ſays, that ſeveral Authors who were his Cotemporaries, have reproached him, with plundering *Malaca*, a City of ancient *Bætica*, which he found in his Way. It ſtands on the Mouth of the *Guadalquivir*, in the Kingdom of *Granada*, and is now called *Malgues*. But *Craſſus* uſed all poſſible Means to juſtify himſelf from ſo ſcandalous a Robbery; gave theſe Hiſtorians directly the Lie; and accuſed them of making uſe of the moſt notorious Calumny, to hurt his Reputation. But be that as it will, he got together a Fleet of Galleys, which carried him into *Africa*. There he joined with *Metellus Pius*, who had raiſed a great Army. But a Diviſion ſoon aroſe between the two Chiefs, ſo that it was neceſſary for them to ſeparate; and *Craſſus* went into *Aſia*, where *Sylla* received him in his Camp, with all the Marks of Diſtinction that were due to his Birth. From this Time the General took him into his Intimacy, and was ever after heaping Favours upon him.

73 Amidſt all the Blood he ſhed, *Marius* was continually complaining that the chief Victim eſcaped him. His Vengeance was defective, in that it could not reach the Perſon of *Sylla*. This victorious General, who was in *Aſia*, at the Head of a formidable Army, laughed at the Fury of his Enemy, at that diſtance. However, the cruel *Marius* did all in his Power to affect him in the moſt tender Part; and to that End, ordered the ſtricteſt ſearch to be made after his Wife *Metella*, the Daughter of *Metellus Numidicus*, and her Children, with a Deſign to have them murdered. But they happily eſcaped the Vigilance of their Purſuers, with the Aſſiſtance of ſome of *Sylla*'s chief Friends, and were conducted ſafe to his Camp. *Marius* was highly exaſperated at their eſcape, and not content with ordering their Houſe to be razed, and their Goods confiſcated; he forced the Senate to declare this illuſtrious General an Enemy to his Country, whoſe Dominions he was daily extending by his Conqueſts.

74 There was not one among the pooreſt, ſays *Val. Maximus*, that would take Advantage of the publick Calamities; they all abhorred the Thoughts of enriching themſelves with the Spoils of their Countrymen; and ſhewed as much Reſpect to the Houſes given up to be plundered, as to Temples. So that the Effects of the proſcribed were given up to the Avarice of that Company of Guards, whom *Marius* had made the Miniſters of his Cruelties.

Year of *ROME* DCLXVI.
CN. OCTAVIUS, & L. CORNELIUS CINNA, Conſuls.

§. XXIV. In the mean time, the *Marian* Soldiers were diſperſed about the Country, in ſearch of the illuſtrious *Romans* who had retired thither; and all the *Municipia* and great Roads were beſet by thoſe who were ſent to purſue the fugitive Senators. Nevertheleſs *Cornutus* was ſaved, by the Fidelity and innocent Artifice of his Servants. He was retired to the Cottage of a Peaſant; and when his Slaves ſaw the Soldiers, ſtrolling about the Neighbourhood, they took the Body of a dead Man, whom the Meſſengers of the Tyrant had juſt killed, hung it up by the Neck in the Cottage, and put a Gold-ring on its Finger, pretending it to be their Maſter; and when they had made a pompous Funeral for the pretended *Cornutus*, they ſecured the Eſcape of the real, who retired to *Gaul*. The famous Orator *Antonius* had not ſo happy a Fate. He had found a faithful Friend near *Rome*, who laboured to ſave his Life with great Tenderneſs and Affection; but his charitable Hoſt was poor, and ill furniſhed with Wine. For the better Entertainment therefore of ſo great a Man, he ſent for the richeſt Wine he could get at a Tavern in the Neighbourhood; and the Owner of the Houſe, not uſing to ſell ſo dear Wine to this Servant, aſked him what Company his Maſter had, and was anſwered, That it was the illuſtrious *Antonius*, who made ſo great a Figure in the Senate. Upon this, the Villain went immediately and informed *Marius* that he had diſcovered the Place where *Marcus Antonius* was hid; and *Marius* lept for Joy at the News. He could ſcarce refrain from leaving his Table, and going to dip his own Hands in the Blood of his Enemy. But Shame detained him; and he ſent *Anius*, one of his wicked Agents, to behead the Orator, and bring him the Head before he roſe. *Anius*, attended by a proper Body of foot Soldiers, went to the Houſe, ſent his Men into the Orator's Apartment, and tarried himſelf at the Door. The Soldiers, with all their natural Barbarity, were ſo ſtruck with the Sight of this great Man, and the noble Boldneſs with which he addreſſed himſelf to them at the Point of Death, that Tears dropped from their Eyes; and they were ſo ſoftned, that they could not kill him. *Anius* therefore, impatient at their Delays, went up into the Room, ſaw his Soldiers in Tears, reproached them for their Cowardice, and executed his barbarous Orders himſelf. The Head of *Antonius* was brought to *Marius* while he was yet at Table; and he viewing it with great Pleaſure, made it Matter of Sport for his Gueſts; and tenderly embraced the Murderer, who was covered with the Blood he had ſhed. After this, the Head of the greateſt Orator *Rome* had bred, was ſtuck up among the reſt for a Show, at the Foot of the *Tribune of Harangues*, where he had ſo often been heard with the greateſt Applauſe. All *Rome* lamented the Loſs of a zealous *Citizen*, who had wholly employed his excellent Talent of ſpeaking for the Service of the Publick, and in endeavouring to ſave the Lives of the unjuſtly accuſed; and the Loſs would have been irreparable, if *Cicero* [75], now twenty Years of Age, had not been ready to ſupply his Place, and even to excel him in the Art of Perſuaſion. However, the preſent Licentiouſneſs of Arms was ſuch, as would not ſuffer the young Orator to appear in the *Roſtra*.

Plut. in Mario. App. L. 1. de Bell. Civ. Cic. in Bruto.

§. XXV. After the firſt Fury of the other Tyrants was ſomewhat abated, *Marius* ſtill thirſted for more *Roman* Blood, though he pretended to conceal his Violences under an Appearance of Juſtice. He wanted to deſtroy two Men, who had been dignified with the *Conſulate*, and one of whom had *triumphed*, after the Defeat of the *Cimbri*, in the ſame Chariot with himſelf. The latter was the famous *Q. Lutatius Catulus*, *Sylla*'s Friend, who had not a little contributed to get *Marius* baniſhed; the former, the pacifick and virtuous *Cornelius Merula*, who had juſt reſigned the *Faſces*, that they might be given to *Cinna*. Theſe *Marius* ſummoned to appear before the People, to anſwer to ſome capital Crimes laid to their Charge; and they plainly foreſaw, that the Accuſation would end in an infamous Condemnation. *Marius* had often given this cold Anſwer to thoſe who had interceded for *Catulus*, *He muſt die*; and they well knew that as the Tyrants were Maſters of the Suffrages of the People, Innocence

75 *Cicero* choſe, in theſe troubleſome Times, to retire. After he had made his firſt Campaign, at eighteen Years of Age, under *Sylla*, who was then beſieging *Nola*, in the War with the *Allies*, as we are told by *Cicero* and *Plutarch*; he dedicated the three following Years to the Study of the Law, Mathematicks, Philoſophy, and Eloquence, and perfected himſelf in theſe Parts of Learning under the beſt Maſters. *Diodorus*, one of the moſt famous *Stoicks*, and *Philo* a celebrated *Academick*, taught him Morality, and the Doctrines of their Sects. *Quintus Mucius Scævola* the *Augur*, taught him the *Roman* Law; and he ſpent the moſt agreeable Part of his Time, in hearing *Molo* the famous Rhetorician, who taught him the Art of Speaking. It was, in this Time, that he wrote his Books *De Inventione*, as he himſelf informs us, *De Orat. L.* 1.

was

Year of *ROME* DCLXVI. Cn. Octavius, & L. Cornelius Cinna, Conſuls. *Plutarch. Val. Max. Florus S. Auguſt.*

was but a weak Defence againſt Calumny and Revenge. They therefore both reſolved to prevent their Judgment, by a voluntary Death, though in a very different Manner. *Catulus* went into a Room newly plaiſtered, ordered a great Fire to be lighted, ſhut himſelf in, and, whether he had ſtopped his Breath with holding a fiery Coal to his Mouth, or had taken Poiſon, he was found dead there.

Merula's Method was much more affecting, and more publick. Being the High-Prieſt of *Jupiter*, he ordered himſelf to be carried to the Temple of that God; and when he came to the Foot of the Altar, he there laid down the ſacerdotal Coiffure, in which it was not lawful to die. Then ſeating himſelf in his pontifical Chair, he ordered his Veins to be opened, and after he had bled for ſome Time, advanced to the Altar, ſprinkled it with his Blood, and uttering many Imprecations againſt the Tyrants, devoted his Enemies to *Pluto* and the infernal Gods. And from this Time, the High-Prieſthood of *Jupiter* continued vacant for 77 Years. Indeed *Marius* and *Cinna* nominated the great *Julius Cæſar* to it, at 17 Years of Age; but the Return of *Sylla* prevented his taking Poſſeſſion of it.

And now, it might have been expected that *Marius* had made Slaughter enough in *Rome*. The Streets had for ſome Time flowed with Blood, and been covered with Heaps of dead Bodies; and *Sertorius* is ſaid to have been ſo far from being concerned in theſe Murders, that he prevailed on *Cinna* to intercede with *Marius* to put a Stop to them. Nevertheleſs, the City enjoyed but a very ſhort Tranquillity. The *Citizens* hoped to have gained ſome reſpite, under the new *Conſuls* at leaſt, who were to be choſen as uſual, in *The Field of Mars*; but *Cinna* would not truſt the People to chooſe his Succeſſor. He, of his own Authority, nominated himſelf *Conſul*, for the next Year, and made *Marius* his Collegue, without ſo much as aſſembling the *Comitia*. So that the *Roman* Government was now no longer Republican. There was neither Senate, nor any other juridical Aſſembly in the City; on the contrary, all Power was lodged in the Hands of two Men, and they were both more cruel and more abſolute than the bad King, whom the *Romans* had formerly driven from *Rome*.

Year of *ROME* DCLXVII. L. Cornelius Cinna, & C. Marius, Conſuls. *Plut. in Mario. Epit. Liv. Florus. Vell. Pater. Auth. de Vir. Illuſtr. Diod. Sic. apud Valeſ.*

§. XXVI. On *The Calends of January*, *Cinna* and *Marius* took Poſſeſſion, one of his ſecond, and the other of his ſeventh, *Conſulſhip*; and neither the Ambition nor the Cruelty of *Marius* were yet extinguiſhed, though he was now 70 Years of Age. He, and his Son ſtill continued their tragical Scenes in the terrified City. The Day that the new *Conſuls* went to the *Capitol* to take their Inveſtiture there, young *Marius* killed a *Tribune of the People* who oppoſed his Will, with his own Hand. The Father had ſcarce taken Poſſeſſion of his Office, before he pronounced Sentence of Baniſhment againſt two *Prætors*; and accidentally meeting *Sex. Licinius* in the Street, that very Day, he ordered him to be thrown down from the *Tarpeian Rock*. But notwithſtanding all this, the Monſter could not ſtifle the Remorſes of his own Mind, though thus hardened in Iniquity. The Streams of Blood which he had ſhed were continually before his Eyes; and the Children of the many Senators he had murdered were as dreadful to him, as if they had been the *Manes* of their Fathers. He looked on them as ſurviving the Loſs of their Relations, only to wait for an happy Opportunity to revenge it; and his Fears made him ſo ſuſpicious, that he ſoon became inacceſſible even to his Friends and Accomplices. The Perſon that of all others gave him the moſt Uneaſineſs was *Sylla*[76]. Couriers daily arrived from *Aſia*, with Accounts of his great Exploits

76 The proſcribed, who daily fled in great Numbers to *Sylla* for Refuge, preſſed him earneſtly to lead his Army to *Rome*, and deliver the Republick from the Tyrants, who kept it under Oppreſſion. But *Sylla*, who was above private and perſonal Regards, choſe rather to compleat the Conqueſt of *Aſia*, than hazard loſing the Fruits of his Victories over *Mithridates* by too precipitate a Revenge. He took it for granted, that the entire Reduction of ſo formidable an Enemy, would ſecure him an happy Return to *Italy*, and a triumphant Entry into *Rome*. In the mean time, he wrote a long Letter to the Senate, the Subſtance of which is given us by *Appian*. He repreſented, in the moſt affecting Terms, his paſt Services, his Labours for the Honour of the *Roman* Name, and the cruel Outrages that were continually offered him, whilſt he was employed in adding vaſt Provinces, nay whole Kingdoms, to the Dominions of *Rome*. **You know*, Conſcript Fathers, ſaid he, *what Pains and Fatigues it has coſt me to diſcharge the Offices the Republick has entruſted me with, to her Service and Advantage. When* Quæſtor *in* Numidia, *when* Military Tribune *in the War with the* Cimbri, *when* Pro-Prætor *in the War with the* Allies, *and now that I am* Pro-Conſul *againſt* Mithridates, *your Arms have always been victorious, under my Conduct. I have humbled the Pride of this victorious Monarch in ſeveral Battles. I have forced the Garriſons he had in* Greece *to flee at the Sight of my Standards. The trembling Nations ſubmit to your Laws; and under my Auſpices, you will ſoon ſee* Mithridates *confined to his Kingdom of* Pontus, *and have recourſe to the Clemency of the Senate. In the mean time, as my Reward for theſe Services, a Price is ſet upon my Head, and my Friends*

* *Liv. Epit. l.* 83. *c.* 10.

murdered

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Exploits againſt *Mithridates*; and *Marius* thought he beheld him returning to *Italy*, on the Wings of Victory. He imagined he ſaw him at the Head of an Army, demanding Juſtice of the *Romans* for the Maſſacre of their Fathers; and as his Experience forced him to make a great Difference between him, and the weak Generals he had overcome, this Reflection tortured him with continual Fears. In the Night eſpecially, theſe Phantoms were ever haunting him, and he ſeldom cloſed his Eyes. The Want of Sleep made him extreamly thin, his Cheeks grew hollow, his Eyes ſunk into his Head, and made his Looks ſtill more terrible; and at length he had recourſe to Wine for Relief, but in vain. He continued at Table all Day long, to divert his Melancholy; but Sorrow ſtill hung about him in the midſt of his ſeeming Mirth; and having over-heated his Blood, with too much eating, he at length bred a Diſtemper which led him gradually to his Grave.

However, as he knew not that the fatal Stroke was ſtruck, he ſtill continued feaſting, and was in Appearance more gay than uſual. But one Evening, after Supper, he put on a more ſerious Air with his Friends. He diſcourſed to them of the Viciſſitude of human Affairs; related the Hiſtory of his Life; obſerved the Dangers he had run for having engaged himſelf too far in the Troubles of the Republick; and concluded with obſerving, *That that Man was unhappy, who after he had at firſt experienced the Favours of* Fortune, *gave himſelf up to her, without reflecting on her Inconſtancy.* This ſaid, he retired to his Bed, to take a [77] little Reſt, but never roſe from it more. He was ſeized with a ſhivering, followed by a Fever, and attended with a *Delirium*, which left him but ſhort Intervals of Reaſon; and when he was delirious, he imagined he was engaged in a Battle with *Sylla*. His Geſtures were thoſe of a Man fighting; and he gave Orders as if at the Head of an Army. At length, a great Faintneſs followed, and [78] he died, after ſeven Days Illneſs, ſome ſay on the thirteenth, others on the ſeventeenth Day, after he took Poſſeſſion of his ſeventh *Conſulſhip*. He was one of thoſe extraordinary Perſons whom Heaven ſeldom raiſes up in the World. In War, he was deemed a Hero; and his Exploits were put on a Level with thoſe of the *Scipio's*. In Peace, he was the Peſt of Society, and the Scourge of his Country. As he was very prudent, moderate, and cool, in Battle; ſo was he no leſs turbulent, angry, and furious, in the Aſſemblies of the People and Senate. His Ambition always prompted him to aſpire at an abſolute Authority over his Republick; but for want of the neceſſary Talents for governing, he had like to have utterly deſtroyed the State by his evil Counſels, after he had ſaved, and enlarged it by his Arms. So true is it, That Men may, as it were by Accident, become great Officers, without Manners, Probity, Truth, or Humanity: But, That no Man can become a great Stateſman, without an honeſt and good Heart.

And now, the diſtreſſed *Romans* fondly imagined, that all their inteſtine Calamities were buried with *Marius*; whereas the Republick ſtill harboured other Vipers in her Boſom, which in their Turns were ready to devour her. *Cinna*, the ſurviving *Conſul*, was a bad Man, artful [79], and of great Diſſimulation; and he aſſociated to himſelf in the Government,

are murdered without Pity. My Wife and Children are forced to abandon their native Country; and I have the trouble to hear, that my Houſe is razed, my Goods confiſcated, and all the Laws made in my Conſulſhip *abſolutely diſannulled. You may expect*, Conſcript Fathers, *to ſee me, in a little Time, at the Gates of* Rome, *followed by a victorious Army. And then, I ſhall find Means to revenge the perſonal Injuries I have ſuffered; and to inflict ſignal Puniſhments both on the Tyrants themſelves, and on the Miniſters and Favourers of their Tyranny.*

77 *Plutarch* adds, That *Marius* embraced thoſe that were preſent with unuſual Marks of Tenderneſs, and took his laſt Farewel of them.

78 The Author of *The Lives of illuſtrious Men* ſeems to inſinuate that *Marius*, being weary of Life, ſhortened his Days himſelf; but does not ſay, whether it was by Poiſon, or the Sword.

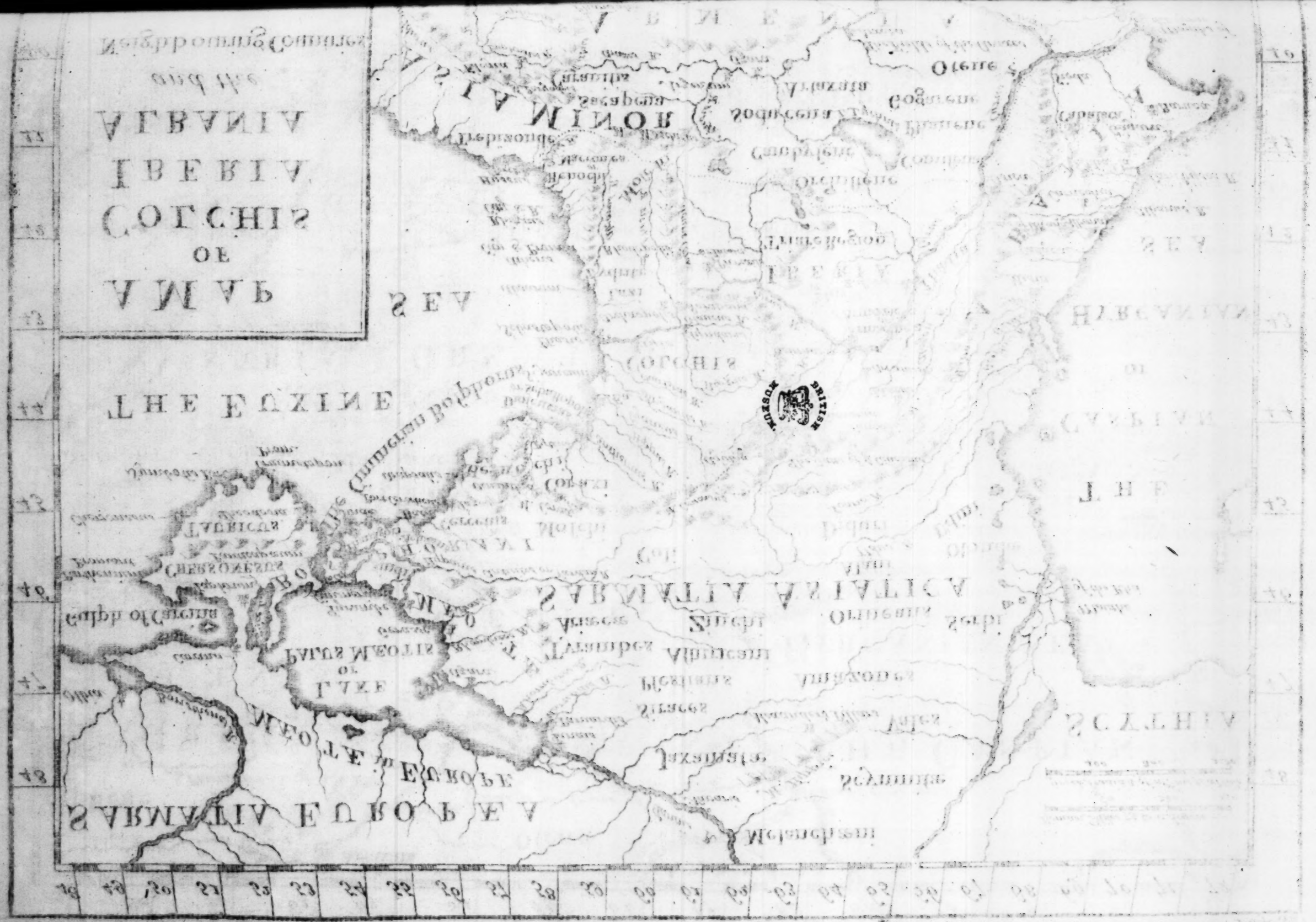
79 *Cornelius Cinna* was Maſter of the Art of Diſſimulation, and could conceal a boundleſs Ambition under an Air of Popularity. We may judge of his Character by what *Appian* ſays of him, *Bell. Civ. L.* 1. We have before obſerved, That the Senate, being informed of his ill Deſigns, had degraded him from the Dignity of a *Conſul*, and even the Rank of a *Roman Citizen*. As ſoon as informed of this ſcandalous Decree againſt him, he made all haſte to *Capua*, where the *Roman* Armies were encamped, which had ſerved in the War with the *Allies*. There he firſt got over ſome *Military Tribunes* to his Intereſt; Theſe Officers, in Conjunction with him, called the Soldiers together; and he appeared before them, ſtripped of all the Marks of the *Conſular* Dignity, and addreſſed himſelf to them thus. *You ſee in me, brave* Legionaries, *a melancholy Inſtance of the unjuſt Proceedings of the Senate. You raiſed me to the Honour of the* Conſulate; *I owe my Elevation wholly to the Suffrages of my Fellow-Citizens. But the Senators, by a new and unheard-of Inſult, have deſtroyed your Work. They have loaded me with Reproaches, without Regard to the Majeſty of the* Roman *People, and without ſo much as giving me an Hearing. So that I am degraded with Ignominy, and reduced to the deplorable Condition of an unfortunate Exile. But by the ſame*

Year of ROME DCLXVII. L. Cornelius Cinna, & C. Marius, Conſuls.

Government, one ſtill more dangerous, which was *Marius* the Son. The Spirit of his Father ſeemed to have paſſed into him. In the laſt Days of his Weakneſs and old Age, old *Marius* had at length glutted his Hatred, and given ſome Truce to the Senators, who had eſcaped his Enquiries. But young [80] *Marius* finiſhed the Work, which his Father had begun, by putting all the *Patricians* he could find in *Rome*, or its Neighbourhood, to the Sword. In ſhort, the only reſource the Nobility had was in *Sylla*; and they waited for his return from *Aſia* with great Impatience. Whereas, alas! even he returned, but too ſoon to *Rome*. We ſhall hereafter ſee this Monſter prove more furious than the former, and devour all the illuſtrious Men, that ſhall be left in the Republick. But before we come to thoſe dreadful Scenes, we muſt firſt turn to the Eaſt, and give an Account of his Exploits, and Conqueſts there.

ſame Act, that they have injured me, they have offered Violence to your Liberty, and your Rights. My only Fault has been my Zeal for the publick Good. Had I been a Slave to your Tyrants, contrary to the Duty I owe my Country, I had ſtill continued at the Head of the Senate. But becauſe I would have broken off your Fetters, and my own, therefore I am proſcribed, and forced to lead a wandering Life, even in the Center of Roman *Liberty. And therefore, I am now come to deſire the Aſſiſtance of all you illuſtrious Warriors that bear me, againſt our common Enemies.* At the ſame Time *Cinna* rent his Robe, with the Air of a Man pierced with the moſt bitter Anguiſh; called the avenging Gods to teſtify the Injuſtice done him; threw himſelf on the Ground, and ſeemed ready to ſtab himſelf with his own Sword, as reſolving not to ſurvive his Diſgrace. The Soldiers, affected with this mournful Sight, raiſed him up, and led him to his Tribunal; reſtored him his *Faſces*, *Lictors*, and all the *Regalia* of his Office; imbibed his Spirit, acknowledged him for their General, were preſſing to take the Oath of Fidelity to him, and prepared to gratify the Paſſions of this ſanguinary Man, by committing all the horrible Acts, which have been juſt related. From that inſtant, the artful *Cinna* threw off the Mask, and ſwore the Deſtruction of the moſt illuſtrious *Citizens* in *Rome*, who had oppoſed his furious Meaſures.

80 Young *Marius* inherited the Cruelty, as well as the Power, of his Father. He ſtained his Obſequies with the Blood of many Senators and *Citizens*, who had eſcaped the firſt Fury of the Proſcription; and as ſoon as he was become abſolute Maſter of *Rome*, he followed no Law, but his own Caprice and Paſſion. Till that Time, whether in order to ingratiate themſelves with old *Marius* his Father, or becauſe he had given ſome Proofs of Bravery and Intrepidity in Battle, or to flatter the Vanity of this audacious Youth, the People of his Party had called him nothing but *The Son of Mars*. But his Licentiouſneſs and Debauchery ſoon cauſed this firſt Surname to be forgotten; and inſtead of it was given him another, more ſuitable to his Character, viz. *The Son of Venus*.


A MAP
OF
COLCHIS
IBERIA
ALBANIA
THE EUXINE
SEA
LA MINOR
SARMATIA ASIATICA
SARMATIA EUROPEA
SCYTHIA
PARVA ALBANIA
PARVA IBERIA
CHERSONESUS
TAURICUS
Colchis
Iberia
Albania

A MAP OF COLCHIS IBERIA ALBANIA and the Neighbouring Countries

SARMATIA EUROPÆA

MÆOTÆ in EUROPE

LAKE or PALUS MÆOTIS

THE EUXINE SEA

The Cimmerian Bosphorus

COLCHIS

IBERIA

Triare Region

SARMATIA ASIATICA

SCYTHIA

THE CASPIAN or HYRCANIAN SEA

ASIA MINOR

ARMENIA

CHERSONESUS TAURICUS

Melanchæni

Scymnitæ

Jaxamatæ

Siraces

Pfesfians

Amazones

Asfuricani

Tyrambes

Ariæcæ

Zinchi

Orineans

Serbi

Alani

Olondæ

Diduri

Udini

Coli

Moschi

Coraxi

Cercetis

Heniochi

Sacapena

Taranitis

Sodycena

Artaxata

Gogarene

Otene

Phanene

Orchistene

Cambysene

Comisena

Trebizonde

Colchis

Sebastopolis

Dioscurias or Sebastopolis

Absarum

Athens City & Promont.

Rhizius City & R.

Lazi

Zydrita

Archæopolis

Armaxice or Armoric

Zadisa

Thasia

Mosna

Cadaca

Gates of Albania

Albania

Albanus R.

Cambyses R.

Cameschia

Oscica

Adiabla

Cabalaca

Gagara

Baruca

Sioda

Mouths of the Cyrus

Mouths of the Rha

The Fields of the Araxes

Araxes

Cyrus R.

Phasis R.

Thermodon R.

Iris R.

Halys R.

Udus R.

Soana R.

Panticapæum

Theodosia

Phanagoria

Cimmerium

Tamyrace

Hermonassa

Phanagoria

Dioscurias or Sebastopolis

Sigameum

Pharia

Cyta

Sebastopolis

Phasis

Archæopolis

Absarum

Athens

Rhizius

Trebizonde

Cerasus

Cerasus R.

Hyssus

Macrones

Arzenum

Agara

Agara R.

Araxes R.

Thermodon R.

Halys R.

Iris R.

Cyrus R.

Udus R.

Soana R.

Araxes

Gates of Caucasus

Caucasus

Albanus R.

Cambyses R.

Mouths of the Cyrus

Mouths of the Rha

Roman Miles 75 to a degree

50 100 150

Greek Stadia 8 of which make a Mile

400 800 1200

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Neighbouring Countries

ARMENIA

Mouths of the Tygris

MEDIA
OR
PARTHIA

GREAT MEDIA

PARTHIA

HYRCANIAN SEA
OR
THE CASPIAN

ARMENIA
GREAT

MEDIA

HYRCANIA

Page 35

59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73

40 39 38 37 36 35 34 33

ALBANIA

Artaxata

Arzenum

Araxes R.

Araxa

Otene

Araxata

Fields of the Araxes

Cyrus R.

Mouths of the Cyrus

Cambyses R.

Sophene

Plandaba

Araxis R.

GREAT ARMENIA

Gubine

Acilisena

Araxes R.

THE CASPIAN or HYRCANIAN SEA

Caspii

Gordene

Tigranocerta

Gabris

MEDIA

Cyrus R.

Amardus R.

Mandagasis

Mazera R.

Socande

Paricani

Zarangi

Marundæ

Gaza Capital of Atropatena

Spaute Lake

Cyropolis

Caduſii

Gazaca

Tigrane

Varamane

Zeudracarta

Carduchi

Pharaspe

Margasi

Lake Maniana

Vera

ATROPATENA

Amardi

Maxeræ

Siracena

HYRCANIA

Marciane

Tapuri

Mardi

Pagri

Carduchi or Cordueni

Adiabene

Arbela

Sagarti

Ninus or Niniv

ASSYRIA

GREAT MEDIA

Ecbatana

Sigriane

Comiſena

Hecatompylæ

Singara

Chalone

Choaspes

Caspian Gates

Issatis

Calliope

PARTHIA

Orobis

Sinna

Apamea

Gates of Media

Apollonia

M. Cambalidus

CHOROMITHRENE

Rhagæ, Europa & Arsacia

Apamea

Coſsæi

Ragiana

Scenite Arabians

MESOPOTAMIA

ELYMAIS

Meſsabatica

Heraclea

Daritis

Carine

Syromedia

Laodicea

Anath

Sittacene

Gabiana

Sittace

Corbiana

Desart Plains

PARETACENE

PERSIS

Hith

Seleucia

Ctesiphon

Euleus or Choaspes

Pasitigris

Gates of Arabia

Babylon

Opis

Uxii

Elymais or Seleucia

Ginda R.

Aspadana

Themantica

ARABIA

BABYLONIA

SUSIANA

A MAP OF MEDIA

Roman Miles

Greek Stadia

THE Roman Hiſtory.

BOOK LVII.

§. I. IT is ſurprizing, that *Rome*, tho' troubled with inteſtine Seditions, and actually engaged in a bloody War with the *Allies* in *Italy*, ſhould yet be able to extend her Care to the Nations of the Eaſt. *Mithridates* had already made her ſenſible, how much ſhe might ſome time or other ſuffer, by his Courage, his Artifices, his extenſive Dominions, his almoſt innumerable Subjects, and in a Word, by his great Power both by Sea and Land. We have ſeen him attempting to invade the Kingdom of *Cappadocia*, or at leaſt, to put it into the Hands of one of his Sons, of but eight Years of Age, under the Guardianſhip of *Gordius*. And as *Rome* was then in Tranquillity, we have likewiſe ſeen her oppoſe the Attempts of this ambitious Monarch, ſend *Sylla* to place *Ariobarzanes*, who became rather the Vaſſal, than the Ally of the Republick, on the vacant Throne of *Cappadocia*; and by this means, oblige *Mithridates* to give up, much againſt his Inclinations, the Sceptre to which he had laid a Claim. After that Time, he quietly waited ſome Years, for an happy Opportunity to drive *Ariobarzanes* a ſecond time out of his Kingdom, of which he had been put into Poſſeſſion by the *Romans* and *Cappadocians*. Whilſt this Friend to *Rome* was governing his People in Peace, the King of *Pontus* was entering into a League, and making other Preparations, to dethrone him. In order to draw *Tigranes*, the King of *Armenia*, more and more into his Intereſt, *Mithridates*, who had at leaſt eight Daughters by different Wives, married one of them to him. The Sovereigns of the vaſt Empire of the *Parthians* and *Medes*, entered likewiſe into a Correſpondence with the King of *Pontus*; and all *Scythia* promiſed him Succours upon Demand.

And now, the Time expected for putting his Deſigns in Execution, was come. The revolted *Italians* had taken up Arms, and were fighting for the *Citizenſhip* of *Rome* with as much Ardour, as Sovereigns defend the Thrones of their Anceſtors; and by that Means, the Forces of the Republick were divided. Theſe *Allies*, who had made her victorious in the Eaſt and Weſt, were now turning their Arms againſt her; and the *Romans* themſelves, divided by civil Factions, were making their Capital it ſelf a Field of Battle, in which more Blood was ſhed than the Conqueſt of all *Aſia* had coſt them. So that *Mithridates* could never have a more favourable Opportunity, to leſſen the Credit, and weaken the Authority of the imperious Republick, in the *Levant*; where ſhe gave Law, tho' at ſo great diſtance, to all crowned Heads: And his firſt Step was, privately to aſſiſt *Tigranes*, in dethroning the King of *Cappadocia*, a ſecond time. With this help, the *Armenian* got Poſſeſſion of that Kingdom; and *Ariobarzanes* was forced to have recourſe to *Rome*. But he found Affairs ſo much embroiled there, that he was obliged to wait for a more quiet Seaſon, before he could return to *Aſia*. *Juſtin, L.* 38.

In the mean time, the ambitious *Mithridates* was not content with depriving this *Ally* of *Rome* of his Dominions. *Nicomedes*, that Son of *Pruſias*, who had been brought up by the *Romans*, and who had mounted his Father's Throne by Parricide, was lately dead; and had left his Crown by *Will* to another *Nicomedes*, his Son by a favourite Dancing-Woman, named *Niſa*. This *Nicomedes* got his Father's *Will* confirmed at *Rome*, and under the Protection of the *Conſcript Fathers*, mounted the Throne of *Bithynia*. But *Socrates* ſurnamed *Chreſtos*, another Son of the late King, by a different Wife, oppoſed

this *Will*, and put himſelf under the Protection of *Mithridates*, as his Brother had done under that of the *Roman* Senate. And indeed the Plea of *Socrates* was ſpecious. He was, it's true, younger than *Nicomedes*; but his Birth had been without Stain. And the King of *Pontus* was doubly concerned in Intereſt to ſupport him. In the firſt place, the arming Brother againſt Brother, was raiſing a civil War in *Bithynia*, and taking the moſt effectual Method to pave the Way for his getting Poſſeſſion of it; and in the next place, this was mortifying the *Romans*, whom he thought too much employed elſewhere, to be able to revenge it, ſince it was deſtroying the Work of their Policy, as well as *Nicomedes*. And therefore he not only lent *Socrates* an Army, but aſſiſted him with his Councils as well as Arms, to drive out his Brother.

App. in Mithridat.

Thus there were now two Kings, one of *Cappadocia*, the other of *Bithynia*, that claimed the Aſſiſtance of *Rome*, againſt the Attempts of *Mithridates*; and the Republick, tho' embarraſſed with maintaining the War with the Rebels in *Italy*, thought it neceſſary to preſerve her Authority in the *Levant*, and not ſuffer *Mithridates* to leſſen it. The *Conſcript Fathers* gave a Commiſſion to three Perſons of the ſenatorial Order, *M. Aquilius* an old *Conſul*, *Manilius Mancinus* a *Prætor*, and *L. Caſſius*, who was governing the Kingdom of *Pergamus*, now a Province, for the *Romans*, to go and reſtore the dethroned Princes. The three Commiſſioners firſt raiſed a little Army, partly of the few *Roman* Troops that guarded *Pergamus*, and partly of *Phrygians*, and *Gallo-Greeks*; and then entered *Bithynia* with it, drove out the Uſurper, and replaced *Nicomedes* on the Throne. After this, they carried back *Ariobarzanes* to his Dominions, and deſired *Mithridates* to aſſiſt them in reſtoring him; but he excuſed himſelf from taking up Arms againſt his Son-in-Law *Tigranes*, and the *Romans* with their own Forces alone, recovered the Crown again for their Client.

§. II. Hitherto then, *Mithridates* had not dared to declare himſelf openly againſt the ſovereign Republick. He had, as yet, made it his Buſineſs to conceal his Deſigns, and amuſe his Enemies with Pretences. By a baſe Act of Diſſimulation, much unworthy of a King, he cauſed *Socrates* to be aſſaſſinated, who after the Loſs of *Bithynia*, had fled into his Dominions for Refuge: but his Cruelty did him no manner of Service. The *Romans* ſtill ſuſpected him, an Enemy to *Nicomedes* and the Protector of *Socrates*, as much as they had before done: And the three Commiſſioners, made it their whole Buſineſs, to force him to pull off the Maſk, and openly avow his ſecret Plots againſt *Rome*. They did not care to appear to the *Aſiaticks* to be the firſt Aggreſſors on *Mithridates*, and therefore privately ſtirred up *Nicomedes*, to commit Hoſtilities in *Pontus*. *Nicomedes* was very unwilling to engage in this Work; but being hard preſſed by the *Romans*, who demanded of him the Sums they had lent him for his Reſtoration, he at length armed, made Incurſions into that Kingdom, and pillaged [1] *Ameſtris*, a conſiderable City, near the Mouth of the River [2] *Parthenius*. And the King of *Pontus* bore theſe Depredations with Patience. His Point in view was, to let the *Romans* deſtroy one another in the *Italian* Wars, and not attack them till they were brought to the loweſt Ebb; and it was perhaps for this Reaſon, that he refuſed to grant the Requeſt of the *Italian* Rebels, who ſent a Deputation to deſire him to ſend ſome of his Troops into *Italy*, to their Aſſiſtance. But whatever were his Motives, he affected, not to make any Reſiſtance to the Attacks of *Nicomedes*, tho' he neither wanted Men, nor Proviſions. He contented himſelf with complaining loudly of the Proceedings of the Republick, and with giving his People to underſtand, that the *Romans* were the Authors of the Devaſtations committed in his Dominions; and would not have recourſe to Arms, that he might not appear to have begun the Quarrel.

However, during theſe affected Delays, he confirmed his old Alliance with the King of *Armenia*; and found Means to perſuade *Tigranes*, That the Time was now come for humbling this inſolent Republick, which kept Kings in Slavery. He likewiſe ſent Ambaſſadors to all the Nations of *Aſia Minor*, and to the *Egyptians*, *Syrians*, *Phœnicians*, *Medes*, *Parthians*, and particularly the [3] *Sarmatians* in *Scythia* and on the Coaſts

1 *Ameſtris*, or *Amaſtris* ſtood in *Paphlagonia*, in *Aſia Minor*. It is now called *Anaſtra*. *Strabo* and *Stephen of Byzantium* ſay it took its Name from its Foundreſs, *Amaſtris*, the Daughter of *Oxyatres* the Brother of *Darius Codomannus*, and the Wife of *Dionyſius* the Tyrant of *Heraclea*.

2 The River *Parthenius* riſes near the Frontiers of *Bithynia* and *Paphlagonia*; and runs into the *Euxine* Sea. It ſtill preſerves its ancient Name in that of *Partheni*, according to *Molet*; but *Le Noir* pretends That it is the ſame River that the eaſtern People now call *Dolap*.

3 *Sarmatia* comprehended the northern Countries of *Europe* and *Aſia*. A Part of *Moldavia*, that Part of

Coasts of the *Euxine* Sea; and the Jealousy of the *Roman* Power was so great in all Places, that his Negotiations were almost every where successful. Some promised him Land-Forces, others a certain Number of Ships, and *Phœnicia* Seamen and Pilots to Man them. But still, tho' his Measures were taken, he would not declare open War with the Republick. His Design was to force the *Romans* to be the Aggressors, and take the first Steps towards an open Rupture, that he might the more plausibly lay the blame upon them; and to this end, he indirectly attacked them. *Ariarathes* entered *Cappadocia*, and again drove out the weak *Ariobarzanes*; and *Mithridates* sent *Pelopidas*, the most eloquent Man in his Court, to the *Roman* Commissioners, rather to insult them, than excuse this Enterprize of his Son. He pretended indeed to refer all his Complaints, and the Injuries he had received from King *Nicomedes*, to the *Romans*; and put on the Appearance of an excessive Complaisance to them: But the Speech *Pelopidas* made to the three Commissioners, is a very evident Proof, that that was only an Artifice to provoke and exasperate them.

The Rights of Ariarathes, said he, *to the* Cappadocian *Throne, and those of* Mithridates *to the* Phrygian, *are not to be disputed. Nevertheless you have settled a kind of mock-King, who has neither Valour, nor any other kind of Merit, on the former; and You unjustly retain the latter, tho' you formerly gave it up to the Father of the present King of* Pontus. *All the Reward* Mithridates *has, for the old Services his Father did you, is, to be continually exposed to your Intrigues, and the Rapines of your Allies. You authorized the violent Attack made on his Dominions by the* Bithynians, *and the Pillage of* Amestris. *And when we demanded Justice of you, all the Answer we could get, was, That* Rome *is not answerable for the Conduct of* Nicomedes. *To which I shall add, That neither is it her Interest to stop the Vengeance of a King justly enraged. Is it possible, that so unguarded an Expression could drop from the Commissioners of a Republick, famed for her Wisdom and Moderation?* Mithridates *is so fully persuaded, that your Extravagancies will not be approved by the* Senate *and People at* Rome, *that he has ordered me to appeal to them in the Cause, in which you have shewn so much Injustice and Corruption. He cites you to appear before your own Tribunals; and protests against whatever Attempts you shall make, on his Person, or Dominions.* Rome, *no doubt, will better consider, than you have done, the Regard she ought to have, to the most powerful Prince in* Asia. *If you are ignorant of it, give me leave to inform you, That his Kingdom, when* Mithridates *received it from his Father, was above* 20000 Stadia *long; That the Son has since considerably enlarged it by his Conquests; That* Colchis *is subject to him; That the* Greek Colonies *about the* Euxine *Sea obey him; That* Scythia, Taurica[4] Chersonesus, *the Country of the* [5] Bastarnæ, Sarmatia, *and* Thrace, *are all devoted to him; and lastly, That the King of* Bithynia *is his Son-in-Law, and the* Parthians *his Friends. To which I might add, That* Egypt, Syria, *even your Province of* Pergamus, *and all* Greece *in* Europe, *only wait for a Rupture between him and you, to shake off the intolerable Yoke of your Republick. Nay,* Italy *itself earnestly sollicits to be admitted into the* Asiatick *Confederacy, whose Design is to bury in Oblivion the very Name of* Rome, *under her Ruins. This approaching Revolt of the whole World, against a single City, which* App. in Mithridat.

of *Hungary* which lies between the *Danube* and the *Pruth*, *Prussia*, *Livonia*, *Samogitia*, *Lithuania*, *Lower Volhinia*, *Muscovy*, the Kingdom of *Poland* from the *Vistula*, *White Russia*, and *Præcopia*, or that Part of *Little Tartary* which is called *Crim*, were all contained in *European Sarmatia*: So that this vast Country was bounded, to the North by the *Frozen Sea*, the *Palus Mæotis*, the *Taurica Chersonesus*, and the *Carpathian* Mountains; to the South, by the *Danube* and the *Pruth*; to the East, by *Asia*; and to the West, by the *Vistula*, the *Baltick*, and the *Gulph of Finland*. It was 540 *German* Miles, or near 930 *French* Leagues long, from the Conflux of the *Danube* and the *Taisse*, to the Mouth of the *Oby*, according to *Cluver*; and 360 *German* Miles, or 600 *French* Leagues broad, containing all the Provinces between the *Volga*, and the *White Sea*. *Asiatick Sarmatia* contained all the northern Countries of *Asia*, which lay between the *Tanais*, the *Volga*, the Sea of *Hyrcania*, the *Euxine* Sea, and Mount *Caucasus*; and *Circassia*, a Part of *Moscovy*, which lies North of the River *Tanais*, or *Don*, and some Parts of the Kingdoms of *Astracan*, *Bulgar*, and *Casan*, beyond the *Volga*, did also belong to this great Country. But we are not to imagine that *Pompey* subdued all this vast Tract of Land. His Conquests were confined to *Little Tartary*, and the Countries that border on the *Euxine*, and *Caspian* Seas, and the *Palus Mæotis*.

4 The Ancients called that Country *Taurica Chersonesus*, which is now inhabited by the *Little Tartars*, near Mount *Taurus*.

5 The *Bastarnæ*, according to *Plutarch*, *Polybius*, and *Livy*, came originally from *Gaul*; but *Dio Cassius* places them among the Nations of *Old Scythia*; and *Strabo*, among those of *Thrace*. But be that as it will, they inhabited those Parts of *European Sarmatia* which are near the *Danube*. They extended themselves from *Podolia* and *Bessarabia*, where they first settled, to *Moldavia*, *Walachia*, and towards the *Euxine* Sea; and from thence they advanced to the northern Parts of *Black Russia*, and *Little Poland*.

is enriched with the Spoils of the East and West, will no doubt make a greater Impression on the Senate *and* Comitia, *than on their three Ambassadors, whose Penetration is not so great.* Mithridates *has ordered me to deliver these Menaces, which he will certainly execute, if you don't leave* Ariarathes *on the Throne of* Cappadocia, *and hinder* Nicomedes *from laying waste his Dominions.*

§. III. The *Roman* Ambassadors thought this an insolent Speech, and with their usual Pride answered; *Be gone instantly from hence, and tell* Mithridates, *That we will immediately set out, to re-establish* Ariobarzanes *on the Throne, and to excite* Nicomedes *to make new Incursions into the Territories of* Pontus. In this manner *Pelopidas* was dismissed; and Guards were ordered to attend and watch him in his Journey, and not to leave him, till he was out of the Province of *Pergamus*. At the same time, the Deputies plainly perceiving, that this pretended Appeal to the People and Senate of *Rome*, was only a Rhodomontade to intimidate them, immediately set about raising a great Army, without waiting for new Orders from the Republick. They sent for Succours from *Bithynia*, *Cappadocia*, *Paphlagonia*, and *Gallo-Græcia*; and these, added to a *Roman Legion*, and commanded by *Roman* Generals, were thought a sufficient Force to withstand all the Efforts of *Mithridates*. Then the Ambassadors divided their Army into three Bodies. *Cassius* encamped with one, on the Confines of *Bithynia* and *Gallo-Greece*; *Manlius* with another, seized the Passes through which *Mithridates* might enter *Bithynia*; and *M. Aquilius*, with *C. Oppius*, one of his Lieutenant Generals, posted himself with the third, at the Entrance into *Cappadocia*. The Command of the *Roman* Ships was given to two Admirals, *Minutius Rufus*, and *C. Popilius*, who posted their Fleet at the Entrance into the *Euxine* Sea, to guard the Passage into it. On the other hand, *Mithridates* declared War with them, and made it appear, that *Pelopidas* had not exaggerated, when he had boasted so much of the Power of his Master. The King of *Pontus* took the Field with 250000 Foot, and 40000 Horse; put to Sea a Fleet of 300 decked Ships, and 100 *Biremes*; and drew out of his Magazines, the formidable Artillery of 130 Chariots armed with Scythes. Whereas the *Roman* Generals could not raise above 40000 Men among their *Allies*; and tho' *Nicomedes* had 50000 in his Army, yet, after all, the Inequality was very great between the *Romans* and their Enemies. *Mithridates* reserved to himself the supreme Command of this terrible Army, and appointed his inferior Officers in this manner; *Neoptolemus* and *Archelaus*, two Brothers, who understood Arms, commanded, one the auxiliary Infantry, and the other the Cavalry; *Dorylas* was at the Head of the *Phalangites*, and *Craterus* of the armed Chariots. With this numerous Train, *Mithridates* marched to force the Passes into *Bithynia*. *Nicomedes* was guarding them with his 50000 Men, on the Banks of the[6] *Amnius*: And as soon as the Head of the formidable Army of *Mithridates* appeared in that vast Plain, and before his *Phalanx* was arrived, *Nicomedes*, being superior in Number to those he saw of the Enemy, immediately attacked them. *Archelaus* and *Neoptolemus* immediately seized an Eminence to prevent their being surrounded, but *Nicomedes* drove them from it; and then the Battle grew very warm. The *Bithynians* broke *Mithridates*'s left Wing commanded by *Neoptolemus*, and would have routed it, if *Archelaus* had not come readily to his Assistance, with the Right. After this, the Fortune of the Day changed, as well as the Scene of the Battle. The two Wings divided, and left an empty Space for the scythed Chariots, which drove up full speed against the *Bithynian* Troops. And as the Ground was level, and the *Bithynians* ranged in close Order, the Havock these Machines made among them is not to be expressed. Some whole Bodies of Men had their Legs cut off, and in others, the Men were cut off in the middle. The Limbs of many hung trembling on the Scythes that had cut them off; and the sight of this Massacre, more than the Loss of his Infantry, discouraged *Nicomedes*. He fled, and retired to *Paphlagonia*. The Soldiers of *Mithridates* plundered the Enemy's Camp, and took a great many Prisoners; whom the victorious King set at Liberty without Ransom, in order to gain the Reputation of a generous Conqueror.

§. IV. This first Essay of the Forces of *Mithridates*, made the three *Roman* Ambassadors tremble. They repented of having driven a Prince to Extremities, who was in himself powerful, and more formidable on account of his Alliances. And it increa-

[6] *Strabo* and *Appian* mention the River *Amnias*, but say nothing more of it, than that it rises in one of the Borders of *Bithynia*.

ſed their Concern to conſider, that they had begun this War of their own Head. without the Conſent of their Republick. Beſides, had not they ill-timed it? Should they have engaged the *Roman* State in a new War, at a Time when all the World was only waiting the Iſſue of her Quarrels with her *Allies* in *Italy*, to ſhake off the Yoke? However, the Stroke was now ſtruck, and it muſt be ſupported. The victorious Army drew near the Camp, which *Manilius Mancinus* commanded, on the Borders of *Bithynia* and *Pontus*; and took Poſſeſſion of Mount [7] *Scoroba* which divided thoſe two Kingdoms. This alarmed *Mancinus*, and obliged him to decamp. *Neoptolemus* marched after him, came up with him at the Village of [8] *Pachium*, there forced him to fight, killed 10000 of the *Romans*, who were in all but 12000, made 300 Priſoners of War; and their General croſſed the River [9] *Sangar*, and returned to *Pergamus*, without Army or Baggage. The two other *Roman* Generals alſo quitted their Poſts, and came and encamped together, under *Leonto* [10] *Cephale*, one of the ſtrongeſt Places in *Phrygia*, and ſituated on the Coaſts of the *Ægean* Sea. And after *Mithridates* had thus diſperſed the Enemy's Land-Forces, he alſo became Maſter at Sea. His Fleet diſperſed that of the *Romans*, at the Entrance into the *Euxine* Sea, and *Nicomedes*'s Squadron ſurrendered to his Admiral.

Nor was this all. No General ever made a better uſe of any Victory than the King of *Pontus* of the preſent. He ſeized all *Bithynia*, took Poſſeſſion of the Government, and in the chief Towns placed all Power in the Hands of his own Party. From thence he entered *Phrygia*, and following the ſame Rout that *Alexander the Great* had taken, affected to halt in the ſame Places where that Conqueror had lodged. Then he paſſed through all the Provinces the *Romans* poſſeſſed in *Aſia*, and carrying his Conqueſts beyond them, ſubdued *Lycia*, and *Pamphylia*, as far as to the Borders of *Ionia*. As he marched forwards, he drove the *Romans* from Poſt to Poſt, and at laſt forced Lieutenant General *Oppius*, to ſhut himſelf up in [11] *Laodicea*, a ſtrong Place on the River *Lycus*, but a very inſecure Retreat for the vanquiſhed *Roman*. Upon the firſt Summons, the *Laodiceans* ſurrendered him up to the Conqueror, and to add Inſult to the Treachery, carried him in form, with his *Lictors* marching before him. *Mithridates* received him with Joy, and in pity gave him his Life; but expoſed him to publick View wherever he came; and gloried in having in Chains, one of the chief *Roman* Officers in *Aſia*, who gave himſelf the Title of *Pro-Conſul*. And *M. Aquilius* the Chief of the Deputies, met with a more rigorous Treatment than *Oppius*. He had fallen ſick at [12] *Mitylene*, whither he had fled for Refuge, after the general Rout, and thought himſelf ſafe in the Iſland of *Leſbos* [13]. But the Name of *Mithridates* was greatly revered by Sea as well as by Land; and upon his Orders, the *Leſbians* delivered up this old *Conſul*, and triumphant Victor, whoſe Arrogance had cauſed the new War. He was brought to the King, who, to humble the Pride of *Rome* in this great Man, treated him like the vileſt Slave, ordered him to be whipped, mounted an Aſs, carried to all Places wherever he came, and forced him to declare with a loud Voice to the People, *That he was the famous* Aquilius, *who had formerly been a* Conſul *in his Republick*. For which a prophane Writer reproaches him, as unworthy of the *Roman* Name, ſince he had not the Courage to prevent theſe Inſults, which reflected Diſhonour on his Country, by a voluntary Death. At length, *Mithridates* brought him to *Pergamus*, when he came to take Poſſeſſion of it; and there, under Pretence of revenging the Avarice of the *Romans*, their old Maſters, towards the *Pergamians*, killed him with pouring melted Gold down his Throat [14].

App. in Mithridat.

Val. Max. L. 9. c. 13.

7 It is thought that *Appian* means by *Scoroba*, the Chain of Mountains which *Memnon*, and *Stephen the Geographer* call the *Hippian* Mountains.

8 *Ortelius* gueſſes that the Village of *Pachium* which *Appian* mentions, is the ſame Village in *Phrygia*, which *Strabo* calls *Sangia*, and *Nicephorus*, *Pazum*. The River *Sangar* riſes near it.

9 See Vol. 3. p. 477. Note 55.

10 *Appian* has tranſmitted to us the Name of this Place which was one of the ſtrongeſt in *Phrygia*, and *Plutarch* mentions it in his *Life of Themiſtocles*. It ſtood on the Coaſt of the *Ægean* Sea.

11 The *Laodicea* here ſpoken of, was at firſt called *Diospolis*, afterwards *Rhoas* according to *Pliny*, and now *Landichia*. The *Lycus*, which waters its Territory, is a little River of *Phrygia*, which falls into the *Menander*. See Vol. 4.

12 This City, now *Metelin*, was the Capital of the Iſle of *Lesbos*, to which it has ſince given its own Name.

13 The Iſland of *Lesbos* lies within Sight of old *Troas*, between *Chios* and *Tenedos*, in the *Ægean* Sea. It is ſaid to be 70 Miles, or 24 Leagues long, and 168 Miles in Circumference; and is famous for its Fruitfulneſs, and excellent Vineyards.

14 *Diod. Siculus* is the only Hiſtorian who ſays That *M'. Aquilius* avoided the ſhameful Slavery and horrible Puniſhments which *Mithridates* deſigned for him by a voluntary Death.

§. V. And

§. V. And now, all the Coaſt of *Aſia* ſubmitted to the ſtrongeſt; and *Mithridates* placed what Governours he pleaſed in all the Cities. *Mitylene* and *Magneſia* received him with extraordinary Acclamations; and the *Epheſians* thought the beſt Way to ſhew their Attachment to him, was to ſignalize their Hatred to the *Romans*. They had formerly paid the groſſeſt Flattery to theſe Maſters of the World, and had erected Statues to all the great Men of the Republick, as long as ſhe continued Miſtreſs of the *Levant*. But upon the Decreaſe of her Power here, they deſtroyed theſe Statues with as much Levity, as they had erected them; and madly and blindly gave themſelves up implicitly to their new Maſter, without taking the leaſt Precaution againſt a Change of Fortune. From thence the King of *Pontus* continued his March to *Ionia*, and ſubdued it; and upon his Return, *Stratonica*[15] in *Caria* was the only City that obſtinately refuſed him Entrance. He therefore inveſted it, forced it to ſurrender at Diſcretion, ranſacked it, placed a Garriſon in it, and made a longer Stay there than he had intended. He there fell in Love with the incomparable *Monimia*, one of the moſt beautiful, and moſt virtuous, Women in the World. Her Father, *Philopemenes*, a Native of[16] *Miletum*, had educated her after the *Greek* Manner; that is, had improved her Mind with the Knowledge of the Sciences, and polite Arts, and had filled her Heart with noble Sentiments. It ſeemed doubtful, whether ſhe owed moſt to Nature, or Education; had moſt Beauty, or moſt Virtue. Her Fame ſoon reached *Mithridates*, and when he ſaw her, he was no longer Maſter of himſelf. He endeavoured to ſeduce her by Careſſes and Preſents, but in vain. He offered her 1500o Pieces of Gold, if ſhe would ſacrifice herſelf to his Pleaſures; but ſhe would hearken to nothing but the Voice of Honour and Duty. The Virtue of the fair *Mileſian* increaſed the Paſſion of the King, and the Eſteem he conceived for her, led him to think her worthy to reign. In ſhort, he offered her his Crown, and by a lawful Marriage, ranked her among the Queens his other Wives. But this new Honour and Diſtinction from a powerful Monarch, did not at all exalt her Mind. She thought herſelf in Exile, in a Court of Barbarians who adored her; and continually lamented the Loſs of the ſweet Enjoyment of her firſt Retreat. She deemed it no better than a Captivity, to be confined to a Seraglio, where ſhe was rather enſlaved to the Caprice of a Maſter, than tenderly careſſed by a Huſband; and where ſhe was continually ſurrounded with the Noiſe and Hurry of Arms, could have no agreeable Converſation, no free Liberty to enjoy her ſelf, no Means to improve her Mind. She ſpent her Days here in Melancholy and Sorrow, and in a great Diſtaſte of Grandeur; and this uneaſy Situation, prepared her beforehand to receive with the leſs Concern the fatal Orders of the King her Huſband, which ſhall be mentioned in due Time.

Plut. in Lucullo.

App. in Mithridat.

§. VI. Thus the important Affairs which the *Romans* had on their Hands in *Italy*, had given *Mithridates* time to make his Conqueſts, and give himſelf up to his Pleaſures. But in the mean while, the War with the *Allies* was ended, and *Italy* in Tranquillity; and as ſoon as *Rome* had Time to breathe, ſhe turned her Thoughts to the lamentable State of her Affairs in *Aſia*, and the mighty Progreſs made by a Prince, whom the ill Conduct of the three Commiſſioners had forced to take up Arms. *Sylla* then *Conſul*, as has been obſerved, expreſſed a very great Deſire, to go once more to ſuppreſs the Inſolence of *Mithridates*; and though his Deſires were thwarted by the Ambition and Intrigues of *Marius*, he at laſt prevailed, got *Marius* proſcribed, and made his Preparations for[17] tranſporting into *Aſia* a *Conſular* Army, whoſe Valour and Affection to him he had experienced. *Mithridates* was informed that *Sylla* would ſoon come againſt him, and took the beſt Meaſures he could to enable himſelf to oppoſe him. The only *Allies*, that remained faithful to the *Romans*, on all the Coaſt of *Aſia*, were the *Rhodians*, and the little Country of *Lydia*, near Mount *Sipy-*

15 The ancient Geographers reckon two Cities of *Stratonica* in *Aſia Minor*; one in *Caria*, and another which *Strabo* and *Stephen of Byzantium* place at the Foot of Mount *Taurus*; and therefore call it, *Stratonica ad Taurum*.

16 This City, which was one of the moſt conſiderable in *Ionia*, ſtood near the River *Menander*, towards the Frontiers of *Caria*, and on the Coaſts of the *Ægean* Sea. It was famous for the Convenience of its Port, the many eminent Philoſophers it bred, and the ſeveral Colonies it planted, in different Parts of *Europe* and *Aſia*. The Splendor and Magnificence of this ancient City, are yet in ſome ſort to be ſeen at this Day, in the ſtately Ruins that are found near a Place in *Ionia*, which is for that Reaſon called *Palatſchia*.

17 The preceding Wars having, according to *Appian* and *Val. Maximus*, exhauſted the publick Treaſury, *Sylla* was forced, in order to defray the Expence of theſe Preparations, to rob the Temples of their richeſt Ornaments. The Senate ordered the Gold and Silver Veſſels which were conſecrated to the Gods, to be melted down, and they amounted to the Value of 9000 Pounds weight of Gold.

lus[18]. *Rhodes* especially served for a Retreat for all the Subjects of the Republick, whom the *Asiaticks* drove in numbers out of their Countries; and *Cassius* himself, formerly the Governor of the Province of *Pergamus*, was fled thither for Refuge. The King of *Pontus* therefore resolved to turn all his Forces by Sea and Land, against that Island; and before he undertook this difficult Enterprize, formed a barbarous Design, which cannot be related without Horror.

The Cities of *Asia*, especially those on the Sea-Coast, were full of *Romans*, whom either Trade, or the Sweetness of the Climate, or the Troubles in their Capital, or Curiosity, or lastly, a Regard for the Exiles, had drawn thither; and *Mithridates* sent private Orders to all the Places, both in his old Dominions and his new Conquests, to put all the *Romans* and *Italians* that could be found, to the Sword, without Distinction. The King's Letters required, That on the 30th Day, after the Arrival of the Courier, these Enemies to all the World, that were dispersed throughout all *Asia*, should be destroyed, and their Bodies left to rot, without a Burial; severely threatened every one who should conceal or bury a *Roman*; and offered Slaves who would discover their Masters their Liberty, and Debtors who owed the *Roman* Merchants any Thing, the half of those Debts. And these Orders were put in Execution with more or less Cruelty, according to the greater or less Barbarity of the People, and their Hatred to *Rome*. The *Ephesians* would not suffer their famous Temple of *Diana*, to be an *Asylum* to those *Romans* who fled to it, but dragged them out thence and murdered them. The *Pergamians*, who were formerly so faithful to the Republick, ordered a great Number of *Romans*, who had settled in their City since it became *Roman*, to be taken out of their Temple of *Esculapius*. The *Trallians*[19] were as cruel, though more superstitious than the rest. For fear of violating the Laws of Hospitality, they would not kill the *Romans* themselves, but ordered Foreigners to do it. The Inhabitants of *Adramyttium*[20], a maritime City of *Troas*, shewed such Rage against the *Italians*, that when they threw themselves into the Sea, to save themselves by swimming, they pursued them, and stained the Waves with their Blood. At *Caunæ*[21], a City which *Rome* had enfranchised, the People dragged the *Italian* Women and Children from the Feet of the Altars, to murder them with their Husbands. The only Place that shewed any Regard for them was the Island of *Cos*[22]. They were there suffered to enjoy the common Rights of *Asylum*, in the sacred Places. In short, so terrible a Massacre was made of the *Romans*, in *Asia*, that some say 80000, others 150000 Men, were slain on this Occasion; and there was only a[23] handful of them that escaped, by disguising themselves in *Asiatick* Habits.

Val. Max. L. 9. c. 2. Plut. in Sylla. Dio Legat. 36. Memnon. c. 33.

§. VII. In the mean time, *Rhodes* was preparing to sustain a Siege, against the innumerable Forces of *Mithridates*. The Inhabitants of this faithful[24] Island fortified their Ports, and covered their Ramparts with all Sorts of military Machines. All the *Romans* had fled hither, and made up the best Part of the *Rhodian* Army; and the Islanders were not at all dismayed, at the vast Fleets and Land Forces which *Mithridates* was bringing against them. They posted their Fleet before their Island, and divided it into three Squadrons; one of which, drawn up in a Line, covered the Entrance of the Port, and the other two were placed like Wings, and hindered any Approach to the Island. As soon as this Disposition was made, *Mithridates* appeared on board a *Quinqueremis*, at the Head of a Fleet much more numerous than that of his Enemies; divided it into three Parts; and ordered two of them to invest the Wings of the *Rhodians*, whilst himself attacked the Squadron that faced the Port. The *Rhodians* therefore, for fear of being over-powered by Numbers, retired by Degrees till they came to the Mouth of their Harbour, which they entirely stopped up; and after this, all the Engagements that followed turned to their Advantage. *Mithridates* often lost Ships, and narrowly escaped being himself made a Prisoner in his *Quinqueremis*, which was taken.

Epit. Livian. App. in Mithridat.

18 The Mount *Sipylus* here spoken of is in *Lydia*, near the *Menander*; and some Moderns pretend it is now called *Cusinas*. See Vol. 4. p. 216. Note 43.

19 See Vol. 4. p. 220. Note 54.

20 See Vol. 4. p. 205. Note 20.

21 *Caunæ*, now *La Rossa*, is 20 Miles from *Rhodes*, on the Sea-Coast of *Caria*. See Vol. 4.

22 See Vol. 4. p. 201. Note 10.

23 Of this Number was the famous *P. Rutilius Rufus*, a *Consular* Man, who governed the Republick with great Dignity, when in Power. *Cicero* tells us in his *Oration for Rabirius*, that he had been banished to *Lesbos*.

24 According to *Appian* the first Precaution the *Rhodians* took, was to raze their Suburbs, least *Mithridates* should post his Army there.

During these Sea-fights, he embarked all his formidable Army on transport Ships; but they were surprized by a Storm, and driven to the right and left of the Island. Then the *Rhodians* sent out their Fleet, fell on these Vessels which the bad Weather had put into Disorder, sunk some, burnt others, and took 400 Men Prisoners. Upon this, *Mithridates* resolved to attack the City by Sea, in the Night; and ordered a *Sambuca* built on two Galleys, to advance to the Walls. He had been informed the Wall of the City was only of a moderate heighth, on the Side of the Temple of [25] *Jupiter Atabyrius*; and resolved to storm it there. To this End he embarked his Troops by Night, furnished them with Ladders, and ordered them to wait in Silence till a Signal was given them, by a Person hired for that Purpose, from the top of the Temple. In the mean time, the King himself made a false Attack on the Side of the Port, with great Shouts, which caused the besieged to kindle many Fires in the City; and they, who were to tarry for the Signal before they began to storm the Place on the Side of the Temple, mistaking these Fires for that Signal, were too hasty in their Attempt, and failed of Success. In the Morning, the *Rhodians* made a Sally, and drove off the Besiegers; the *Sambuca*, after it had done some Mischief, sunk with its own weight; and *Mithridates* then abandoned the Siege of a City, which had cost him many Men, and a vast Expence. From thence he went and attacked [26] *Patara*, a City of *Lycia*; but according to the superstitious Historians, that City was saved by the Protection of *Apollo* [27] and *Latona*, who were the chief Divinities of the Place.

Liv. Epit. L. 77. c. 24, 25, 26.

§. VIII. After these Disappointments, the Apprehensions the King of *Pontus* was under, on account of the Preparations *Sylla* was making for the East, induced him to hasten the Execution of the Design he had formed, of drawing *European Greece* into a Revolt against the *Romans*, before the Arrival of this famous *Pro-Consul*, whose Valour he had experienced. To this End, he sent *Archelaus* his Confident and first Minister, and the most famous of all his Generals, to sollicit the *Greeks* to declare in his Favour; whilst himself retired to *Pergamus*, and there divided his Time between Business and Pleasure. He was more frequent than ever in his Visits to his virtuous *Monimia*; the Charms of her Understanding drew him often to her; but the frequency of these Visits served only to increase her Distastes. Her Sorrows were as immoveable as her Virtue; and her Advice was not efficacious enough, to soften the natural Ferocity of the King. During his abode here, he ordered Arms to be made for the War *Sylla* was coming to carry on in *Asia*; and was continually haunted with the Suspicions he had entertained, of the few Friends the *Romans* had left. He accused them of Plots against his Life, and was himself their Accuser and their Judge.

In the mean time, *Archelaus* made a great Progress in the East of *Europe*; and it was easy to perceive, that his Success proceeded more from the Weight of the *Roman* Yoke, then an Affection for *Mithridates*. The [28] *Cyclades* Islands were the first that came over to the King; and *Athens*, which feared him, soon appeared very zealous against the *Romans*, her Patrons, Allies, and continual Benefactors. This City, which had formerly been governed by her Orators, was now under the Direction and Influence of a Company of Philosophers; an idle Race, and for the most Part taken out of the Dregs of the People. Their Folly appeared in the Profession they made of a Kind of false Wisdom, which distinguished them from the Vulgar. They pretended to despise Riches and Honours; some, in hopes of getting them that Way; and others, from a Despair of ever obtaining any. The different Sects of these pretended Lovers of Wisdom, were so many Schools of Division, and Parties ready formed to support a Revolt. And it was among these Philosophers, that the Minister of *Mithridates* chose out a Tool, who readily engaged in drawing his Country into a Rebellion. This was *Aristio*, a Man of mean Extraction, but a famous *Epicurean*, who was continually preaching up a Contempt for all publick Offices; which, he said, would interrupt that Indolence in which consisted the true Happiness of Life. But the Hypocrite soon pulled off the Mask. He was sent to *Mithridates*, became his Confident and Accom-

App. in Mithridat.

25 There was near *Rhodes* a Mountain called *Atabyrus*, on which the *Rhodians* had built a stately Temple to *Jupiter*; and from thence he had the local Surname of *Atabyrius*. *Pliny* says, That the Capital of the Island was called *Atabyria*.

26 See Vol. 4. p. 203. Note 16.

27 *Appian* says, That *Mithridates* began to cut Wood for his military Machines in a neighbouring Forest, consecrated to *Latona*, but fancied, he saw the Goddess appear to him with a menacing Air, in his Sleep; and being terrified with the Vision, abandoned his Design, and gave the Command of his Army in *Lycia* to *Pelopidas*.

28 See Vol. 3. p. 41. Note 96.

plice in his most bestial Pleasures, and by this Means obtained a Post of Distinction in the Army of *Archelaus*. When he turned to the *Asiatick*, he promised to bring over many more in his native City: And it is pretended, that he brought *Archelaus* to *Delos*, which had formerly been subject to the *Athenians*, but had lately become independent. The *Asiaticks* took it, killed there about 20000 Men, (most of them *Italians* who had fled thither as to an *Asylum*) and plundered the immense Wealth of the Temple of *Apollo*.

The Spoils of *Delos*, *Mithridates* readily consented, to send as a Present to the *Athenians*, to try their Fidelity, and draw them off from the *Romans*. Under Pretence of guarding this Present, he sent *Aristio* with it, at the Head of 2000 Men; and the Philosopher, who pretended such a Dislike to publick Cares, and such a Love to Idleness, took this Opportunity to make himself a Sovereign in his Republick. By the help of his Soldiers, he took upon him to dispose of all Offices, and in fact reigned with great Authority in *Athens*. His Tyranny over the Remains of the *Roman* Faction in particular, may easily be imagined. He, by different Punishments, destroyed all the Friends to *Rome* in *Athens*. Not that the Conquests of *Archelaus* were confined to *Athens*. The *Achæans*, *Lacedæmonians*, *Bœotians*, and in short almost all *Peloponnesus*, declared for the King of *Pontus*. *Thespia*[29] was the only City that signalized her Attachment to *Rome*.

§. IX. During these Commotions in *Greece*, the Fleet of *Mithridates* commanded by *Metrophanes*, drew near to *Eubœa*, and would have seized it, if *Bruttius Sura*, one of the Lieutenant-Generals of *C. Sextius*, the *Prætor* of *Macedon*, had not hasted to its Relief. But *Bruttius*, with one single Squadron, chased the Fleet of *Metrophanes*, and sunk some of his Ships; made a Descent on the Island of *Sciathos* on the Coast of *Thessaly*, which the *Asiaticks* had seized, and in which they had deposited all the Booty they had taken in *Greece*; recovered the Island, then an Harbour for Pyrates; crucified all the Slaves he found there, and cut off all the right Arms of the Islanders. Nor was this all. This brave Commander, at the Head of 1000 Recruits which were sent him from *Macedon*, and some Auxiliaries, penetrated into *Bœotia*; fought several Battles for three Days together, with the joint Forces of *Aristio* and *Archelaus*; and continued to harass them, till the *Lacedæmonians* and *Achæans* took the Field, and joined the *Asiaticks*. Then *Bruttius* reimbarked, and with his Squadron blocked up the[30] *Piræus*, that is, the Port of *Athens*. But, after all, what was this more than the poor Defence of one single Officer against the infinitely superior Forces of *Mithridates*? The formidable Power which the Republick had preserved for so many Years in the *Levant*, was sunk to nothing. Nevertheless Heaven, which watched over *Rome*, soon sent her an Avenger in the Person of *Sylla*, who sailed from the Ports of *Italy* with a numerous and well-affected Army. He came to oppose *Mithridates* in the Heighth of his Success, and began a War in *Asia*, which was not ended till after *Rome* had gained surprizing Conquests, which made her Mistress of the East and West, from the *Rhine* to the *Euphrates*. And we now come to relate these great Revolutions.

§. X. *Cornelius Cinna* and *C. Marius* were tyrannizing, as has been observed, in a terrible Manner, in the Capital of the World, when *Sylla*[31] landed in *Thessaly*. The Army

[29] *Thespia*, was a City of *Bœotia*, which stood at the Foot of Mount *Helicon*. Hence the Poets gave the Surname of *Thespiades* to the nine Muses, who were by the Fabulists supposed to have lived on this Mountain. This City had formerly been sacked by the *Thebans*, under the Command of *Epaminondas*. Several of its Citizens, who escaped the Fury of the Soldiers, fled to *Athens*, where they met with a favourable Reception; and the *Thespians* therefore always had great Regard for the *Athenians*. So strict was the Union between the two Cities, that the Herald, who proclaimed the Wars of the Republick, in the general Assembly of the People of *Attica*, for celebrating their Sacrifices, always included the *Thespians* among them.

[30] The Port of *Piræus* took its Name from the *Greek* Word πειρᾶν, which signifies to *cross over*. See Vol. 4. p. 12. Note 28.

[31] According to *Plutarch*, at the Time that the *Roman* Troops under *Sylla* embarked for the East, several Presages foretold to *Mithridates* an approaching Fall, and that long Train of Misfortunes, which ended in the Loss of his Throne, and his Life. Among others, says that Historian, the *Pergamians*, to flatter the Pride of this Monarch, resolved to have him crowned by the Hands of a *Victory*, as he was sitting at the *Shows* in the Theatre. To this End, they prepared a moving Figure of the Goddess, and by the help of Springs invented by an able Workman, it was conveyed to the Place appointed. But the Machinery did not answer Expectation. The Statue descended gradually, but when it was just ready to place the Crown on the Head of *Mithridates*, it broke into a thousand Pieces. The Prince turned pale with Fear at this Sight, took it for a fatal Prognostick, and began from that Time to apprehend a Change of Fortune,

Army he brought with him conſiſted of five *Legions*, ſome *Italian Cohorts*, and a ſmall Body of Cavalry; to whom, when he had joined ſome *Theſſalian* and *Italian* Reinforcements, he was then in a Condition to withſtand the formidable Forces of *Archelaus* in *Greece*, which we are aſſured were not leſs than 150000 Men. The *Roman Pro-Conſul*'s firſt Deſign was to beſiege *Athens*, and puniſh this rebellious City for her Inconſtancy in deſerting the *Romans*. To this End, he in the firſt Place ſent *L. Lucullus* his *Quæſtor*, to guard the *Piræeus*, which *Bruttius Sura* had blocked up; and *Lucullus* ſent *Sura* away in an haughty Manner, to his Province of *Macedon*, reproaching him with having left it contrary to the Laws, in order to intrude irregularly into the Province of another. Nevertheleſs, he had kept good Part of *Greece* to their Duty, and being a moderate and a wiſe Man, he retired without Reply; and the Conſequence of his retiring was, that *Archelaus*, being then ſtrongeſt, ſeized the *Piræeus*, and placed a ſtrong Garriſon in it, to defend it. In the mean time, *Sylla* ſent out Detachments to ſecure the Paſſes in *Bœotia*, through which he muſt neceſſarily march his Troops into *Attica*; and met with no Oppoſition but from the City of *Thebes*[32]. The *Bœotians* in general returned to him with as much readineſs, as they had declared for *Mithridates*; and the Cities of *Peloponneſus* ſubmitted again to the *Roman* Dominion, and revered their old Maſters. *Athens* only which was governed with a ſevere hand by the Tyrant *Ariſtio*, perſiſted in the Revolt, and depended more on the Forces of *Mithridates*, than thoſe of *Sylla*. The *Roman* therefore turned his Arms againſt this ungrateful City; thinking it neceſſary to purge *Greece* of the Enemies of the *Roman* Name, before he went into *Aſia*, to ſettle the Affairs of his Republick there.

Plut. in Sylla.

Athens[33], one of the moſt famous Cities of the World, for its Antiquity, its Riches, the Magnificence of its Buildings, its fine Taſte, and the Invention of the liberal Arts, for the Renown of the Heroes it had bred ever ſince the fabulous Times, and laſtly, for the Strength of its Towers, Walls, and Forts, was now deſtined to undergo the ſame Fate, that had been ſuffered by *Carthage* and *Corinth*. This ſtately Capital, the Parent of the Sciences and of Laws, and indeed of almoſt all the Pagan Deities, conſiſted of two Cities, the *Upper* and the *Lower*. One was called *Cecropia*, from *Cecrops* its firſt Founder; the other *Athens*, from the Name of *Minerva*, its tutelary Goddeſs. They were encompaſſed by one common Wall and Towers which ran round the whole; and were divided by a croſs Wall and Towers, that lay between them. The Temples, *Gymnaſia*, publick Schools, Portico's, *Circus's*, and Theatres, in theſe two Cities were deemed Maſter-pieces in their Kind; and were adorned with the moſt excellent Performances in Sculpture and Painting, that *Athens*, or any other Part of *Greece*, had produced. In a Word, Curioſity and Pleaſure drew Strangers thither, as much as a Deſire of improving their Minds in all Sorts of Learning; and the Convenience of the Situation for Commerce ſoon made amends for the Barrenneſs of the Soil, on which it ſtood. The whole Coaſt was naturally a very good one, for the Reception and Shelter of Shipping; this brought all the maritime Cities to trade hither, and thereby increaſe the Riches of this populous City. The moſt ancient Port *Athens* had was that of [34] *Phaleros*; but the *Athenians* ſoon abandoned it, and choſe another a little farther from their Walls, but larger, and ſafer. It lay in a little Gulph formed by the Mouth of the [35] *Cephiſus*, and had been neglected till the Time of *Themiſtocles*.

Cic. de Orat. Plin. L. 7. c. 56.

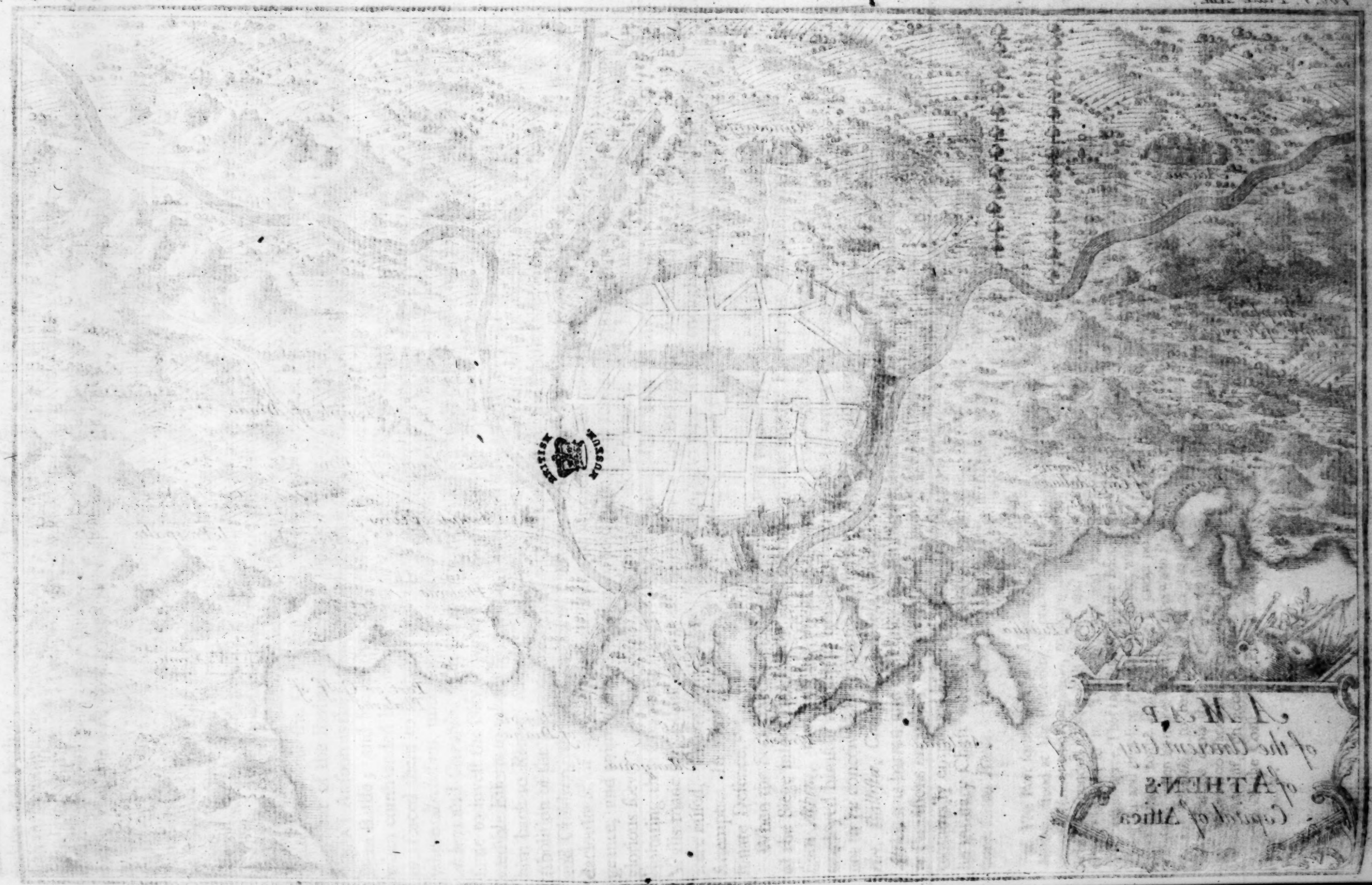
tune, though all Things then ſucceeded, to the Heighth of his Ambition. He had driven the *Romans* out of *Aſia*; *Bithynia*, and *Cappadocia*, had ſubmitted to him. *Nicomedes* and *Ariobarzanes* were deprived of their Dominions, and forced to ſeek for Safety by flight. He had taken *Pergamus* from the Republick; and abſolutely diſpoſed of Kingdoms and Provinces at his Pleaſure, in favour of his Children and Favourites. His elder Son governed *Pontus*, the *Boſphorus*, and the vaſt Countries that reached as far as the *Palus Mæotis* in Peace. The younger, named *Arcathias* was carrying on his Conqueſts in *Thrace* and *Macedon*, at the Head of a numerous Army. His Generals gained as many Victories, as they fought Battles. *Archelaus* had lately reduced the *Cyclades*, *Eubœa*, and the other Iſlands of the *Ægean* Sea. In ſhort, all the Eaſt trembled at the Name of *Mithridates*.

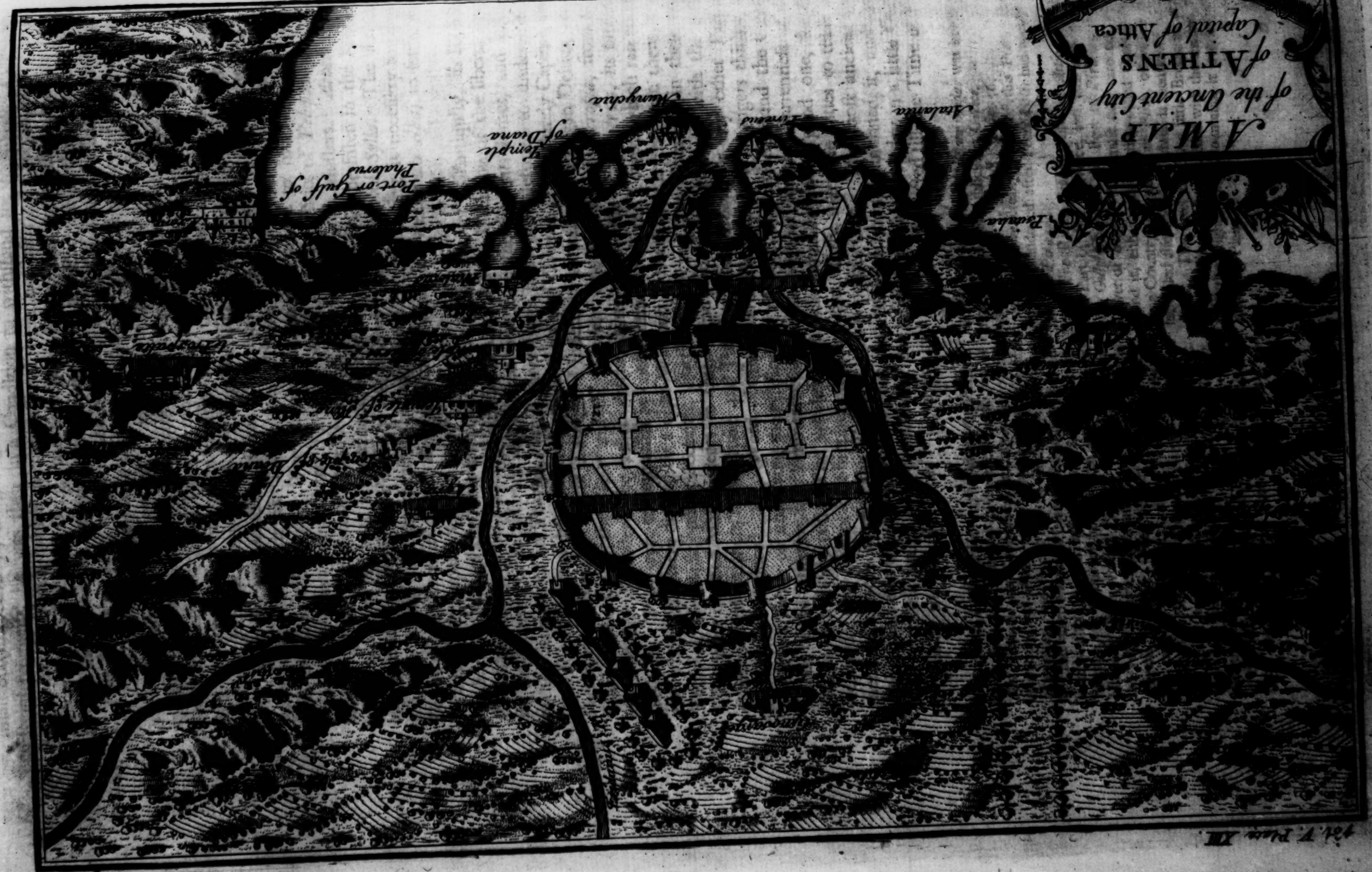
32 See Vol. 4. p. 69. Note 80. This City, under the Government of *Epaminondas* was one of the moſt powerful Republicks in *Greece*.

33 See Vol. 3. p. 398. Note 56.

34 We have already ſpoken of this Port. It was entirely abandoned after *Themiſtocles* had opened the Port of *Piræus*.

35 The River *Cephiſus* riſes in *Attica*, waters a little Part of that Province, and falls into the *Saronick Gulph*, between the Port of *Piræus*, and the Tower of *Eleuſis*. We muſt take care not to confound it, either with a Spring called *Cephiſia* in the ſame Country, according to *Pliny*, or with a Rivulet called alſo *Cephiſus*, which is mentioned by *Pauſanias*. The latter is only a little Brook in *Attica*; but ſometimes when it ſwelled with the melted Snow from the neighbouring Mountains, it overflowed the adjoining Plains.


ATHENS
Capital of Attica


A MAP
of the Ancient City
of ATHENS
Capital of Attica
Tiadon
Port or Quay of Phalerus
Temple of Diana
Citadel
Areopagus
Pnyx
Mount Lycabettus
Ilissus
Stadium
Temple of Jupiter Olympius
Gate of Hadrian
Temple of Theseus
Gate of Minerva Archegetis
Temple of Minerva Polias
Temple of Bacchus
Temple of Venus
Temple of Ceres
Temple of Proserpine
Temple of Apollo
Temple of Mercury
Temple of Vulcan
Temple of Pandrosus
Temple of Erechtheus
Temple of Neptune
Temple of Minerva Parthenos
Temple of Victory
Temple of Minerva Promachos
Temple of Jupiter Polieus
Temple of Jupiter Hypatus
Temple of Jupiter Olympius
Temple of Jupiter Hypatus
Temple of Jupiter Olympius
Temple of Jupiter Hypatus
Temple of Jupiter Olympius

miſtocles. But that illuſtrious *Athenian*, when he came to the Magiſtracy, ſaw the Advantage it would be to his Country, to make this an Harbour for her Gallies. He therefore turned the Village called *Piræeus*, into a City which retained the ſame Name, and made it both the Citadel and chief Port of *Athens*. He built ſtately Magazines, both for Ammunition and Proviſions, in a ſemi-circular Form round the Baſon, which was almoſt circular, and made it as fine a Place as *Athens* itſelf. He alſo guarded the Road from this Port to the City, notwithſtanding the Oppoſition of the *Lacedæmonians*, with a Wall on each Side, of an uncommon thickneſs, in order to ſecure the Removal of Merchandizes from the Port to the City; and thereby joined the City and the Port together, tho' 40 *Stadia* diſtant from each other: and *Pericles* afterwards ſurrounded *Piræeus* itſelf with Walls of an extraordinary thickneſs, and 40 Cubits high. There was likewiſe a third Port, which was joined to *Athens*, as *Piræeus* was, and this was called [36] *Munichia*. It was formed by the Mouth of the *Iliſſus* [37], which fell into the Sea, at a ſmall diſtance both from *Athens* and *Piræeus*; and was as well fortified, as *Piræeus*. Beſides, *Athens* was flanked to the Eaſt and Weſt, by the *Cephiſus* and *Iliſſus*, which ran winding about the Plain, and made the Acceſs to it the more difficult. Such was the City that *Sylla* undertook to reduce, with a much leſs Force than that of the Barbarians, which had been brought from *Aſia* to defend it.

Pauſ. in Attic.

App. in Mithridat.

§. XI. As ſoon as the *Romans* appeared in *Attica*, *Archelaus* and *Ariſtio* came and offered them Battle; and found that the *Roman Legions* were invincible in an open Country, when commanded by an expetienced General. *Sylla* beat them, and by this firſt Victory, forced them to ſhut themſelves up in the two Cities and the Citadel of *Athens*; where *Archelaus* undertook to ſuſtain the Siege of *Piræeus*, and *Ariſtio* to defend *Athens* and *Cecropia*. On the other Hand, the *Pro-Conſul* divided his Troops; ſent ſome to inveſt the City; went himſelf with the reſt to attack *Piræeus*; and made incredible Efforts to take it by Storm. He was continually receiving Letters, which called him back to *Rome*; and the Slaughter *Cinna* and *Marius* made of the Senators, their Abolition of the Laws paſſed by *Sylla* in his *Conſulſhip*, the Inſults they offered his Wife and Children, the Maſſacre of all his Friends, the Perfidiouſneſs of *Cinna*, and the Audaciouſneſs of *Marius*, which muſt be ſuppreſſed, all called loudly on him for Vengeance, and animated him the more to diſpatch this foreign Expedition, which, how glorious ſoever to his Republick, was prejudicial to himſelf. But his great haſte in precipitating this Conqueſt, ſerved only to prolong it. The Army behind theſe ſtrong Walls made a Reſiſtance equal to the Ardour of the Beſiegers. As faſt as the Ladders were raiſed, the beſieged threw them down, and were ſtrong enough to withſtand all Attempts. In ſhort, the reſt of the Year was ſpent in fruitleſs Attacks, and in an obſtinate Defence.

Pauſ. in Attic.

App. in Mithridat.
Plut. in Sylla.

When the Seaſon would no longer permit *Sylla* to continue before the Place, he turned the Siege into a Blockade; and without giving up the Enterprize, or removing far from *Athens*, took up his Winter Quarters at [38] *Eleuſis* and [39] *Megara*. There, he employed himſelf wholly in making Preparations to renew the Siege in form; and it is not to be conceived how many Forreſts he cut down for *wooden Towers*, *covered Galleries*, *Balliſtæ*, *Catapultæ*, *Rams*, and all the other Engines of War then uſed in Sieges. *Attica* was barren, and could not furniſh him either with Wood enough for his Machines, or Proviſions enough for his Men. He brought both from *Bœotia*: 20000 Mules were continually employed in bringing him Proviſions from *Thebes*: And by this vaſt Expence, his military Cheſt was ſoon exhauſted. Indeed, it had been but ill furniſhed when he came from *Rome*. He had left the City in a manner as a Fugitive, after he had been

36 The Port formerly called *Munichia*, and now *Macina*, ſtood at the Extremity of one of the Suburbs of *Athens*; and *Thraſibulus*, to ſecure it from Attacks, ſurrounded it with high Walls, and placed a ſtrong Garriſon in it. The Hiſtorians and ancient Geographers agree, That this Port was at the Mouth of the *Iliſſus*; and therefore *Ptolomy* is miſtaken, when he places it more to the Eaſt. And he is under no leſs a Miſtake, when he makes the diſtance between *Piræus* and *Munichia* to have been 5 Leagues. The ſtraight Paſſage croſs the Sea from one to the other, is not above 200 Paces long; by Land it is about a League and half, on account of the Windings and Turnings of the Coaſt. The Port of *Munichia* was famous for the fine Temple, which the *Athenians* had built there in Honour to *Diana*.

37 The Name of *Iliſſus* was common to this River, and a City of *Attica*, according to *Stephen of Byzantium*. The River falls into the *Saronic Gulph*. On the Banks of it the *Athenians* had conſecrated an Altar to the Muſes, to whom therefore the *Greek* Poets give the Surname of *Iliſſiadai*.

38 *Eleuſis*, a little City near *Athens*, ſtood on the Sea Coaſt of *Attica*. It was very famous for a ſtately Temple of *Ceres*, and the pompous Myſteries celebrated there, in Honour to that Goddeſs.

39 See Vol. 3. p. 427. Note 143.

personally cited to appear before the People. Besides, the Treasury of the Republick itself had been exhausted by the War with the *Allies*. And tho' he could not ask for any fresh Supplies from thence, when his most furious Enemies were Masters in *Rome*; yet he was forced at the same time to be very liberal to his Officers and Soldiers, over whom he could not preserve any Authority, longer than they were willing to submit to it. The prevailing Faction at *Rome* were against him, and might thwart his Attempts in the *Levant*. Nothing therefore was so much to be feared as the Want of Money in these Extremities; and he found Means to procure those Supplies elsewhere, which he could not expect from his Country, for which he was fighting.

§. XII. *Greece* had been always deemed the Mother of all the Religions in *Europe*. From thence had been derived the Worship of all the different Gods that were received in the different Parts of it. For this Reason, the Temples of *Jupiter* at *Olympus*, of *Ceres* at *Eleusis*, of *Esculapius* at *Epidaurus*, and above all, that of *Apollo* at *Delphi* [40], soon became immensely rich, by the Vows and Offerings which the Superstition of all these Nations had brought to them. The latter particularly, tho' plundered more than once, had soon repaired its Losses. *Plut. in Sylla.* Its Wealth was now so great, as to be sufficient of it self to defray the Expences of a long War; and *Sylla* was not scrupulous of seizing it, in his Distress. But he cared not to incur the Odium of robbing the Temple; and therefore chose a more decent way of coming at this Booty, than that of taking it by Violence. It happened that the *Amphyctyones* [41], that is, the Deputies of the general Diet of *Greece*, were then assembled at *Delphi*; and he sent an Ambassador to them to demand the Riches of *Apollo*. The Person he thought most proper for this Office, was one *Caphis*, an eloquent *Greek* in whom he could confide; his Demand was, to send him, by this Ambassador, the Vessels of the most valuable Metals which adorned the Temple of a God whom he said, he himself revered; and he, at the same time promised in the most solemn manner, by whatever was deemed sacred, that he would faithfully restore the God the Value of every Thing that should be taken out of his Temple. The *Amphyctiones* brought *Caphis* to the Temple to know of *Apollo* himself, whether he was willing to grant this Request. The Oracle was consulted, and whilst they were waiting in suspence and silence for the Answer of the God, the soft Sound of an Harp was heard at the Bottom of the sacred Cave. *Caphis* pretended to be surprized at the Prodigy, and seemed uncertain, whether this sign imported the Consent or the Refusal of *Apollo*. Perhaps, being a *Greek*, he was willing to save the Treasure by his Doubtfulness, and to have filled *Sylla* with a religious Fear; and he wrote the *Pro-Consul* an account of what had happened, and desired his final Orders. *Sylla*, without hesitation, interpreted the Sound of the Harp to his own Advantage; and sent his Mi-

40 In the most ancient Times, the City of *Delphi*, according to *Homer* and *Pausanias*, was called *Pytho*, *Python*, and *Pythia*; and hence perhaps came the Surname of *Pythian* which the *Greeks* gave to *Apollo*, the tutelary God of this City. But *Pausanias* derives this Name from the *Greek* Word πυθεσθαι, because People went to *Delphi*, to *consult* this God, and receive his Answers; and *Macrobius* ascribes the rise of it, to the fabulous Accounts given of the Battles *Apollo* fought with the monstrous Serpent *Python*. And as for the Name of *Delphi*, some learned Men conjecture, that it was derived from the Word *Delphin*, which in the old *Phœnician* Language, signified *A Prophet*. * 1937500 *l. Sterl. Arbuth.* But be that as it will, this City, which was so famous for the Oracle of *Apollo*, and the stately Temple the *Amphyctiones* built there to his Honour, stood near the Borders of *Phocis* and *Bœotia*, on the top of the Hill *Parnassus*. Tho' it was surrounded on all Sides with Rocks and Precipices, yet *Strabo* says, That it was 16 *Stadia*, that is, about 2000 Geometrical Paces, in Circumference. Nothing now remains of it, but an heap of Ruins. Near it is a little Village called *Castri*.

It is well known, that the Oracle of *Delphi* was revered by all Nations, who came to it in Crowds, with their Vows and Offerings; and after it had been an Object of Veneration for several Ages, the People, when become *Christians*, discovered the Cheat. And indeed long before this, the wise Men among the *Pagans*, had shaken off this Yoke of Superstition. *Cicero* speaks of it, in his *second Book de Divinatione*, in Terms of great Contempt. It was then said that *Apollo*, had confined himself to Prose, and durst no more give his Oracles in Verse, for fear of the satyrical Reflections of some merry Wits, who said, That the God of Poetry was the most insipid, and the coarsest, of all Poets.

In order to enable the Reader to form some Judgment of the immense Riches, which Monarchs and some Republicks had sent to this Temple, we need only observe, that the *Phocæans*, in order to carry on *The Holy War*, took out of it the Value of above 10000 *Talents* *, that is, about 30 *Millions* of *French Livres*; an incredible Sum, in an Age when Gold and Silver were not near so common as they have been since the Discovery of the new World. See Vol. 3. p. 476. Note 46.

41 These *Amphyctiones*, or Deputies of the chief Cities of *Greece*, who enjoyed the *Amphyctionic* Right, bound themselves by a most solemn Oath, accompanied with the most horrible Imprecations, That they would, to the utmost of their Power, preserve the publick Peace, maintain the Interests of Religion, and secure the Riches of the Temple at *Delphi*. The Form of this Oath is to be seen, in *Æschines's Oration*, entitled, *Of the Prevarication of Demosthenes in his Embassy*, and in that which he spoke *against Ctesiphon*. See Vol. 4. p. 27. Note 63.

niſter Word, That it was a Sign of the Approbation and Joy of the God, who declared for him; and the *Amphyctiones*, on the other hand, durſt not deny a Demand, which was made at the Head of a formidable Army.

By *Sylla*'s Order, all the Gold and Silver, and Braſs, at *Delphi*, was loaded on Carriages to be ſent to the *Roman* Camp; and among the Preſents which the ancient Kings had made to the God, there was one particular Vaſe of Silver, ſo exceeding heavy, that no Carriage could be found ſtrong enough to bear the Weight of it. *Sylla* therefore ſent Orders, that it ſhould be broken, and brought to him in pieces, and not only the *Delphians*, but the *Amphyctiones*, made great Lamentations on this Occaſion. *Where*, ſaid they, *are thoſe old* Roman *Generals, whoſe Memory will be always bleſſed among us!* Flaminius *drowe* Antiochus *out of our Countries, gave us Peace, and enriched our Temples.* Acilius *and* Paulus Æmilius *vanquiſhed* Philip *and* Perſes, *in our Territories, and procured us Peace and Plenty. But how ſtrangely are the* Romans *now changed! Their Generals now uſurp that Office againſt Law, and command undiſciplined Troops, who are greedy of our Spoils, and inſatiable in their Robberies. All* Greece *is ſcarce ſufficient to feed the Luxury and Debauchery of theſe Commanders.* But *Sylla* overlooked the Complaints of theſe contemptible *Greeks*; ordered likewiſe, that the vaſt Treaſure of Gold and Silver, which the Love of Health had amaſſed in the Temple of *Æſculapius* at *Epidaurus*, ſhould be brought to him from thence; and when he had enriched himſelf with the Treaſures of theſe two magnificent Temples, he then jeſted upon it, in a manner which ſavoured a little of Irreligion. *Who can doubt*, ſaid he to his Soldiers, *of our gaining many Victories, ſince we have our Pay from the Gods!* *Diod. Sic. ap. Valeſ.*

But ſtill, this Gold and Silver, and Braſs, wanted a proper Form, before it could be diſtributed among the *Legionaries*; and *Sylla* therefore ordered a kind of Money to be coined in *Peloponneſus*, which was ever after current in Armies, tho' it was not coined by publick [42] Authority. The Perſon he choſe to take care of this Coinage was *Lucullus* [43], one of his *Quæſtors*, whom we ſhall ſee hereafter ſignalizing his Valour in theſe Wars, as much as *Sylla* himſelf. He was now very young, and took great Care to im- *Plut. in Lucullo.*

42 It is plain from *Plutarch*, that the Generals had a Right to Coin Money, in their reſpective Provinces.

43 This *L. Licinius Lucullus* was the Grandſon of that *L. Licinius Lucullus* who was *Conſul* in the Year of *Rome*, 602. The Conduct of his Mother *Cæcilia* was not free from Suſpicion. Her too little Reſerve, her too frequent Appearance in publick Company, and her diſſolute Air, which ill became the Decency of her Sex, confirmed the ill Reports that were ſpread of her. As to *Lucullus*, he was ſcarce arrived at the Age of Manhood, before he made himſelf known by accuſing the *Augur Servilius*, of Prevarication in the Exerciſe of his Office. The latter had formerly accuſed the young *Roman*'s Father; and now, Hatred more than a Love for his Country, excited the Son to make Repriſals, and revenge the injured Honour of his Father. The Cauſe was carried on with Animoſity on one Hand, and defended with Vehemence on the other; and every one ſided with him to whom his Intereſt and Inclinations led him. Till at length, the Quarrel grew ſo high, that ſeveral Blows were given; and *Plutarch* goes ſo far as to ſay, That ſeveral were killed or wounded, on both Sides. At length *Servilius* was acquitted, to the great Mortification of *Lucullus*. However, this firſt Attempt to exerciſe his Talent of ſpeaking in publick, immediately gained him the Reputation of a great Orator. Not that he confined himſelf to Eloquence; he divided his Time and Application, between Learning, and the liberal Arts; and the exquiſite Taſte, Politeneſs, and Elegance that appeared in his Speeches, in ſome witty Things that he wrote, and in his common Converſation, were no leſs the Fruits of continual Care and Application, than of the Gifts of Nature. *Sylla* had conceived ſo high an Idea of his Merit in all kinds of Learning, that he dedicated to him, the Memoirs he wrote of his own Life. Nor was this all; he thought the beſt way to perfect his Work, was to ſubmit it to the Correction of *Lucullus*, and to rely upon him for digeſting thoſe Materials into a regular Hiſtory.

But what was moſt remarkable in *Lucullus* was, that he underſtood the Beauties and Elegancies of the two Languages ſo well, that he offered the Hiſtorian *Siſenna*, and the Orator *Hortenſius*, to draw Lots, whether he ſhould write the War of the *Marſi*, in *Greek* or *Latin* Proſe or Verſe. He was taken at his Word, and the Lot determined for the *Greek*: And he kept his Word ſo well, that *Plutarch* ſays, the great Genius which appeared in this Work, was admired in his Time.

Nor was *Lucullus* leſs valuable for the Qualities of his Heart, than thoſe of his Mind. His Affection and Tenderneſs to his Brother *Marcus* are not to be expreſſed. Being the eldeſt, he had the Advantage over him, in ſtanding for publick Offices; but he choſe rather to wave his Pretenſions for a Time, than to enjoy Honours which he could not ſhare with his Brother. He waited till *Marcus* had attained to the Age required by the Laws, that they might ſtand Candidates together. The People pleaſed with ſo generous a Friendſhip, readily gave him the *Ædileſhip*, and made his Brother his Collegue. In ſhort, his ſweetneſs of Temper, good Nature, Affability, and Complaiſance, made him univerſally beloved. Theſe amiable Qualities procured him the more ready acceſs to *Sylla*; who afterwards with Pleaſure entruſted him with the moſt important Affairs of the Republick. His Reputation had reached this General in the War with the *Allies*, in which he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the Proofs he gave of his Valour, and an uncommon Degree of Prudence in a Warrior of his Age. Theſe Things greatly prejudiced the *Romans* in favour of *Lucullus*, when he firſt appeared a Candidate for the Dignities of the Republick.

mortalize

mortalize his Name on the new Money. It was ſo beautiful a Coin, that it was much valued, and was ever after called *The Lucullian Money*.

§. XIII. Nor was this the only Service the brave *Quæſtor* did *Sylla* in his Campaigns. As the *Pro-Conſul* knew he had a Genius equally good for War and Buſineſs, he employed him uſefully in both; and as he wanted Ships to block up the Ports of *Piræeus* and *Munichia*, the Fleet which the *Rhodians*, ever faithful to their old Allies, offered *Sylla*, not being ſtrong enough to reſiſt that of *Mithridates*, which was Maſter of the *Levant*, *Lucullus* was therefore ordered to get together a Fleet from all the Coaſts where the People retained any Regard for the *Roman* Name. Accordingly, the brave *Quæſtor*, deſpiſing Storms, came, in the middle of Winter, with a ſmall Squadron of ſix Ships, firſt to *Crete*, where he got ſome Succours; and from thence coaſting along *Africa*, he came to *Cyrenaica*. This Country, which, as we have obſerved, had formerly been deviſed to the *Romans* by *Will*, by the laſt of its Kings, and had been enfranchiſed by their Liberality, was now become a Prey to two Tyrants, who ſucceſſively uſurped a Sovereign Authority over it. And *Lucullus* reſtored the oppreſſed Province to its [44] Liberty, reformed its Laws, and ordered all its maritime Forces to follow him. From thence he went to *Egypt*, and found the Coaſt there infeſted with Pirates, with whom he fought ſeveral Battles, and loſt ſome of the Ships he had picked up in his Rout: But at length he got rid of them, tho' with Difficulty, and reached the Port of *Alexandria*. *Ptolomy Lathurus* [45] then reigned there, and no *Roman* Ambaſſador was ever received with more Marks [46] of Diſtinction; but the King ſhewed little Regard to *Sylla*'s Requeſt. He was afraid of a civil War in his own Dominions; and therefore could not prevail on himſelf to part with his Fleet. All he did in favour of *Lucullus* was, That he ordered him to be convoyed to the Iſland of *Cyprus*, gave him his Picture cut in an [47] Emerald of great Value, and then diſmiſſed him. *Lucullus* made all the haſte he could, in order to reach *Athens* in time; but by the Valour of *Sylla*, and the Strength of the Land-Forces only, it was taken before he came.

App. in Mithrid. *Plut. in Sylla.*

§. XIV. As ſoon as the Seaſon would ſuffer the *Roman* Army to take the Field, the *Pro-Conſul* ſhut up the City and *Piræeus*, more cloſely than before. There were without the Walls, in the extream Parts of the Suburbs, two famous Walks, which the Love of the Sciences had dedicated to Philoſophy. One was called the [48] *Academy*, and the other the [49] *Lycæum*. The former had been given to *Plato*, and afterwards to his Diſciples by an *Athenian* Hero, named *Academus*; and there Lectures of Morality were

44 He reſettled it in Peace; and at the ſame time put the *Cyreneans* in mind of the Anſwer *Plato* had formerly given the Deputies of their Nation, who deſired him to give them a Plan of Government. The Philoſopher abſolutely refuſed to grant their Requeſt, and only gave them this Anſwer; *That a People ſo happy and rich as they were, would never ſubmit to the Authority of Laws.*

45 *Plutarch* is miſtaken, when he ſays, probably on the Credit of faulty Memoirs, That *Ptolomy Lathurus* was very young, when *Lucullus* came. He had then reigned almoſt 30 Years, ſince the Death of *Ptolomy Phyſcon*, as we have before obſerved. See above p. 309. Note 31.

46 The People of *Alexandria*, according to *Plutarch*, did him the Honours which were paid only to the Kings of *Egypt*. His Entrance into the City was a ſort of Triumph. Upon the News of his being near, the Royal Fleet ſailed out of Port in good Order, and in great State. King *Ptolomy Lathurus* honoured him with all the Marks of Diſtinction that he could beſtow on the Ambaſſador of a Republick, which gave Law to the Univerſe. He appointed him a Table, and an Apartment in his own Palace, which no *Egyptian* Monarch had ever before done for any Foreigner. He likewiſe ordered his Miniſter, to give *Lucullus*'s Attendants four Times the Allowance, that had been uſually given to other Ambaſſadors. On the other hand, *Lucullus*, in return for this Generoſity, contented himſelf with bare Neceſſaries, and abſolutely refuſed the Preſent of 8000 Crowns, which *Ptolomy* preſſed him to accept. And *Plutarch* extols it as an heroical Act in the *Roman*, that he declined going to *Memphis*, and the other fine Cities of *Egypt*, to ſee the Wonders that are the Admiration of all Strangers. His Reaſon is, That ſuch Amuſements become none but idle Men; and That it would have been ſhameful for a Soldier to have taken a Journey of Pleaſure, whilſt his General was daily hazarding his Life, for the Honour and Service of his Country.

47 *Turnebius* has, of his own Authority, turned this Emerald into a Cup ſet with precious Stones, like that mentioned by *Pliny*, *B.* 33; when he ſays, *We drunk out of many precious Stones, and covered our Cups with Diamonds*; or in his own Words, *Turbo Gemmarum potamus, & ſmaragdis teximus calices.* But it manifeſtly appears by the Context of *Plutarch*, that he here ſpeaks of an Emerald ſet in a Ring, in which *Ptolomy* had ordered his own Picture to be cut.

48 The *Academy*, where the *Academic* Philoſophers held their School, was a Mile to the North of *Athens*. They who were famous for any important Service done their Country, were buried there: And it was adorned on all ſides with *Columns* of Marble, Statues, and Inſcriptions, to the Honour of the *Grecian* Heroes. See Vol. 4. p. 548. Note 23.

49 The *Lycæum*, according to *Pauſanias*, was originally a Temple, which *Lycus* the Son of *Pandion* had built in Honour to *Apollo*. Whereas *Suidas* makes it to have been a publick Building erected by *Piſiſtratus* for teaching the *Athenian* Youth bodily Exerciſes: and others give the Honour of it to *Pericles*, perhaps becauſe he repaired it.

read and Diſputations held on abſtracted Subjects, but always with Temper and good Manners. The latter was appropriated to *Ariſtotle* and his Followers, who were called *Peripateticks*, becauſe they taught and diſputed, as they *walked* under the ſhady Trees. But *Sylla*, tho' a Lover of the Sciences, did not ſpare theſe agreeable Retreats of the learned. He cut down the Trees, and made uſe of them in his Machines. One of his firſt Concerns was, to cut off the Communication between the City and the Port of *Pyræeus*. He could not poſſibly reduce the City by Famine, as long as it could receive Proviſions by Sea, from that open Port; and it being neceſſary, to prevent this, that he ſhould make a Breach in the high Walls that ſecured the Paſſage from one to the other, he, with his *Rams*, made a large one on both Sides, and lodged a great Body of his *Legionaries* there. This done, his whole Application was to ſtarve the City, and to take the Port by Storm. In the beginning of the Siege, the Citizens felt no Want, and believed they ſhould never be reduced to any. *Ariſtio* who commanded in *Athens*, appeared perſonally on the Ramparts, and inſulted the *Romans*, who kept cloſe in their Trenches, and had as yet nothing to do, but to keep off, or intercept Proviſions. Nay, the Tyrant carried his Raillery farther than the *Athenians*, who were naturally very ſatyrical, generally did; and even reproached *Sylla* with the Lewdneſs of his Wife *Metella* [50]. Her Infamy therefore muſt have been very publick, ſince it had already reached *Greece*; and the *Pro-Conſul*, who was affected with the Affront, reſolved to revenge it. *Plut. in Sylla.*

The Circumvallation was ſoon finiſhed round the City, and all the Avenues to it perfectly guarded. As to *Piræeus*, the *Romans* began to fill up the Ditch which covered it on the Land-ſide, that they might bring forward their Engines; and as they were carrying Faſcines to it, one of the Soldiers was ſtruck dead with Lightning. The *Aruſpices* were conſulted upon the Accident, and their Anſwer was, That as the deceaſed was found with his Face towards *Piræeus*, it was an infallible Sign that the Citadel would be taken, tho' not till after much Time and Labour was ſpent in it. *Sylla* pretended to give Credit to theſe Impoſtors, and magnified the Prediction to encourage his Soldiers. In the mean time, the Machines were prepared, *Cavaliers* were raiſed, and *Wooden Towers* built upon them, higher than the tops of the Houſes and Walls of the City; *Covered Galleries* were advanced, and huge Beams got ready for carrying and working the *Rams*. And the Reſiſtance of the beſieged was as vigorous, as the Attacks of the beſiegers. The latter threw Showers of Arrows to clear the Ramparts; the former, Showers of Stones and Darts, and Balls of Lead to keep off the Enemy; and then was found out a new Stratagem, for conveying Intelligence. Two Slaves who were among the Soldiers of *Archelaus* who defended the Place, were Spies for *Sylla*; and they wrote on Balls of Lead which they threw with Slings, the State and Condition of the City, and the Reſolutions there taken. By this Means, the *Pro-Conſul* was informed, that the next Day, at a certain Hour, the beſieged intended to make a Sally; and he made the beſt uſe of this Advice. He laid his *Legionaries* in Ambuſh for the *App. in Mithrid.* *Plut. in Sylla.*

50 *Metella*, the Daughter of *Quintus Cæcilius Metellus Pius*, and the Grand-daughter of *Metellus Numidicus*, had firſt married *Marcus Æmilius Scaurus*, who was *Conſul* in the Year of *Rome*, 638; and had had by him, *Marcus Scaurus*, whoſe *Ædileſhip* was famous for the fine Theatre he built at *Rome*; and a Daughter named *Æmilia*, who firſt married *Marcus Acilius Glabrio*, and afterwards *Pompey the Great*, and died in Child-bed. And *Metella's* Reputation was not even then unblemiſhed. She took ſo little Care to preſerve the Decorums of her Sex, that this gave Reaſon for Suſpicion, that her Conduct was not blameleſs. But it is to be preſumed, that *Sylla* was a Stranger to her Lewdneſs, when he married her, after he had divorced *Cælia* for Barrenneſs; and the Reflections of the *Athenians* made greater Diſcoveries to him, in this tender Point, than he deſired to know. Nevertheleſs, *Metella* brought him Twins, *Fauſtus* and *Fauſta*; and the exceſſive Licentiouſneſs of the latter, made People forget the Debaucheries of her Mother. *Fauſta's* third Husband was *Milo*, (the Murderer of *Clodius*) who, as far as we can judge by the Character the Hiſtorians give of him, was not a Man that could eaſily brook the Unfaithfulneſs of his Wife. But nevertheleſs, ſhe took ſo little Care even to ſave Appearances; that he had the Mortification, to be more than once, an Eye-Witneſs of his Wife's Lewdneſs. According to *Aulus Gellius*, *Salluſt* the Hiſtorian would not have eſcaped the Fury of *Milo*, after he had received an hundred Stripes, if he had not redeemed his Life by a conſiderable Sum of Money, which he paid upon the Spot. One *Villius*, which is the Name the old Commentator gives *Horace*, narrowly eſcaped the Ponyard of one of his Rivals, who was *Fauſta's* Gallant as well as himſelf, and got off with ſome Blows with his Fiſt. And *Macrobius* reckons among the Paramours of this debauched Woman, one *Fulvius* the Son of a *Fuller*, and one *Pompeius*, ſurnamed *Macula*; whoſe ſcandalous Commerce with her, gave riſe to the Jeſt which her own Brother *Fauſtus* made upon her. He ſaid, that he was ſurprized that his Siſter ſhould have any *Spots*, ſince ſhe had a *Fuller* at her Command; alluding both to the low Condition of one of her Gallants, and to the Surname (*Macula*) of the other.

Aſiaticks; and they were ſome of them cut in pieces, and the reſt driven into the Sea.

§. LXV. But this firſt Diſadvantage did not diſcourage *Archelaus*. He had a great Army behind ſtrong Walls, to defend *Piræeus*, and in order to drive the Beſiegers further off, he raiſed at the Foot of the Walls without, ſome wooden Towers, as high as thoſe of the Enemy. Their Backs were ſet againſt the *Courtine*, and by that Means had a Communication with the Place. Many Arrows were thrown from them, and the *Balliſtæ*, with which thoſe Towers were filled, did great Execution in the *Roman* Army. Nor was this all. *Archelaus* ſent for almoſt all the Troops which he had left to guard the Iſland of *Eubœa*; and with this Reinforcement, choſe rather to fight a Battle under the Walls of *Piræeus*, than hazard a Detachment in a Sally. He alſo armed the Sailors of his Fleet, and prepared for a general Attack on all the Machines of the Beſiegers. At three in the Morning he marched out, and burnt the long *Covered Galleries* which the *Romans* had placed at the Foot of the Wall; and the *Legionaries* behaved themſelves ill, on this important Occaſion. They gave way, and retired in diſorder; which their General puniſhed with Severity. He condemned ſome to lodge without the Camp, others to fight at the Head of the Troops, wearing Helmets only, without Belts; and the Damage was, by the Care of *Sylla*, repaired in ten Days. Then *Archelaus* attacked the new Works; but nevertheleſs, after ſome time, the *Roman Galleries* were brought to the Foot of the Wall. This obliged him to make a new Sally and fight another Battle, in which his *Aſiaticks* were repulſed; but he rallied them, and brought them on to a ſecond Attack with ſuch Vigour, that the *Romans* retired in their Turn, and would have fled, if *Murena*, one of their *Legionary Tribunes*, had not encouraged them. He brought them back to the Charge with ſuch Fury, that they forced the beſieged to retire into the Place, after the Loſs of 2000 Men; and the Gate was ſhut ſo haſtily, that *Archelaus* himſelf would have been taken Priſoner, if he had not been drawn up the Wall with a Rope. The *Romans*, to make the beſt Advantage of this Succeſs, laboured much to have deſtroyed thoſe miſchievous Towers which *Archelaus* had built without the Walls, by Fire; but the *Aſiatick* Engineers had daubed the Timbers over with Allum, and are ſaid to have thereby made them incombuſtible.

Front. Strat. L. 4. c. 1.

Aulus Gell. L. 15. c. 1.

However, this victorious Action gave *Sylla* hopes, that *Piræeus* would ſoon ſurrender; and when the Soldiers he had puniſhed had ſufficiently ſignalized themſelves, he reſtored them to their Poſts, and diſtributed military Rewards among thoſe of the other *Corps*, which had diſtinguiſhed themſelves. In the mean time, the two faithful Slaves continued ſtill to throw from the Ramparts Balls of Lead, on which they wrote Accounts of what paſſed in the Port; the *Pro-Conſul*, who ordered them to be gathered up with great Care, by them learnt, that the City of *Athens* was reduced to great Want. While he was battering *Piræeus* with all ſorts of Engines, the reſt of his Army had exactly guarded the two Cities, and kept off all Convoys of Proviſions; ſo that *Athens* could no longer be ſupplied with any, but from the Port, where there was Plenty, becauſe it was open. Indeed a Detachment of *Romans* ſtopped up the Way which led from the City to the Port; but it was not impoſſible to break through this Detachment; and by a new Ball of Lead *Sylla* was informed, that *Archelaus* intended at Sunriſing, to fetch a great Quantity of Meal from *Piræeus*, on the Shoulders of a great Body of armed Men, ſupported by a conſiderable Guard. He therefore enlarged the Number of the Men who were poſted in the great Road, ſurrounded the Guard that eſcorted the Convoy, ſeized it, and took many Priſoners. By this Means, the Army of *Archelaus* in *Piræeus* was diminiſhed, and the Famine in *Athens* increaſed.

§. LXVI. And now, *Archelaus* having, as has been obſerved, left *Eubœa* in a manner defenceleſs, *Sylla* thought this a favourable Opportunity to ſeize it. To this end he ſent *Mummius*, one of his chief Officers, to drive out the few Barbarians that were left there, and he fought them, and gained great Advantages over them. In one Action, he killed 1500, and took a greater Number Priſoners. *Mithridates*, was then at *Pergamus*, highly delighted both with his Conqueſts in *Europe*, and the Charms of his *Monimia*. He had left his eldeſt Son to govern the Kingdoms of *Pontus* and *Bosphorus*, the Inheritance of his Anceſtors, and had ſent his ſecond into *Europe*, with Orders to ſubdue *Thrace* in his Paſſage, take *Macedon* from the *Romans*, join *Archelaus* in *Attica*, and with their joint Forces, deſtroy *Sylla*. Accordingly, *Arcathias*, or as others, *Archathias*, had reduced the *Thracians*, drawn a great Number of Troops from thence,

Plut. in Sylla. App. in Mithridat.

with which he eaſily diſperſed the few *Romans* left in *Macedon*, conquered this fine Kingdom, ſettled Governours there, penetrated into *Epirus*, pillaged the famous Temple of *Jupiter* at *Dodona* [51]; and was upon his March to relieve *Athens*. But Death ſurprized the young Conqueror in the full Career of his Victories. Then *Taxiles*, his Lieutenant General took upon him the Command of his Army, and led it ſlowly on, to the Aſſiſtance of *Archelaus*. 100000 Foot, 10000 Horſe, and 90 Chariots armed with Scythes, were too great a Body, to move with any Expedition, croſs ſo large a Country, embarraſſed with Mountains and Rivers.

The Approach of this formidable Army, which was coming to over-run *Greece*, made *Sylla* the more active, in reducing *Athens* and *Piræeus*, as ſoon as poſſible; and one Night, when the Centinels ſeemed to be aſleep on the Ramparts, he ordered ſome of the braveſt of his *Legionaries* to ſcale them. Accordingly they raiſed their Ladders, mounted the Walls, and drove off the Enemies they found upon them. But upon the firſt Noiſe, ſuch Crowds of Barbarians came to the Walls, as ſuch an handful of *Romans* could not poſſibly reſiſt. They cut off the Head of the *Roman* Leader, and forced his Followers to leap down into the Ditch. This ſlight Succeſs encouraged the beſieged to make a Sally, to burn a Tower juſt raiſed by the *Romans*; but after a Fight, which laſted the whole Day, that fine Work was preſerved, wholly by *Sylla*'s Valour. Then *Archelaus*, not being able to burn the Tower, built ſuch another without the Walls, to play againſt it; ſuch Showers of Arrows were thrown from the ſeveral Floors of theſe moveable Caſtles, that it may be affirmed, that the whole Succeſs, or the raiſing of the Siege, depended upon the Deſtruction of one of them; and at laſt the *Romans* prevailed. *Sylla* threw from his, ten Balls of Lead of a monſtrous ſize, with each of his *Catapultæ*, at the ſame time; and theſe, beſides the Execution they did among the beſieged, ſo damaged their Tower, that it was ready to fall. *Archelaus* was forced to take it to pieces, and bring them within the Place. *App. in Mithridat.*

In the mean time, Proviſions began to grow very ſcarce in the two beſieged Cities; and the Governour reſolved to try to bring from *Piræeus*, another Convoy, ſo well guarded, as to be able to force their Way through the Enemy. *Sylla* was immediately informed of this, by the Balls of Lead, according to Cuſtom; and *Archelaus* having been ſeveral Times prevented from getting in Proviſions by this Management, began now to ſuſpect that he had Traitors about him. As the Poſts the Enemy poſſeſſed in the great Road, had been ſtrongly reinforced every Time he had attempted to bring Proviſions into the City, he took it for granted, that they would likewiſe be informed of theſe new Preparations; and he reſolved to make his Advantage of it, if that ſhould be the Caſe. To this end, he ordered a Sally to be made upon *Sylla*'s Army, which he ſuppoſed would be diminiſhed by conſiderable Detachments, and at the ſame time, commanded the Convoy of Proviſions to ſet out, notwithſtanding any Hazards they might run, of being cut off, by the new Reinforcements the Enemy might ſend to their Poſts: And it happened, as he had foreſeen. The Guard of the Convoy were beaten; but the beſieged ſucceded in their Sally. The latter armed themſelves with burning Torches, and reduced to Aſhes ſome of the Machines that ſurrounded *Piræeus*; ſo that the Advantages and Diſadvantages of that Day were equal.

§. XVII. After this, the manner both of the Attack and Defence, was altered. The beſieged endeavoured to throw down the Caſtles the Beſiegers had raiſed round their Walls, by Sap. Theſe Caſtles were raiſed on large Foundations of Stone, which muſt be ſhaken, before the Wood-work upon them could be thrown down; and *Sylla* perceiving that the Enemy were continually at work, reſolved to countermine them. The Pioneers often met, and had ſeveral rough Skirmiſhes in the dark; whilſt, at the ſame time, the Attacks above Ground were made with as much Ardour as ever. The *Romans* made ſo good uſe of their *Rams*, that they at laſt beat down a conſiderable Piece of the Wall, and burnt one of the wooden Towers that ſtood without it, and covered it. This made the Approach to the Breach more eaſy, and the *Romans* made a Lodgment upon it. But notwithſtanding this, *Sylla* had a great deal ſtill to do, before he could make himſelf Maſter of *Piræeus*. The next Step in order to it, was to widen the Breach; and he ſet his Miners about it. They dug quite under the Foundations of the Walls, ſupported them with Props of Wood as they went, leſt they ſhould fall upon themſelves, and when they had done, ſet Fire to thoſe Props. By this Means, the reſt of

[51] See Vol. 2. p. 213. Note 73.

the

the *Courtine* tumbled down, with a terrible Noiſe; the Barbarians who defended the Walls were buried in the Ruins; and the reſt were ſtruck with a great Conſternation, for fear there ſhould be other Miners at work under them.

But ſtill, tho' *Piræus* was now open in ſeveral Places, *Archelaus* did not deſire to capitulate. He thought it ſhameful to ſurrender at Diſcretion, as long as he had an Army as great as that of the Aggreſſors; and he expected to be relieved by *Taxiles*, whoſe Delays made him very impatient. For the ſame Reaſon, *Sylla* gradually got Ground on the Breach, without loſs of Time; and aſſured his Soldiers who were fatigued with the length of the Siege, that every Battle he fought there would be the laſt, and certainly reduce the Place. But theſe were vain Promiſes. *Archelaus* continually ſent freſh Troops to defend the Breach; and as effectually encouraged his Men by his Threatenings, as *Sylla* did the *Romans* by his Example. The *Legionaries* were once ſo powerfully repulſed by the Enemy, that the *Pro-Conſul* himſelf, after he had fought with great Bravery, was forced to lead them back to his Camp, where they continued unactive long enough, to give the beſieged time to build another Wall, within that which the Beſiegers had with ſo much Pains beat down. And *Archelaus* built not his new Work in ſtrait Lines, like the old, but in a circular Form; becauſe this was not ſo acceſſible to the Enemy, and yet more eaſily defenſible by the *Balliſtæ*. However, the Inaction of the *Romans* did not laſt long. *Sylla* prepared his *Rams* to make a Breach in the new Wall, before it was dry. But the prodigious Quantity of Arrows, Beams, and burning Materials, which the beſieged threw from the top of their new Works, made them in effect inacceſſible. *Sylla* therefore gave up the Attempt, and thought he had done enough againſt *Piræeus*. He had gained footing enough on the old Wall of this Port, to block it up effectually, lodge Troops there, and prevent the Acceſs of the beſieged to it; and he now reſolved only to keep it inveſted, and leave the Garriſon to ſtarve. From henceforwards he made it his chief Buſineſs to take care of the two united Cities of *Athens* and *Cecropia*, whoſe Inhabitants were reduced to extream Want.

§. XVIII. *Athens* was one of the moſt populous Cities in the World. Indeed ſome of the Citizens of the firſt Rank had left it to avoid the Tyranny of *Ariſtio*; and the moſt illuſtrious of thoſe who were [52] Friends to the *Roman* Republick, among whom were *Midias* and *Callipho*, two Men of ſuperior Merit, had retired to *Sylla*'s Camp, before the Siege. But the *Romans* were now equally careful, neither to ſuffer any Proviſions to be carried into the City, nor any of the Inhabitants to come out of it. So that the two Cities were ſoon reduced to ſo great Extremities, that a Buſhel of Barley was ſold for 1000 *Drachmæ*. *Ariſtio* only had Plenty of Proviſions, which he kept for himſelf, and his Accomplices in his Tyranny; and was ſo brutal, as not to have any regard, either for the Worſhip of the Gods, or for thoſe who miniſtred at their Altars. When the perpetual [53] Fire in the Temple, where it was always kept burning in a Lamp Day and Night, was ready to go out for want of Oil; the High-Prieſt, called *Hierophantes* [54], ſent to intreat the Tyrant to give him Oil for the Sanctuary, and to ſend him in his extreme Want, half a Buſhel of Barley; but the impious Man had no Regard either to the Gods or the Prieſt, and added Violence to his Irreligion. Tho' he wanted neither Grain nor Oil, and fared plenteouſly every Day, he only ſent the *Hierophantes*, in deriſion, half a Meaſure of Pepper to ſeaſon his Meat. Whereas the ſtarving *Athenians* had already eaten up the Horſes, Dogs, and all other Animals which they had; and the common People now lived only on the Herbs that grew round the Walls, and on ſome old Leather, which they ſoaked and boiled in Water, to ſoften it.

Plut. in Syll. l s d 32 5 10 *Ster. Arbuth.*

Their extreme Want obliged them to offer a Petition to the Tyrant; and their Prieſts and *Areopagites* came in a Body to intreat him to have Compaſſion on the Miſeries of

[52] *Philo* the famous *Academick*, left *Athens*, and that he might not be a Witneſs of the Misfortunes of his Country, went to *Rome*; where he contracted a ſtrict Friendſhip with *Cicero*, who highly commends him, in ſeveral Parts of his Works.

[53] We have, in the firſt Volume, reckoned up all the Nations in the World, that thought it a Duty of Religion to keep Fire continually burning. This ſuperſtitious Cuſtom ſeems to have had its riſe from the Idea which every reaſonable Man forms of the Deity. And probably, the firſt Inſtitutors of it might pretend thereby to offer a Sacrifice, which ſhould repreſent the Activity, Purity, and Eternity, of that ſupreme Being, which they worſhipped.

[54] The *Athenians* gave the Name of *Hierophantes* to the Prieſts, and Prieſteſſes, who were appointed by the State to take Care of the Sacrifices, and have the ſupervifal of Things ſacred. And *St. Jerom* ſays, That they drank Decoctions of Hemlock, to ſuppreſs carnal Appetites. They thought themſelves obliged to the ſtricteſt Continence, in regard to the Dignity of their Miniſtry.

Plut. in Sylla. App. in Mithridat.

the

the People, and make Peace with *Rome*. But *Ariſtio* had imbibed a Cruelty of Heart, when he entered into an Alliance with the *Aſiaticks*; and was equally afraid of the Reſentments of *Sylla*, and the Vengeance of *Mithridates*. He therefore at firſt drove away this venerable Body of Suppliants by ſhooting Arrows among them; but upon more mature Conſideration, reſolved to ſend a Deputation to the *Roman* Camp. The Perſons he choſe for his Ambaſſadors, were ſome of thoſe Declaimers who ſwarmed in *Athens*, and whoſe Eloquence, had more Puerility and Art in it than Solidity. *The City*, ſaid they to *Sylla*, *which you have blocked up, was the Work of the Gods.* Neptune *and* Minerva *diſputed, which ſhould give Name to it; and the Goddeſs prevailed, and preſented us with the Olive-tree.* Ceres *and* Triptolemus *invented Huſbandry among us, and introduced the Uſe of Grain, inſtead of the Acrons, gathered in Foreſts.* Eumolpus[55] *planted the firſt Vines on our Hills, and taught* Europe *to extract the delicious Juice of the Grape. To us likewiſe the Arts owe their birth. We taught Men to make Cloaths of Wool, and to empty Quarries to build themſelves Houſes. From us all Laws have been derived; and our* [56] Areopagus, *is a School for the reſt of the World, where they learn to give righteous Judgments. And as to our Heroes and Orators*[57], Theſeus, Erichthonius, Themiſtocles, Ageſilaus . . . . .

Here *Sylla*, interrupting the Declaimer, ſaid, *My good Friends, I am not come from* Rome *hither, to hear a Panegyrick on* Athens. *Reſerve the Praiſes of your Anceſtors for others. My* Legions *don't ſhut you up within your Walls to gather your Flowers, but to puniſh the Rebellious.* And after this rambling Diſcourſe, and contemptuous Reply, the three declamatory Ambaſſadors returned, without making any Propoſals to the *Pro-Conſul*, or receiving any other Anſwer from him. Perhaps the Tyrant had only ſent them, in compliance with the Importunities of his People. He ſtill depended on the Forces of *Archelaus*, and the Succours *Taxiles* was bringing to him. Nevertheleſs, *Athens* now drew near her end.

55 This *Eumolpus* was thought by the *Greeks* the firſt Inventor of *The Myſteries of Ceres*; and afterwards thoſe of his Family, who ſucceſſively enjoyed the High-Prieſthood, were from him, called *Eumolpides*. It little concerns a *Roman* Hiſtorian to enquire, whether he was originally an *Egyptian*, or *Thracian*, and whether *Muſæus*, or *Orpheus*, or *Ceryx* was his Father. But the Reader may, if he pleaſes, conſult on theſe Heads, which rather relate to the fabulous Times than the hiſtorical, *Meurſius's Greece*, *Suidas*, and the old *Scholiaſt* on *Sophocles*.

56 By the Name of *Areopagus*, or *The Hill of Mars*, the *Greeks* meant the ſupreme Court of Judicature in *Athens*. Upon the Credit of a fabulous Tradition, the *Athenians* believed, that *Mars*, who had been accuſed of Murder by *Neptune*, had been tried and condemned on this Hill by a Council of the Gods. Others derived this famous Name from an Event, which like the former, is apparently fabulous. They ſaid, That the *Amazons* took up Arms againſt *Theſeus*, beſieged *Athens*, and after they had encamped on a neighbouring Hill, ſacrificed to the God *Mars*, to give them Succeſs; and from thence, ſay they, this Eminence was called, *The Hill of Mars*. *Pauſanias*, *Ariſtides*, and *Æſchylus* are divided between the two Opinions. According to *Herodotus* and *Lucian* it faced the Citadel; and their Authority ought to outweigh that of *Heſychius*, who places the *Areopagus* within the Citadel itſelf. Authors differ ſo much among themſelves, about the Time this famous Court was erected, that we cannot pretend to aſcertain the Æra of it. On one hand, *Euſebius* carries it up to the Time of *Cecrops*; *Cicero*, on the other, gives the Honour of it to *Solon*; and *Demoſthenes* honeſtly confeſſes, that it is loſt in the Obſcurity of former Ages. Nor are they more uniform in their Accounts of the number of Judges that ſate in this Council. Some reduce them to nine; others reckon thirty one; ſome enlarge their Number to fifty one; and others to an hundred and five. From which variety of Opinions, it is natural to infer, that their Number was greater, or leſs, as the Times, or Occaſions, required. At leaſt, it's certain, that the *Archons*, after their Year was expired, became Members of this auguſt Senate, if their Adminiſtration was approved by the People.

As to the Cauſes, that came before the *Areopagitis*, it is certain that they had the Cognizance of capital Crimes, and all Affairs of Importance. They were ſcrupulouſly exact in their Precautions to guard againſt being impoſed on. It was their Cuſtom to adminiſter Juſtice in the Night-time, and in the dark, becauſe the Mind is then more intent, and leſs diſtracted with external Objects. In the earlieſt Ages, the Parties concerned pleaded their own Cauſes, till ſuch time as they were allowed to chooſe their Advocates; and then, theſe Advocates were forbid to uſe any rhetorical Arts, to colour Facts in ſuch a Manner as might impoſe upon theſe Judges, who were always upon their Guard againſt Impoſitions. They were ſtrictly confined to the *Right*, and the *Fact*, and rather acted as Civilians than Orators. They who were once promoted to the Honours of this Council, enjoyed them for Life. But that their Integrity, which ought to be Proof againſt all Temptations, might not be ſhaken by Ambition or Intereſt, they could never after receive any Reward from the Publick. It was taken for granted, that theſe grave Magiſtrates had too much Magnanimity to be affected with the vain Pomp of Grandeur. They are ſaid to have been the firſt Senate in the World, and to have enjoyed a Reward preferable to any Salary, in the Reputation they acquired, by the invariable Equity of their Decrees. To which the *Greek* Authors add a great deal more, in Commendation of a Tribunal, which they thought *The Bulwark and Safety of Athens*.

57 *Theſeus* is reckoned to have been the tenth King of *Athens*, *Erichthonius* the fourth. The latter was famous for inſtituting *The Panathenaic Games*, which the *Greeks* celebrated in Honour to *Minerva*. See the preceding Volumes.

§. XIX. *Sylla* had his Spies in the City, as well as in *Piræeus*, when he attacked it. Two of them were continually running about, and mixing in all Companies; and coming one Day to [58] *Ceramicos*, a conſiderable Place much frequented for its Walks, and the uſual Scene of Gallantry and Debauchery, they there joined ſome old Men, who were walking in a Portico adorned with Paintings, and ſome fine Statues of *Praxiteles*. The Subject of their Converſation was the Conduct of *Ariſtio*, the then prevailing Topick, and one of them charged him with Imprudence. *The greateſt Evil that can befal us*, ſaid he, *is to be taken by Aſſault; and yet the Tyrant, who is drowned in Pleaſures, whilſt we are periſhing with Hunger, takes no Care to fortify the City, in the Place where it may be moſt eaſily ſurprized. What would become of us, if the* Romans *ſhould attack us over againſt* Heptachalcon [59]*?*

Plut. in Syll.

This was indeed the weakeſt Part of *Athens*, and the worſt guarded; and the Spies caught at the Expreſſion, and ſoon acquainted *Sylla* with the Converſation. Upon this Advice the *Roman* examined the Thing himſelf, and without delay, came at Midnight in Perſon, and commanded an Attack at the Place the Spies had pointed out. The *Romans* applied their Ladders in ſilence, and by favour of the Night, mounted them. The firſt *Roman* Soldier that landed on the Wall was *Teius*; but when he attacked the *Athenian* Guard, his Sword broke off in the middle with the firſt Stroke. Nevertheleſs, he defended himſelf with the broken Part of it, and kept his Ground till others came to his Aſſiſtance. The *Romans* followed him in Crowds, and formed themſelves into a cloſe Battalion round him; and whilſt they made this firſt Attack within *Athens*, *Sylla* battered the Walls ſo violently with his *Rams*, that he made a large Breach, and his Troops entered it. The *Athenians* were ſtruck with inexpreſſible Terror to hear the *Roman* Trumpets within their Walls; and the *Romans*, who as much rejoiced at being Maſters of this ungrateful and ſo long rebellious City, firſt murdered every one they met, and then plundered the Houſes. *Sylla* had been exaſperated by the provoking Reflections of the *Greeks*, from their Ramparts, on himſelf and his Wife; and he ſuffered his Soldiers to enter the Houſes by force, plunder them as much as they pleaſed, and deſtroy every Thing with Fire and Sword. They ſpared none. And among the great Riches of the *Athenians*, they found ſome Things which ſtruck every Spectator with Horror. Some of theſe poor Creatures had kept Pieces of human Fleſh, in their Salting-tubs, to ſerve them in their extream Want; and this Barbarity encreaſed the Fury of the *Roman* Soldiers. They ſtabbed without Mercy thoſe that begged quarter of them; and the Number of thoſe that periſhed in this fatal Day, was never known. But we may form ſome Judgment of it by the quantity of Blood that was ſhed; which was ſo great, that it covered all *Ceramicos*, to a conſiderable heighth, and afterwards ran through the Gate [60] *Dipulon*, into the Suburbs. Indeed the *Romans* Swords were not the only Cauſes of this bloody Inundation; ſome of the *Athenians* fell by their own Hands, and the Blood of whole Families ran ſtreaming from the Houſes, into Streets which the Enemy had not entered. Horrible Sight! but not unpleaſing to *Sylla*; who was now hardening his Heart againſt receiving any Impreſſions of Humanity, when he ſhould come to fill *Rome* itſelf with Blood and Slaughter.

App. in Mithridat.

Ariſtio, followed by a few Citizens, eſcaped into *Cecropia*, which was divided from *Athens* by a ſtrong Wall; and before his Retreat, he had the Caution to reduce to Aſhes a very fine Building, erected on purpoſe for Muſick, where the moſt famous Muſicians diſputed the Prizes of their Art, in the Preſence of the aſſembled People. The Tyrant was aſſured, the Enemy would demoliſh it, and uſe the Materials in Machines to be played againſt *Cecropia*. But *Sylla* did not think the Reduction of it de-

58 There was a Part of the City of *Athens*, and one of the Suburbs, that were both called *Ceramicos*. The former was the Place of Reſort for Proſtitutes; the latter was a large Place appointed for the Burial of great Men, ſuch eſpecially as had died fighting for their Country. They were ſo called from the *Greek* Word Κεραμικος; according to ſome, becauſe there was a *Tile-Kiln* near it; and according to others, becauſe the Houſes there were built with Brick, or covered with *Tiles*.

59 The ancient *Greek* Authors often mention *Heptachalcon*; which was, moſt probably, ſo called, becauſe the *Greeks* had there erected *ſeven* Statues, or Columns, of *Braſs*, or Copper.

60 The Gate *Dipulon* is the only one that has withſtood the Attacks of Time, among the Ruins of this fine City. It was the largeſt of all the City-Gates, and moſt remarkable for being built in a very fine Taſte. It was formerly called *Thriaſia*, and *Ceramica*, becauſe it was at the entrance into *Ceramicos*. The Portico's that led from this Quarter to the Gate *Dipulon* were the Place of Reſort for Proſtitutes in *Athens*. Their Names, and thoſe of their Lovers, were written on the Walls and Pillars of this Structure.

ſerved ſo much Pains. He ordered *Curio*, one of his Lieutenant-Generals, to inveſt it, and reduce it by Famine; and the beſieged were more oppreſſed with Thirſt than with Hunger. There was no Spring in *Cecropia*; and when all the Water they had in their Ciſterns was exhauſted, they were obliged to ſurrender at Diſcretion, and *Sylla* was put in Poſſeſſion of both Cities. He made himſelf Maſter of *Athens*, on *The Calends of March*; and *Curio* entered *Cecropia*, a few Days after. And as the firſt Fury of the *Romans* was now abated, they only condemned *Ariſtio*, and his Guards, and Council, to die, and poſtponed the Execution to another Time. The few Citizens that were left, had their Lives given them, without any farther Puniſhment than being deprived of the Power of chooſing their own Magiſtrates; and afterwards, even this ſmall Reſtraint was ſoon taken off. *Midias* and *Callipho* intreated the Conqueror, *by the Manes, and Virtues, and Exploits, of the many Heroes that had immortalized* Athens, *to ſpare the City*; and *Sylla* anſwered, *That he would pardon the Children for the Sake of their Fathers.* But, he would not ſuffer the Breach he had made in the Wall to be repaired. This Act of Moderation and Clemency effaced a little that Character of Inhumanity, which he had acquired, at the taking of *Athens*; and he was himſelf ever after much pleaſed with it. He was heard to ſay, That he never ſhould have forgiven himſelf, if he had, in his Rage, demoliſhed this ſtately City, which continued long after to be the Mother of the Arts and Sciences, and of the moſt equitable Polity. *Plut. in Sylla.*

And now, *Piræeus* only remained unconquered; and *Archelaus* ſuſtained the new Attacks made upon it, with freſh Courage, till at laſt, the *Romans* beat down the circular Wall he had built in it; and then, as a trifling Hiſtorian informs us, he ſucceſſively built ſix other Walls one within another, which were all broke through by *Sylla*. But we think it more probable, that *Archelaus*, after he had ſignalized himſelf by a moſt glorious Reſiſtance, retired firſt to *Munichia*; and continued afterwards, for ſome time, in the neighbouring Places. *Flor. L. 3.*

§. XX. Thus the *Pro-Conſul* became Maſter of *Athens*, and afterwards of almoſt all *Attica*, and whilſt he was quietly waiting here for the Arrival of *Taxiles*, he made it his chief Buſineſs to prevent that General's joining his Forces to thoſe of *Archelaus*. But partly, That he might leave behind him ſome Mark of his Reſentment at *Piræeus*; and partly, For fear the Fleet of *Mithridates*, which was ſuperior in Strength, ſhould again take Advantage of this Port, he deſtroyed almoſt all the Buildings belonging to it, before he left it. He demoliſhed all the ſemi-circular Magazines; and which was moſt to the Mortification of the *Athenians*, that ſtately Arſenal, which had been built by *Philo*. This famous Architect had made it a Maſter-Piece of Art; and the *Romans* found rigging enough in it, to fit out 1000 Ships.

When the Seaſon began to grow warm, *Sylla* left *Attica*, and put his Troops into Quarters of Refreſhment, in the vaſt and fruitful Plains of *Bœotia*. *Taxiles* had met with Obſtructions in his March, and ſtill delayed coming up with him. *Elatea*[61], a City of *Phocis*, diſputed his Paſſage, and he was yet buſy in reducing it. And though *Sylla* is blamed for leaving his new Conqueſt ſo ſoon, he had his Reaſons for it. How could he ſubſiſt his Army in a Country naturally barren, and ruined by the War? Beſides, he intended to bring *Hortenſius* out of *Theſſaly*, with conſiderable Reinforcements for his Army, which was diminiſhed by ſo many Battles; and therefore came within reach of him. He poſted himſelf ſo, as to favour his March, and ſent *Caphis* a *Theſſalian* to him, to be his Guide. *Hortenſius*, to avoid the Enemy, who waited to intercept him, was led by *Caphis*, over the Top of the Hill *Parnaſſus*; and after he had deceived, or repulſed the Barbarians, arrived at[62] *Patroni*, where *Sylla* waited for him. But though this was a very ſeaſonable Reinforcement, the *Pro-Conſular* Army after all conſiſted of only 15000 Foot, and 1500 Horſe, excluſive of the *Grecian* Auxiliaries; which were a very inconſiderable Body, to oppoſe the terrible Multitudes of *Aſiaticks*, which *Archelaus* and *Taxiles* were bringing againſt them. But the Valour and Conſtancy of the *Roman* General ſupplied the Want of a greater Army. *Plut. in Sylla.*

61 See Vol. 3. p. 425. Note 137.

62 Neither the Geographers, nor Hiſtorians, have ſaid any Thing of the Situation of *Patroni*; all we know of it is, that it ſtood near Mount *Parnaſſus*.

§. XXI. Whilſt

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§. XXI. Whilſt *Sylla* was enjoying a little Reſt in his new Camp, a great number of fugitive or proſcribed Senators came to him. The new Government of *Cinna* and *Marius* had driven them from *Rome*. Theſe new *Conſuls* gave the Nobility juſt Cauſe to fear the worſt; and certainly, if old *Marius* had lived, he would have extirpated the whole Order. Nor had his Death, which happened on *The Ides of January*, put a Stop to the Perſecution; *Cinna* and young *Marius* ſtill made the moſt intrepid tremble. Not that the latter was advanced to the *Conſulate*; *Cinna* only aſſociated him with himſelf to aſſiſt him with his Arm and Advice, without any Title or Authority, and that purely out of reſpect to the Father. This ſufficiently appeared when *Cinna* choſe one *Valerius Flaccus* for his Collegue; a Man as turbulent as himſelf, but leſs experienced in Arms. And as ſoon as the latter had ſucceeded old *Marius*, he affected Popularity; and in order to it paſſed an unjuſt Law. He reduced all the Debts of the People to one fourth Part, and conſequently deprived their Creditors of the other three. Nevertheleſs, the Terror of *Cinna* was ſo great, that they durſt not murmur openly; but they left the City, and repaired to *Sylla*, whom they thought the only Reſource of the oppreſſed Republick. The *Pro-Conſul* received them graciouſly, and was pleaſed to ſee his Court filled, even in the Heart of *Greece*, with all the Flower of the Nobility, and the moſt conſiderable of the *Citizens* of *Rome*. This Concourſe raiſed his Courage, and excited him to loſe no Time in the Diſpatch of the Affairs in the Eaſt, that he might go and reap thoſe Advantages in *Italy*, which were offered him by the Death of the great *Marius*, his Rival.

Cic. in Bruto. Vell. Pat. L. 2.

Cinna, on the other hand, was not a little mortified at the Rumours ſpread in *Rome* of the great Succeſs of *Sylla*, in the *Levant*; and the News of his taking of *Athens*, and *Piræeus*, increaſed his Diſquietude. He was continually fancying he ſaw the Conqueror of *Mithridates* returning into *Italy*, with a victorious and well-diſciplined Army, and at the Head of a long Train of Malecontents; and he made uſe of this Expedient to put a ſtop to the Conqueſts *Sylla* was preparing to purſue. In order to deprive him of his Office, the Tyrant, of his own Authority, nominated a Perſon to ſucceed *Sylla* in the Eaſt, and force him to return home. He gave *Valerius Flaccus*, whom he had illegally raiſed to the *Conſulate*, a Commiſſion to go and command the *Roman* Armies in the *Levant*, and make War with *Mithridates*; and appointed *C. Fulvius Fimbria* a Senator, who had ſome Credit among the Troops, to be his Second in the Command. *Fimbria* had ingratiated himſelf with the *Marian* Party by his Violences; but notwithſtanding his Attachment to the ſame Faction, he both deſpiſed and hated *Valerius*. Nevertheleſs, he prepared to attend him, with a Reſolution to ſupplant him, and command in his Place, as ſoon as he was got to a little Diſtance from *Rome*. Such was the preſent Temper of the *Romans*. As the Laws had no manner of Authority over them, and they had not even the Form of a Republick left; the Uſurpers of the *Conſulate* themſelves were in their Turns expoſed to the Independence and Uſurpations of their Subalterns.

Plut. in Sylla. App. in Mithridat.

§. XXII. *Sylla*, though in *Greece*, was not long ignorant that *Cinna* had appointed him a Succeſſor; and in peaceable Times he muſt have ſubmitted to the juridical Determination of the Senate and People. But in the preſent State of Things, he made no Scruple of refuſing to reſign the Command to a *Conſul* who was only of *Cinna*'s making, and conſequently had no lawful Authority. In the mean Time, he waited patiently for the Arrival of *Valerius*, and continued the War with the Generals of *Mithridates*. *Archelaus*, who was very impatient to join *Taxiles*, advanced as far as *Theſſaly* to meet him; and there the two *Aſiatick* Armies were united, and *Archelaus* declared Generaliſſimo. *Mithridates* had ſent into *Greece*, all the Land Forces his great Dominions could furniſh. Like an able Politician, he choſe *Europe* for the Seat of the War, and propoſed deſtroying the *Romans* before they could reach him in *Aſia*. In the two Armies of *Archelaus* and *Taxiles*, and in that which *Dromichætes* had lately brought into *Greece*, there were Soldiers from every Nation in *Aſia Minor*. Beſides the numerous *Phalanxes* of *Pontus*, there were *Thracians*, *Macedonians*, *Gallo-Greeks*, *Scythians*, *Bithynians*, *Phrygians*, and new Levies raiſed on the Coaſts of *Aſia*, which *Mithridates* had reduced to Obedience. Each of theſe Bodies of Troops of different Nations had its own Commander, and all theſe together made the Council of War, in which *Archelaus* preſided. And if there was little true Valour in this numberleſs Multitude, there was at leaſt Finery enough in their Arms and Dreſs. Their Lances, Bucklers, and Coats of Mail, glittered with Gold and Silver, which greatly raiſed the

Courage

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Courage of the *Legionaries*, by quickening their Deſire of Booty. But it muſt be confeſſed, that their Number aſtoniſhed thoſe, whoſe Avarice made them moſt earneſt for a Battle.

In the Neighbourhood of *Elatea* there was a ſingle Hill, in the midſt of a vaſt Plain; and at the Foot of this Hill, which the *Greeks* called [63] *Philobojotos*, there was a Rivulet. This Place was both agreeable to the Sight, convenient, and abounded with Fruit-trees; and being deemed one of the moſt wholſome and moſt delightful Parts of *Theſſaly*, the *Conſul* choſe it for his Camp. It was the Intereſt of *Archelaus* to have ſurrounded the *Roman* Camp, and ſtarved this little Army; but the Generaliſſimo himſelf was not heard. The greateſt Part of the Commanders of the different Nations voted for fighting. Their Troops were at leaſt two thirds more numerous than thoſe of *Sylla*; and in Conſideration, That much might juſtly be expected from ſuch a Multitude whilſt united, and That their Levity might in a little Time incline them to diſperſe, orders were given for a Battle. The terrible Outcries of the Barbarians when their Generals drew them up in the Plain, is not to be deſcribed; *The whole Compaſs of the Air*, ſays one of the Ancients, *ſeemed not large enough to contain their Howlings.* The *Romans* from the top of the Hill ſaw this furious Inundation of *Aſiaticks* with Dread; and *Sylla* diſcovering Fear in the Faces and Air of his Men, kept them ſome Days within their Trenches. This gave the Barbarians a Contempt for their Enemies; and as Diſcipline was ill kept in their Camp, the love of Booty led the braveſt of them to a great Diſtance from it. They ravaged [64] *Panope*, and [65] *Lebadea*, not ſparing the Temples. In the mean while, *Sylla* kept his *Legionaries* to hard Labour, intending thereby, to bring them to deſire a Battle; but he pretended Fear; and to convince *Archelaus* of the Reality of it, he ſent Deputies to him, to treat of an Accommodation, and a Truce was agreed on for ſome Days. In this interim, the *Roman* decamped, and poſted himſelf on the Banks of the [66] *Cephiſus*; and the Enemy followed him, waiting for an Opportunity to force him to appear in the Plain. *Front. Strat. L. 1. c. 5.*

§. XXIII. This change of his Camp gave the *Pro-Conſul* occaſion to double the Labours of his Soldiers, and he overloaded them with Fatigues. He made them turn the *Cephiſus*, and make large Cuts and Canals into it, as he pretended, to ſecure his Camp. The Labour of executing theſe great Works, ſoon tired the *Roman* Soldiers, though inured to Hardſhips; and on the third Day, the *Legionaries* began to be very deſirous of a general Action. This was *Sylla*'s Aim, and to quicken them the more, he went to all the Places where he had cantoned his Troops, and earneſtly preſſed them to finiſh their Works. Upon this, Officers and Soldiers unanimouſly complained, that they were not led to a Battle; and cried out, That Death was preferable to ſuch painful Labour. *Sylla* immediately replied, *I am very glad your Fears are removed. Go and give me a Proof of your Reſolution to behave yourſelves well, by ſeizing yonder Poſt, before the Enemy.* This he ſaid, pointing to the Summit of a ſteep Rock, at the Conflux of the *Cephiſus* and the [67] *Aſſus*, an important Poſt, on which the Succeſs of a Battle partly depended; and the *Aſiatick* General had therefore already detached the choiceſt of his Troops called [68] *Chalcaſpides*, to ſeize it. But the *Romans* were nimble enough to prevent them, and lodged themſelves upon it. This convinced *Sylla* that the Fears of his Soldiers were diſſipated; and their Confidence quickened his own Deſire of Conqueſt. *Plut. in Sylla.*

63 This Mountain overlooked the Plains of *Bœotia*; and *Poliænus* gives the ſame Name to a Caſtle ſituated upon this Mountain.

64 *Panope* was a City of *Phocis*; which *Stephen of Byzantium* makes to be the ſame Place as the *Callichoros* of *Homer*. *Ortelius* obſerves, That in the Time of *Livy*, it changed its old Name into that of *Phanotea*. In the Time of *Pauſanias*, it was ſo far declined from what it had been, as to be only a Parcel of irregular Cottages in a Plain. Nevertheleſs the Inhabitants ſtill preſerved their old Privileges, and retained their Right of ſending Deputies to the Dyet of the *Phocæans*, or general Aſſembly of the Province. This City muſt have bordered on *Bœotia*, ſince it was computed to be but a little League from *Chæronea*.

65 *Lebadea* ſtood between Mount *Helicon* and *Chæronea*, and was formerly one of the moſt famous Cities of *Bœotia*, on account of the Oracle of *Jupiter Trophonius*, which we have deſcribed Vol. 4. p. 494. Note 53.

66 According to *Strabo*, there were anciently ſeven Rivers that bore this Name. One in *Attica*, which has been already ſpoken of; a ſecond which roſe in *Phocis*, and watered a ſmall Canton of *Bœotia*, which is that here meant; a third in *Crete*; a fourth, in the Territory of *Argi*; a fifth, in that of *Sicyon*; a ſixth, in the Iſland of *Scyros*; and a ſeventh, by the City of *Apollonia*, in *Macedon*.

67 *Plutarch* makes the *Aſſus*, a little River, which runs into the *Cephiſus*, to riſe at the Foot of Mount *Hedylium*.

68 They were probably ſo called, becauſe their *Bucklers* were of *Braſs*.

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After this Diſappointment of a Poſt which he thought of the utmoſt Conſequence, *Archelaus* changed his Courſe, took the Road to *Eubœa*; and thought it neceſſary, to facilitate his Paſſage, to take *Chæronea*[69]; but there happened to be ſome *Chæroneans* in *Sylla*'s Army, and they prevailed on him not to abandon their City to the Mercy of the Barbarians; and he ſent thither a *Legionary Tribune*, who reached it before *Archelaus*, and put it into a Condition to ſuſtain a Siege. So that the *Aſiaticks* came too late. Nevertheleſs, *Archelaus* encamped in a Valley ſurrounded with Rocks, and covered on the ſide of the City, by an higher and ſteeper Hill than the reſt, called *Thurium*; and when he had ſeized this Poſt, and placed ſome Troops there, he thought himſelf inacceſſible. On the other Hand, *Sylla* was well pleaſed to ſee his Enemies hide themſelves from him, and ſecure themſelves in inacceſſible Places. He thought this a good Omen of Succeſs in the reſt of the Campaign; and indeed the very Situation of the Barbarians promiſed him certain Victory. Nothing hindered him from falling upon them immediately, but their Poſt on Mount *Thurium*; and whilſt he was in ſome Perplexity, to find Means to diſpoſſeſs them, *Ericius*, *Homoloicus*, and *Anaxidamus*, three Citizens of *Chæronea*, came and offered him to conduct a Body of *Romans* to the top of the Hill, by private Ways. The *Pro-Conſul* gave them a Detachment under the Command of [70] *Hirtius*; and kept his Army ready formed to make the beſt uſe of this Expedition, by falling on the Barbarians as ſoon as their Men ſhould be driven from this Eminence. The *Roman Manipuli*, under the Conduct of their Guides, came ſo unexpectedly to the top of *Thurium*, that they ſurprized the *Aſiaticks*, and ſtruck them with a Panick. They thought themſelves ſurrounded by all *Sylla*'s Army, and ſome threw themſelves down the Precipice; others fled in ſuch haſte, that they wounded one another with their Darts; and the reſt were put to the Sword by the *Romans*, who gave them no quarter. They are ſaid to have loſt 3000 Men in this Action; and this Loſs was a Prelude to a much more important and deciſive Engagement.

§. XXIV. When *Archelaus* ſaw all *Sylla*'s Army marching towards him, he drew out his *Phalanxes*, in haſte, but they were put into Diſorder by the Troops that fled from Mount *Thurium*; and then he was ſenſible of the Inconvenience of his Situation. An uneven Ground, embarraſſed with Rocks, and divided by Mountains, which formed narrow winding Paſſes, was very improper for a large Body of Cavalry, in which his main Strength conſiſted. Beſides, in this rough and ſteep Place, his Chariots armed with Scythes, which often did terrible Execution, were uſeleſs. The *Aſiatick* General, however, reſolved to oppoſe the firſt Efforts of the *Roman Legions* with his Horſe only; but they being confined to too narrow a Ground, and unable to make a large Front, fought faintly. Then he ſent out his formidable Chariots, which were the dernier Reſort of the *Aſiatick* Armies; and as they owed their Effect to the Swiftneſs of their Motion, and the Ground here was ſuch that they could advance but ſlowly, the *Romans* laughed at them. They ſaw them coming, and opening their Ranks let them paſs through them, without touching them. This was, for ſome conſiderable Time, a Matter of great Diverſion for the *Legionaries*, who numbered the Chariots as they came, and counted them as ſo much Gain to themſelves, and ſo much Loſs to the Enemy; and their Gaiety was an happy Preſage of the compleat Victory that enſued.

App. in Mithridat.

Indeed, the firſt Engagement with the Cavalry, and the Attack of the Chariots, was no better than ſkirmiſhing; and if *Archelaus* had kept cloſe in his Camp the *Romans* would not have attempted to force it. But the Shame of leaving the Plain, before an Army inferior in Number, and the natural Pride of the *Aſiaticks*, led their General to his Deſtruction. He poſted a Body of 5000 Slaves, whoſe Hopes of Liberty made them fight, to prevent the *Romans* entering into a narrow Paſs; and they preſenting their Pikes, by way of Rampart before them, ſtood immoveable. The *Romans* at this Sight merrily ſaid, That they found the Feaſt of *Saturnalia* was come, when Slaves were equal to their Maſters; and then, beginning a furious Attack, endeavoured to ſtrike aſide the Pikes with their Swords, and come to a cloſe Fight with them. But they made ſo much better Reſiſtance than was expected, that the Infantry of the *Romans* could not break their *Phalanx*. *Sylla* therefore ordered his Bow-men

Plut. in Sylla.

69 Vol 4. p. 163. Note 189.

70 *Plutarch* calls him *Gabinius*. He was a *Legionary Tribune* in *Sylla*'s Army.

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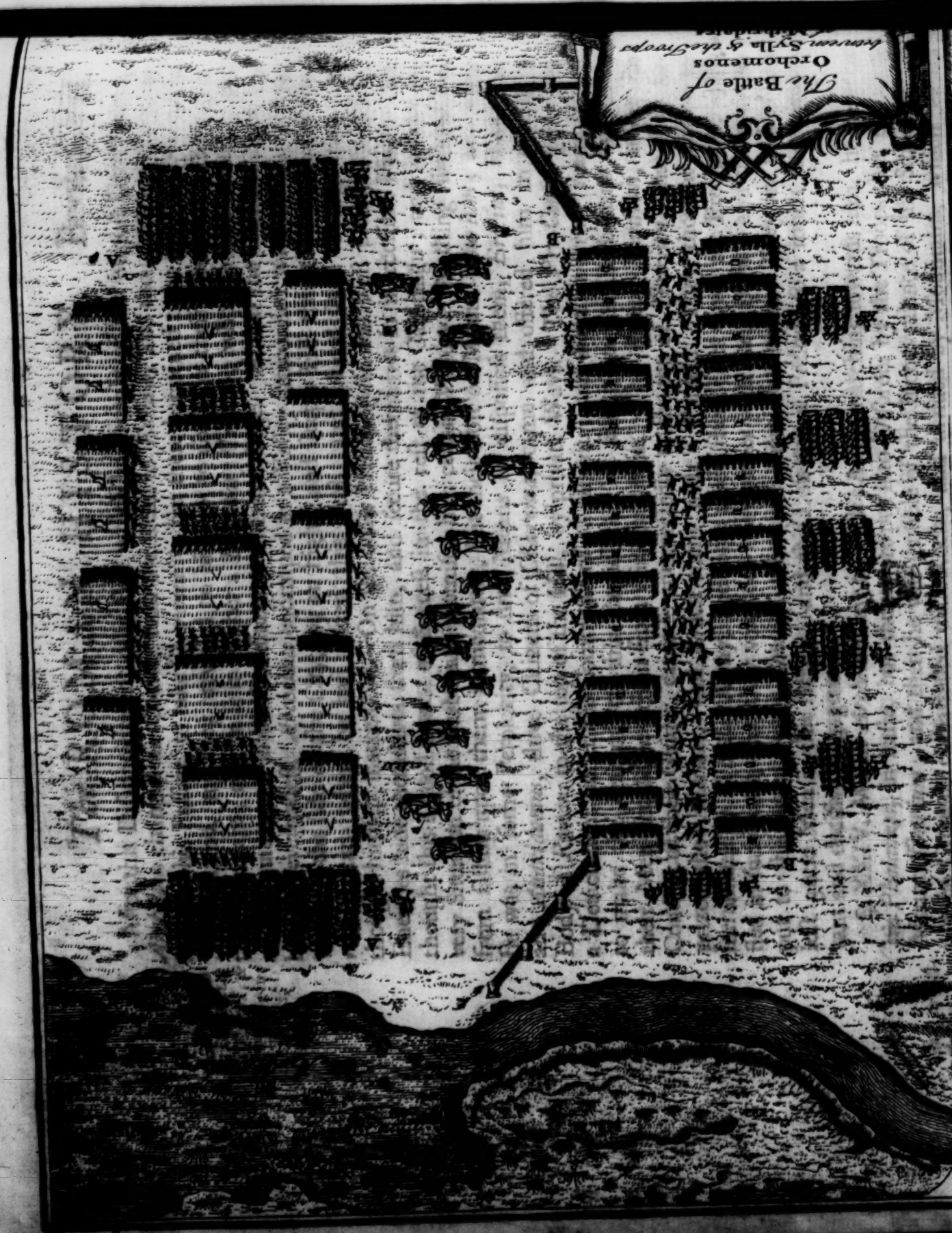
The Battle of Orchomenos between Sylla & the Asiatic troops

The Battle of Cheronea
Cheronea

and Slingers to attack it, and these with the Multitude of their Stones and Darts, put them into disorder. And then *Archelaus* first ordered his Infantry to move, and a great Action followed, to which all that had already passed, was but the Prelude. After the Rout of the Slaves, the Dispute became more serious.

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The *Roman* General had given the Command of his right Wing to *Galba*[71], and *Hortensius*, two General Officers; and that of his left to *Muræna*; and commanded in the Center himself. *Archelaus* began the Attack on the right of the *Romans* in Person, at the Head of his numerous Cavalry, whilst his Infantry widened, in order to flank the *Roman Manipuli*; and the first onset of the Barbarians was so terrible, that their Cavalry forced *Hortensius* and *Galba* to make an extraordinary Motion. For fear of being surrounded they drew up in a Circle, and faced every Way. Their Danger was great; and this Evolution drew *Sylla* from the Center, to relieve the attacked. He flew thither with great Rapidity, and his march surprized *Archelaus*. By the Cloud of Dust he saw rise in the Plain, the *Asiatick* General concluded that *Sylla* was coming; and the fear of this, made him change his Post, and advance towards the left of the *Romans*. *Taxiles* joined him with his *Chalcaspides*, and they both fell on the Body commanded by *Muræna*. This Motion kept *Sylla* a little in suspence, whether he should relieve *Muræna*, or continue in his right; but he was soon determined. He detached *Hortensius* to *Muræna*; re-established his right Wing himself; and then returned to the Center; and as soon as he drew near the Place where *Archelaus* and *Taxiles* were engaged, the *Romans* no longer doubted of Success.

App. in Mithridat.
Plut. in Sylla.

Though he, with great Presence of Mind, sent sometimes Horse, and sometimes Foot to *Muræna*, as occasion required, he was at last obliged to go himself to the left, where was the Heat of the Battle. But when he arrived, *Muræna* had already broken the Enemy, who began to be routed; and *Sylla* had little more to do, than to pursue the Fugitives, and cover the Plain with their Bodies. The Ground was more disadvantageous to the *Asiaticks* in their Flight, than in their Action. Rocks and narrow Passes were bad Places for the escape of Men who were naturally nimble, and now quickened by the Pursuit. And therefore, though the Slaughter was not great in the Battle, it was terrible after the Defeat. Some of the Barbarians stabbed one another in their Flight; and some ran themselves out of breath, and fell into the Hands of the Conquerors, who spared none. But the greatest Part might have saved themselves in their Camp, if *Archelaus* had not ordered the Gates to be shut. This he did, in hopes of forcing them to rally; and the Wretches in vain begged their Companions not to deny them a Retreat. Notwithstanding their Supplications, they were left to the Mercy of the *Roman* Soldiers, who butchered them without Pity; and when the most desperate would willingly have defended themselves, they could find neither Officers, nor Colours. Some were dispersed, others had thrown away their Standards to make them the more nimble for flight; and at last, the *Asiatick* General, whose natural Severity had hitherto appeared in his want of Pity, was led by some remains of Compassion, to discover altogether as much Imprudence.

When he saw the Blood of his Soldiers running in Streams, he ordered the Gates of the Camp to be opened; not considering that this ill-timed Compassion would be the Destruction of the few who were safe within his Trenches. Besides that the greater Part of those who endeavoured to enter were stifled or wounded by the *Romans*, the Enemy who pursued them close, Sword in Hand, entered with the Fugitives, and the *Legionaries* seizing the Gates, renewed the Slaughter there. In short, *Sylla* became Master of the Camp, plundered it, and spent the Night in it. Of an Army of 120000 Men, there were scarce 10000 left, with their Leader; and he shut himself up in *Eubœa*, rather to act the Part of a Robber than a General there. Whilst on the other hand, the Account given us of the Number of the dead, on the side of the *Romans*, is very surprizing, and could scarce be believed, if it were not attested by all the Ancients. They say, That there were only fifteen *Romans* found killed, as was imagined, on the Field of Battle; and That three of them recovered themselves so as to be able to return to the Camp. An astonishing Piece of good Fortune, which would have been sufficient itself to have denominated *Sylla*, the *fortunate*, if his constant Successes had not already done it. Nevertheless it must be confessed, That his present Victory was far from being wholly owing to *Fortune*. He was much more

Plut. in Sylla.

[71] *Plutarch* in his *Life of Sylla*, calls him *Gallus*, and not *Galba*.

indebted

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indebted for it to his own Valour, Experience, and good Conduct, than to Chance. However, he expreſſed his Gratitude to the Gods, by the [72] Offering he made to *Mars*, *Victory*, and *Venus*, of all the Arms of the vanquiſhed. He ordered them to be thrown together in an Heap, and with his Robes tucked up after the *Gabian* manner, he ſet fire to it, and made it an Holocauſt. He alſo erected two Trophies, one on the top of Mount *Thurium*, where the Action began; and the other in that Part of the Plain, where *Archelaus* had given way. After this, as he was now Maſter of the Field, he went through all *Greece*, to re-eſtabliſh Order there, and to make the *Greeks* revere the *Roman* Power.

§. XXV. His firſt Care was to ſettle Affairs in *Athens*. He had left this Conqueſt in Diſorder, under the Government of *Curio*. The Tyrant *Ariſtio* was ſtill living there, tho' a Priſoner and loaded with Chains; and he now thought it neceſſary to put in execution the Sentence paſſed upon him. Heaven it ſelf ſeemed to have declared it ſelf againſt this wicked Man; whoſe Life had been one continued Courſe of Treachery, Lewdneſs, and Cruelty. He had been forced to deliver up *Cecropia* for want of Water; but as ſoon as he was gone out of it, a Plenty of Rain fell, and filled the Ciſterns; and this kind of Prodigy made him the more deteſted. As ſoon as *Sylla* returned to *Athens*, he was brought before him, and the General ordered that he ſhould be forced to take Poiſon. This was the Death of him and all his Courtiers; and the moſt conſiderable of the Citizens of *Athens* were carried to *Ceramicos*, and there decimated. And laſtly, *Sylla* took out of the publick Treaſury all the Wealth he could find there; which is ſaid to have amounted to only 40 Pounds Weight of Gold, and 60 of Silver. A poor Supply for a General, who had certainly a War to carry on with *Mithridates*; and probably, a ſecond with *Valerius Flaccus*, who was ſent from *Rome* to diſpoſſeſs him. And leſt his Rival ſhould come immediately and ſurprize him at too great a diſtance from the Place of his landing, *Sylla* drew near to *Theſſaly*, and encamped in the *Bœotian* Fields between *Thebes* and *Elatea*.

At the ſame time, the *Pro-Conſul* ſhewed his Satisfaction at the Conduct of the *Elateans*, and his Diſpleaſure at that of the *Thebans*. The former had ſhut their Gates againſt *Taxiles*, and given the *Pro-Conſul* Time to take *Athens*, by retarding the March of his Enemies. The latter had abandoned the *Roman* Intereſt, and gone over to *Mithridates*. *Sylla* therefore granted Liberty and Privileges to the one, and puniſhed the other. He deprived the *Thebans* of half their Lands; and appropriated the Revenues of the half he had taken, to the Temple of *Apollo* at *Delphi*, and of *Æſculapius* at *Epidaurus*, by way of Satisfaction for the great Treaſures he had taken out of them. He alſo took occaſion to mortify the *Thebans* at the ſame time that he gave their City a fine Entertainment. He aſſembled there the moſt celebrated Muſicians in *Greece*, and propoſed Prizes for the beſt Performers. Theſe Concerts which the Emulation of the Maſters made excellent, laſted for ſome Days, and the ableſt Hands were ſent for from the neighbouring Cities; but no *Theban* was ſuffered to be one of the Judges of the Diſtribution of the Prizes. A ſlight Puniſhment in it ſelf; but very mortifying to ſuch Triflers. *Sylla*'s Deſign in theſe Amuſements, was only to give ſome Repoſe to his Troops; whoſe Affection was very neceſſary for him. He was to guard them againſt the Temptation of deſerting him, and following the Standards of the *Conſul*, whoſe Arrival in *Greece* was hourly expected, tho' delayed from Day to Day.

§. XXVI. At length, according to the Cuſtom of the *Conſuls* who went into the Eaſt, who uſually ſent before them a Squadron of Ships full of *Roman* Soldiers to prepare for their landing, the Harbingers of *Valerius* landed in one of the Ports of *Theſſaly*. But they found the Reputation of *Sylla* ſo well eſtabliſhed in the *Levant*, that they readily choſe to ſerve under him, rather than under the unworthy General, who was

[72] *Plutarch* tells us, That, in order to perpetuate the Memory of this remarkable Victory, *Sylla* erected three Trophies on the Field of Battle, one to *Mars*, another to *Victory*, and the third to *Venus*; and this is confirmed by *Dio Coſſius*, *B.* 42. We likewiſe find theſe three Monuments repreſented on a Medal of the *Cornelian* Family. The Face of it, is A *Sybil*, as the Antiquaries conjecture, alluding to the Surname of *Sylla*, which as we have obſerved, was taken from *Sybilla*. The Vaſe for Sacrifices, and the *Augural* Staff on the Reverſe, point out the *Augurate* and *Pontificate* of *Fauſtus*, who had this Medal ſtruck, in Honour to his Father. To which *Plutarch* adds, that *Sylla* alſo erected two more Trophies on the top of Mount *Thurium*, in Memory of the great Services done the *Roman* Army, by the two Guides *Homoloicus* and *Anaxidamus*. On the Vaſe of them there was a *Greek* Inſcription to this effect: * To the Valour of Homoloicus and Anaxidamus. Theſe were probably the two Trophies repreſented on the preceding Medal.

*See Pl. 14. No. 2.

*See Plate 14. No. 1.

1
L. SVLLA.
IMPER
ITERVM
2
SC
VES
3
S.C. VES
4
SVLA·IMP
5
CN·PISO·PRO·Q·
MAGN
PROCOS
6
Q·PRO·Q·VARRO
MAGN PRO COS
7
M·POBLICI·LEG·PRO·PR·
CN·MAGN·S·IMP
8
ROMA

ROMA
VICTORIA
VICTORIA AVGVSTI
ITERVM
BRITISH MUSEUM

to command them. They came over to the victorious *Pro-Conſul*, and increaſed his Army; and informed him of the preſent State of Affairs at *Rome*. Indeed an End had been put to the Wars and Maſſacres there; but Men's Fears and Reſentments were as ſtrong as ever. *Cinna* was ſole Lord and Maſter. All Orders of Men were enſlaved to him; and the Senate conſiſted only of ſuch as were his Creatures. *L. Marcius Philippus*, and *M. Perperna* [73], the *Cenſors*, were devoted to him. The former had ſtruck out of the Liſt of Senators, one [74] *Appius Claudius*, and many others, only becauſe they were in the Intereſt of the Nobility, and particularly that of *Sylla*. The *Cenſors* had likewiſe made the Brother of this *Valerius Flaccus*, who was ſent into the Eaſt with an Army to diſpoſſeſs the *Pro-Conſul*, *Preſident of the Senate*; and laſtly, had made a *Luſtrum*, in which they had counted no more than 400063 *Citizens*, in a Condition to bear Arms. The only publick Work they did, was repairing the Aqueducts of *The Marcian Water*, which had been quite ſtopped, during the civil Wars. The *Roman Knights*, the Receivers of the publick Money, undertook this great Work by their Direction.

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The *Quæſtors* alſo were, according to *Sylla*'s Information, wholly in the Intereſt of his Enemies. The *Prætor Romanus* was one *Marius Gratidianus*, the adopted Son of the great *Marius*; whoſe Ambition led him to ſurmount the ſingle Difficulty that remained in his Way to the *Conſulate*. He wanted only to gain the Affections of the People by ſome ſignal Action, and found a fair Opportunity for it. During the Troubles, the *Roman* Money had been debaſed, either by the Knavery of the *Quæſtors*, who took care of the Coinage, or the Art of others who clipped it; and the *Tribunes of the People* were deſirous of providing a Remedy for this Evil. In order to give the more Weight to the Law they intended to make, concerning an Affair of ſuch Importance, they took the *Prætors*, and among the reſt *Gratidianus*, into their Council on this occaſion; and when they had compleated the Draught of it, they agreed not to report it to the People, till the Afternoon. But when the *Tribunes* and other *Prætors* were gone to their Houſes, *Gratidianus* went directly to the *Comitium*, aſſembled the People, and communicated to them the Law, which they received with the greateſt Applauſes. By this means he acquired all the Honour of it; and the People followed him home in Crowds, lighted Torches, burned Perfumes in his Way, and erected Statues to his Honour. The Coin was preſerved from Adulterations; and it was perhaps at this Time, that the *Triumviri Monetales* [75] were firſt appointed, to put a ſtop to the Diſorders of thoſe Managers of the Mint, who made the Coin too light.

Cic. de Offic. L. 3. Plin. L. 33. c. 9.

The *Conſul*'s Harbingers brought *Sylla* likewiſe another Piece of News, in which he was perſonally concerned, and which gave him Pleaſure. Young *Pompey*, who had given Marks of his future Grandeur, in his Father's Life-time, ſeemed more attached than ever to the ſenatorial Party. The deſigned Injury which gave him a fair Opportunity to declare againſt *Cinna*'s Faction, turned to the young Hero's Honour. Soon after the Death of his Father, he was accuſed of embezelling the publick Money. Judges were appointed to try him, and the *Prætor Antiſtius*, who always adhered to the beſt Side, and was privately a Friend to *Sylla*, was choſen by Lot, to be the Preſident of the Court. The whole Accuſation was this; That after the taking of *Aſculum*, *Pompeius Strabo* had applied the Spoils of it to his own Uſe, and not accounted for them to the publick Treaſury: and the Son was made anſwerable for the Rapines of his Father. But young *Pompey* had already done the publick Juſtice, and reſtored to the Treaſury the chief of the Effects which old *Pompeius* had aſſumed to himſelf. He had alſo given the *Prætor* Information of the Robberies of his Father's Secretary, and got him condemned. All he had reſerved for himſelf out of thoſe Rapines, was ſome curious Books, and ſome Nets for Hunting; and theſe being of little Value, it appeared to be a malicious Proſecution. *Cinna* was now abſolute, and could not forgive the Son, the Oppoſition his Father had made againſt him, when he was endeavouring to make himſelf Maſter of *Rome*; and therefore he was thought to be at the bottom of the Affair. Two

Plut. in Pomp.

Cic. in Brut.

73 *Pliny* and *Val. Maximus* obſerve, That *Marcius Perperna* ſurvived all the Senators he aſſembled the Day he was elected *Conſul*, that is, in the Year of *Rome* 661; and That of all thoſe whom he aſſembled when *Cenſor*, only ſeven outlived him. *Pliny* and *Dio* agree, That he lived to be 98 Years of Age, even to the Year of *Rome*, 704.

74 *Cicero* ſays, in his *Third Oration againſt Verres*, That *Marcius Philippus* the *Cenſor* was Nephew to this *App. Claudius*, whom he expelled the Senate without Regard to his Relation to himſelf: Conſequently *Marcius* muſt have been Couſin-German, to the famous *Clodius*, the Son of *Appius*, and *Cicero*'s ſworn Enemy.

75 See Vol. 2.

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Orators offered to defend *Pompey*; *Hortenſius*, who was juſt coming into Vogue; and an old Orator, named *Philippus*, who being aſked why he would undertake the Defence of a Man who was hated by *Cinna*; replied, That *it was but juſt, that old* Philip *ſhould ſhew an Affection for young* Alexander. But when the Cauſe came to be tried, tho' *Hortenſius* and *Philip* appeared with Credit, yet *Pompey* himſelf ſpake with ſuch ſuperior Dignity and Grandeur, that he charmed all that heard him. The Preſident eſpecially was ſo much delighted with the Magnanimity, Gracefulneſs, and Politeneſs, of the young Orator, that he offered him his Daughter in Marriage, and ſigned the Contract that very Day. It may therefore well be imagined, that the *Prætor* would not give Sentence to the Diſadvantage of his Son-in-Law; and, when he came to pronounce it, the Secret having taken Air, all the Aſſembly cried out, *Thalaſſio, Thalaſſio!* This was the uſual Cry at Weddings [75]; and the People now intended to ſhew by it, that the God *Hymen* was more concerned in *Pompey*'s Acquittal, than the Goddeſs *Themis* [77].

§. XXVII. This account of the Diſpoſitions of the People at *Rome*, ſhewed *Sylla*, that tho' he had ſtill ſome Friends there, his Enemies had the aſcendant; and he concluded, that the Time was not yet come for his Return thither; nor would be, till he could appear there at the Head of an Army which had been entirely victorious over *Mithridates*. Whereas this Prince, tho' ſtruck with his Loſſes, did not yet deſpair even of maintaining his Conqueſts in *Europe*. The *Greeks*, tho' they pretended to be returned to the *Roman* Party, ſtill kept up an Intelligence with the *Aſiaticks*; and *Archelaus*, in *Eubœa*, waited only for ſome freſh Troops, in order to return to the Continent. Whilſt *Sylla*, on the other hand, wanted Ships to attack him in his *Aſylum*; and *Lucullus*, whom the *Roman* had ſent to *Egypt*, to aſſemble a Fleet there, was not yet returned. All theſe Things gave him Uneaſineſs; but he knew how to diſſemble it. On one hand, the approaching Arrival of *Valerius Flaccus*, who muſt ſoon come, gave him Apprehenſions of having a civil War to carry on, in the Eaſt; and on the other, the new Levies *Mithridates* was raiſing in the Weſt and South of *Aſia*, ſhewed him, that the King of *Pontus* had not given up the War in *Greece*, notwithſtanding his Loſſes. Whilſt he was perplexed with theſe Reflections, News came to him, at [78] *Melittæa* in *Theſſaly*, That *Mithridates* had ſent into *Eubœa*, a new Army of 80000 Men, under the Command of *Dorylas*; That this mighty Body had croſſed over to the Continent, and were already in Poſſeſſion of *Bœotia*; and That he had loſt almoſt all the Fruits of his Conqueſts. *Plut. in Sylla.* Upon this, he inſtantly marched to meet the new General, who proudly flattered himſelf with the Defeat of the *Roman Legions*, whoſe Valour he had not experienced; and ſo great was his Confidence, that *Archelaus* in vain endeavoured to diſſuade him, from hazarding at firſt a general Action.

Nevertheleſs, *Archelaus* did not deſert *Dorylas*, but reſolved to ſhare his good, or ill, Fortune. There was a Report that the two Generals were jealous of each other, and that the old could not without Concern ſee the Succeſs of the new: And indeed the Event gave room for Suſpicion, that *Archelaus* betrayed his own Party, for fear *Dorylas* ſhould triumph over an Enemy whom he could not conquer. However, theſe were the choiceſt of *Mithridates*'s Troops, that were in this formidable Army of *Aſiaticks*, and *Sylla* came and encamped his *Romans* within reach of them, near Mount [79] *Tilphoſſion*,

76 See Vol. 1. p. 34.

77 *Juſtice* had the ſame Honours among the ancient Pagans, as other Virtues and Vices. The *Greek* Poets firſt deified her, and called her *Themis*; afterwards, they formed her Hiſtory out of their own Imaginations, and according to their own Humours. Some married her to *Jupiter*, in *Macedon*, and ſaid that by this Marriage ſhe had three Daughters, *Law*, *Peace*, and *Juſtice*, who came to dwell among Men. Tho after all, this fabulous Hiſtory was perhaps only deſigned for an Allegory, to ſhew, That the ſupreme Being is the Arbiter of our Fate; and That if we would enjoy the Happineſs of Peace and Tranquillity, we muſt conform ourſelves invariably to the Laws of ſtrict Juſtice. Others ſay, ſhe deſcended from the *Titans*, and give her what Genealogy they pleaſe. They alſo make her to have reigned in *Theſſaly*, where ſhe governed the People with ſo much Wiſdom and Prudence, that ſhe deſerved of them thoſe divine Honours, which they payed her after her Death. To which they add, That being skilled in Divination, and the Knowledge of the Stars, ſhe uttered the firſt Oracles, ſuch as that which *Ovid* aſcribes to her, after *Deucalion*'s Flood. From whence it was, that *Apollo*, when he publiſhed his Predictions, was ſaid, to perform the *Office of Themis*. *Euſebius* has confounded this Goddeſs with *Carmenta* the Mother of *Evander*, whoſe Oracles were held in Veneration by the *Romans*.

78 There were two Cities of this Name in *Greece*, one in *Theſſaly* which is here ſpoken of; and the other in *Achaia*, which is mentioned by *Thucydides*.

79 The Ancients, particularly *Pauſanias*, *Strabo*, and *Suidas*, mention this Mountain. At the Foot of it ran the Fountain *Tilphoſſa*, to which old *Tireſias*, when oppreſſed with Thirſt and Fatigue, came to drink. But the Water was ſo cold, that it chilled his Blood,

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phoſſion, in *Bœotia*. There *Dorylas* thought proper to feel the Pulſe of the *Roman* General, and try the Valour of his *Legionaries*; and being worſted in ſeveral Skirmiſhes, he immediately came over to the Opinion of *Archelaus*. He readily agreed, that the wiſeſt Method he could take, was to avoid a Battle, and wear out the *Romans* with Expences, in a Country ſo far diſtant from their own. But *Archelaus*, who was probably ſtill jealous, and had more Cunning than his Rival, led him by degrees into the large Plains of [80] *Orchomenos*, a Town of *Peloponneſus*, and artfully ſuggeſted, that this was a proper Place for a Battle. And indeed, there was no Part of *Greece* afforded more convenient room, for the *Aſiatick* Army to extend it ſelf in, for forming its numerous *Phalanxes*, for a free Courſe for their ſcythed Chariots, and for drawing up their numberleſs Squadrons, in which the chief Strength of *Dorylas* conſiſted. It was an open Plain, not incumbered with any Rocks, or ſo much as one Tree; and watered by the River *Melas* [81], which, at a little diſtance from it, fell into muddy Marſhes full of Reeds.

§. XXVIII. *Dorylas* choſe this advantageous Poſt at firſt, only for an Encampment. But, tho' *Archelaus* openly pretended to diſapprove of a Battle, he privately cheriſhed the Deſire *Dorylas* had to offer one. Nay, his publick Diſcourſes themſelves ſtrengthened the Inclinations of his Rival. *Dorylas* aſcribed the Advice he gave not to fight *Sylla*, to Jealouſy. In the mean time, the *Roman* General, who was encamped in the Extremity of the ſame Plain, took proper Meaſures to make this advantageous Ground of no uſe to the Enemy. He dug Ditches in the Plain of 10 Foot long, at certain diſtances; and at the Head of each of theſe Cuts, raiſed a little Fort, to guard it. By this Means, he propoſed to ſhut in the Enemy, and put it out of their Power to extend themſelves on any ſide, except towards the Marſhes. But the *Pro-Conſul* was ſometimes interrupted in his Works, by Skirmiſhes; and particularly by one, which was exceeding fierce. The Barbarians fell with great Fury on the Workmen, and put to flight the *Roman* Soldiers that ſupported them. At this ſight, *Sylla*, in a Fit of Rage, which might have been deemed Raſhneſs, if the preſent State of Things had not required it, flew to the Enemy, and cried out, *Will you deſert me, fellow Soldiers! If ſo, remember, that it was at* Orchomenos, *that the* Legionaries *durſt not follow their General!* At theſe Words, the *Romans* rallied, returned to the Charge, and routed the Barbarians. Then, they continued their Works, and *Sylla* began to promiſe himſelf Victory.

Frontin. Strat. L. 2. c. 3.

Id. L. 2. c. 8.

After theſe firſt Attempts, followed a Battle in form. Although the more celebrated Name of *Archelaus* has made the Hiſtorians almoſt forget that of *Dorylas* on this Occaſion, the latter was the ſuperior Officer in this Campaign, and the two Generals formed their Army in this Order. In the firſt Line, they placed their murdering Chariots, which were to begin the Attack, and put the *Legions* into Diſorder; In the ſecond the *Phalanx*; and in the third, the Auxiliaries, new Levies, and ſome *Italians*, who had fled from *Italy* during the late Wars there. *Sylla*, on the other hand, obſerved none of the Rules uſually followed by the *Romans*, in forming their Troops; but had Regard only to the Place, and preſent Circumſtances of Things. He divided his two firſt Lines into three Bodies, and left wide Openings between them, for the Paſſage of his Horſe, which he poſted in his Rear. He ordered his ſecond Line to fix into the Ground before them, a barricado of Stakes, to ſecure them againſt the ſcythed Chariots; and the firſt Line had Orders to retire, as ſoon as the Chariots came up to them, and fall into the Spaces left in the ſecond Line for their Retreat. And he poſted his

Plut. in Sylla.

Blood, and he died upon the Spot; and the *Thebans*, who attended him in his Flight, erected a Tomb to him there.

80 *Orchomenos* was formerly one of the moſt conſiderable Cities in *Bœotia*. It was famous for the rich Temple the *Greeks* had erected there, in Honour to *The Three Graces*. See Vol. 4.

81 The ancient Geographers mention ſeveral Rivers of this Name, in *Greece*, *Thrace*, and *Aſia Minor*. That here ſpoken of, riſes at the Foot of Mount *Parnaſſus*; and *Pliny* obſerves, That the Wool of the Sheep that fed on the Banks of it, was black. *Plutarch* ſays, it was the deepeſt River in all *Greece*; That it would carry a Boat at its Head; and that about the Summer Solſtice, it ſwelled, overflowed the neighbouring Lands as the *Nile* does in *Egypt*, and produced many Plants like thoſe that grow near the *Nile*; with this difference, that thoſe near the *Melas* bore no Fruit. To which he adds, That after it had run a very ſhort Courſe, the *Melas* diſcharged part of its Waters into marſhy Grounds; and the reſt into the *Cephiſus*, a little farther on, in a Place where grow Canes fit to make Flutes. *Strabo* ſays, *B.* 9, That the Earth having opened near *Orchomenos*, the River *Melas* left its natural Bed, and overflowed the Territory of *Haliartus*. There it formed a Lake, or great Marſh, which *Plutarch* mentions. And whether its Waters ran off through ſubterranean Paſſages, or were entirely ſwallowed up by the neighbouring Lake; *Strabo* adds, That this River is loſt.

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App. in Mithridat.

Dart-men and Slingers, at the ſides of this Fence of Stakes, to frighten the Horſes, and keep off the Chariots with their Darts and Stones.

As ſoon as the Trumpets ſounded, the Chariots ſet out, with as much Swiftneſs as the Voices and Whips of the Drivers could give them; and upon this, the firſt Line of the *Romans* inſtantly diſappeared, and covered themſelves with the Palliſades the ſecond had fixed. Then the light-armed Troops threw a Shower of Darts on the Horſes and Chariots; and ſome of them were entangled and hung in the Stakes, others turned back on the *Aſiatick Phalangites*, and put them in diſorder. So that the *Romans* would have immediately gained the Victory, if it had not been ſuſpended by the Attack of the barbarian Cavalry. *Sylla* ſuſtained it like a brave Soldier, and at the ſame time gave Orders like a great General. The Battle was confuſed, and the Loſs of the *Aſiaticks* conſiderable. *Diogenes*, the Son-in-Law of *Archelaus*, loſt his Life in it, after he had given Proofs of an extrordinary Valour. At length, the *Aſiatick* Archers, being diſordered by the Chariots, and hard preſſed in Flank, after they had a great while borne the ſhock of the *Legions*, turned their Backs, and recovered their former Ground; and, their Rout producing the like among the *Phalangites*, the Defeat was general. The Loſs of the Barbarians is ſaid to have amounted to 15000 Men.

§. XXIX. After this Victory, *Sylla*'s chief Concern was to prevent the Eſcape of *Archelaus*. He had hitherto made the Iſland of *Eubœa* his Refuge, after any Diſaſter; and his Conqueror was not able to purſue him thither for want of Ships. *Sylla* therefore now poſted Scouts on the Roads to *Eubœa*, and the Coaſts of it, to ſtop him in his Flight. The next Day after the Battle, the *Romans*, to inſult the Enemy, dug a Ditch quite up to the Gate of their Camp. The *Aſiaticks* made a Sally againſt the Pioneers, but were put into Diſorder, and repulſed with Loſs. This new Advantage gave *Sylla* an Opportunity to exhort his Troops, to compleat the Victory of the preceding Day; and he ſaid, *Let us not loſe Time in Works that are more laborious than uſeful! Let us throw aſide the Shovel, take up the Sword; and brave the Enemy on their Ramparts!* Whilſt they were preparing to make an Aſſault, the *Aſiatick* Chiefs, ſeeing the Inſults and Dangers with which they were threatened, ſaid to their Soldiers: *Shall we be defeated in our Trenches as we were in the Plain, notwithſtanding that we are ſuperior in Number? If we could not reſiſt* Fortune *Yeſterday, let us at leaſt puniſh the Raſhneſs of the Enemy to Day!* And at theſe Words ſome of the Barbarians mounted their Ramparts to drive off the *Romans* with their Darts; while the reſt were drawn up in Battalia, within the Camp, in the Form of a *Phalanx*; and *Dorylas* and *Archelaus* ſhared the Command between them.

The *Romans* begun the Attack, with one of thoſe Approaches which the Ancients called *Tortoiſes* [82]. A great Battalion well cloſed, advanced with ſlow Pace to the Foot of the Wall, with their Bucklers over their Heads, to guard them againſt the Darts thrown from the Ramparts; and their Mattocks being ſufficient to open a Fortification of Earth, they ſoon made a large Breach in it. But when this was done, there was a more dangerous Rampart to be broken through within the Entrenchments, which was the Pikes of the *Phalangites*. They were ſo numerous and thick, that the *Legionaries* were terrified, and heſitated when they came to mount their Breach. Till at length *Baſilus*, one of their *Tribunes*, encouraged them more by his Example, than his Words; and when he had leaped into the Camp Sword in hand, the whole *Roman* Army followed him, and fought a Battle there, as in the open Plain. The Camp of the Barbarians was pitched on the Banks of the Lake, into which the River *Melas* diſcharged it ſelf; and the *Legionaries* drove the *Phalangites* into it. How many periſhed in their Tents, before they were forced into the Lake, is not known; but it is at leaſt certain, that *Dorylas* diſappeared. *Archelaus* hid himſelf in a Marſh, and ſo covered himſelf with Reeds, that he was not diſcovered, tho' he continued there two Days. Afterwards, being ready to periſh with Hunger and Fatigue, he by accident found a Bark, which brought him to *Eubœa*, loaded with the Shame of having loſt the fineſt Army his Maſter had. Thus *Sylla* gained a moſt compleat Victory; and in Conſequence of it, all *Greece* was delivered from the Barbarians, and the *Roman* Authority there entirely re-eſtabliſhed. And as the *Pro-Conſul* ſeverely puniſhed the Cities that had gone over to the *Aſiaticks*, by razing *Anthedon* [83], *Larymna* [84], and *Alea* [85], ſo he was li-

82 See See Vol. 2. p. 18. Note 66.

83 *Anthedon* was a City of *Bœotia*, ſituated between *Thebes* and the Iſland of *Eubœa*. *Pliny* gives this Name to a Port in *Peloponneſus*, on the *Saronick Gulph*.

84 *Pomponius Mela* places *Larymna* in *Achaia*, over

beral in his Rewards. He gave *Baſilus* a *Mural Crown* [86], diſtributed other military Rewards to the braveſt, and was profuſely liberal of his Money to all his Troops. It could not now be long e're *Valerius Flaccus* arrived; and it was very neceſſary for him to attach his Soldiers to him, and fix them immoveably in his Service, by his Liberalities.

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The Conqueror's Heart was not at reſt, tho' *Greece* was entirely ſubdued. He daily expected a *Conſular* Fleet, which would bring him as many Enemies as Soldiers. He knew the Orders with which *Valerius* was charged by the Senate were, That he ſhould, as ſoon as he arrived, ſummons him to lay down his Command, and treat him as an Enemy to the Republick if he refuſed. This was in effect, a Decree of Proſcription; and his only Expedient to evade it, was to march directly to *Eubœa*, drive *Archelaus* thence, and then immediately go over into *Aſia*, and attack *Mithridates* himſelf. But the Difficulty was, how to execute this Scheme without Shipping. *Lucullus*, his *Quæſtor*, was not yet returned with any Fleet from *Egypt*, and it was uncertain what was become of him. Nevertheleſs, tho' others might have been diſcouraged by theſe Uneaſineſſes, *Sylla* was ſuperior to them, and took his Meaſures like a great Man. He came into *Theſſaly*, built as many Ships at his own Expence, as might ſerve his Turn in any great Emergency, and there calmly waited among his Troops to whom he was very dear, for ſome happy Iſſue, both of his Quarrels with his own Republick, and of the War he had hitherto ſo happily carried on againſt *Mithridates*.

§. XXX. Indeed, the King of *Pontus* was altogether as reſtleſs at *Pergamus*, as *Sylla* in *Theſſaly*. The ill Succeſſes of his Son *Arcathias*, and of *Taxiles*, *Archelaus* and *Dorylas*, in *Europe*, had diminiſhed his Power, and increaſed his Troubles. Beſides, he was alarmed, at the numerous Armies the *Romans* would have in the Eaſt, as ſoon as the *Conſul Valerius* ſhould appear there. He took it for granted, that the Miſunderſtandings between *Sylla* and his Republick, would not divert this great General from purſuing the Courſe he had begun; and concluded, that the *Conſul* and *Pro-Conſul*, tho' at variance between themſelves, would both agree, in making War upon him. And ſince then, *Sylla* had already deprived him of his Conqueſts in *Europe*, with ſo ſmall a Body of Men; what had he not Reaſon to fear, with reſpect to his Conqueſts in *Aſia*? He well knew the Levity of the *Aſiaticks*; and that nothing but Force had brought them over to him. It was therefore to be expected, that as ſoon as the *Romans* ſhould appear again in their reſpective Countries, their old Attachment to *Rome* would revive, and they would ſhake off the Yoke, as readily as they had ſubmitted to it. Theſe Reflections entered deep into the Mind of the Barbarian King, and led him to take Reſolutions agreeable to his Ferocity. In order to put the *Aſiaticks* out of a Condition to hurt him, he reſolved utterly to deſtroy, or at leaſt grievouſly to oppreſs, them; and the *Gallo-Greeks* fell the firſt Sacrifice to this deteſtable Policy. They were more ſuſpected, and more formidable than the reſt, becauſe braver. He therefore aſſembled all the Lords of *Galatia* at *Pergamus*, with all the Appearance of the moſt ſincere Friendſhip; and the *Tetrarch Deiotarus*, one of the moſt powerful Kings of *Gallo-Greece*, with the reſt, accepted of the Invitation. But notwithſtanding theſe Demonſtrations of Friendſhip, the *Gallo-Greeks* ſuſpected Treachery, and to prevent it, entered into a Plot, againſt the Life of him whom they feared. *Torredorix*, a Lord of one of their Cantons, promiſed to carry *Mithridates* by force, from off his Throne, when he ſhould come to the *Gymnaſium*, to pronounce his Decrees there. But it happened by ſome unknown Accident, that the King did not appear there; ſo that nothing could be done. He ſent for the *Gallo-Greeks* to an Audience; and then they reſolved to fall upon him in a Body, and aſſaſſinate him. But the Plot was diſcovered, and ſixty *Galatian* Lords with their Wives and Children periſhed by the Hands of the common Executioners. Only three eſcaped, among whom was *Deiotarus*, who lived till the Reign of *Julius Cæſar*. *Mithridates* ſeized the Eſtates of all theſe Princes, reduced *Galatia* to a Province, and ſent *Eumachus*, whom *Deiotarus* afterwards drove out, to be Governour of it.

App. in Mithridat. Plut. de Virt. Mulierum.

againſt *Eubœa*; and this Situation agrees with that which *Strabo* and *Pauſanias* give it. According to the two latter Authors, it was a maritime City of *Bœotia*, at the Mouth of the *Cephiſus*. But *Pliny* places it in *Locris*, probably, becauſe it bordered upon that Country.

85 *Alea*, or *Allia*, was near *Anthedon* and *Larymna*; and therefore probably belonged to *Bœotia*.

86 See Vol. 1. p. 290. Note 51; & Vol. 2. of the *military Crowns* the *Romans* gave the valiant.

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The next that ſuffered were the *Ciots*. Some of them had declared for *Sylla*; which was enough for *Mithridates* to take umbrage at the whole Iſland; and he firſt ſent thither *Zenobius*, one of his Favourites, to demand their Children to be given him, as Hoſtages for their Fidelity. Then, under falſe Pretences of their revolting and keeping a Correſpondence with *Rome*, he laid on the Iſlanders a Tax of 2000 *Talents*; and their Regard for their Hoſtages obliging them to ſubmit to this Exaction, the whole was paid. But *Zenobius* chicaned with them about the Weight of their Money; and, under Pretence of calling upon them to make the Sum compleat, but in reality to reduce them to Slavery, he aſſembled them in the Theatre, which he inveſted with Soldiers. Theſe immediately ſeized the chief Inhabitants with their Wives and Children, and afterwards the Artificers themſelves, and forced them to go on board ſome Ships, in order to be ſent to *Colchis*; and that their Iſland might not be long left deſerted, *Zenobius* ſent for Colonies from *Pontus*, and diſtributed among them the Eſtates of the old Inhabitants. But the *Heracleans* had Compaſſion on the *Ciots* their Friends, ſtopped them in their Paſſage, and preſerved them from the Slavery deſigned for them at *Colchis*: and at laſt *Sylla* re-eſtabliſhed them in their old Country.

§. XXXI. Nor were the Orders *Mithridates* gave concerning the *Epheſians*, leſs rigorous; but they oppoſed his Oppreſſions with more Courage than the *Ciots*. *Zenobius* appeared before their City, at the Head of his Army; but the *Epheſians* refuſed to open their Gates to it, tho' ſo numerous. *If* Zenobius, ſaid they, *has any Orders to communicate to us, let him come into the City with a moderate Guard, and communicate them without Noiſe! We honour* Mithridates, *but remember that we are a free People.* Nevertheleſs, the King of *Pontus* was Maſter in *Epheſus*; had made *Philopoemenes*, the Father of *Monimia*, whoſe Beauty and Virtue ſtill captivated his Heart, Governour there; and after ſome Delay, *Zenobius* ſeemed inclined to declare his Maſter's Pleaſure. But the *Epheſians* took it for granted before they knew it, that it muſt be prejudicial to them; and they aſſembled together, caballed, took up Arms, and reſolved to deliver themſelves from Oppreſſion, by the Death of the Favourite. In ſhort, they murdered *Zenobius* in the Night, and in the Morning appeared upon the Ramparts, as if reſolved to ſtand a Siege. After the Death of the General, the Army diſperſed; and this Revolt of the *Epheſians* proved very prejudicial to the King. After their Example, *Smyrna* [87], *Colophon*, *Sardis*, *Tralles*, *Hypæpene* [88], and *Meſopolis* [89], ſhook off his Yoke. Indeed he recovered and puniſhed ſome of theſe Cities; but their Revolt made him at laſt change his Conduct. Inſtead of going on to oppreſs the *Greek* Cities in *Aſia*, as he had at firſt reſolved, he reſtored them to perfect Liberty. Nay, he declared, that even the Slaves themſelves ſhould have their Share of this univerſal Freedom. Such was the ſelfiſh Policy of a King, who was naturally inhuman. He hoped, by theſe Benefactions, to gain himſelf many Friends, and ſupport his Faction on the Coaſts of *Aſia*, againſt the Arms of the *Romans*.

But he was hated in his own Family, as much as in the conquered Cities; and his greateſt Confidents plotted againſt his Life. Some of theſe Plots were diſcovered to him, by thoſe very Perſons who had the chief Hand in them, and had aſſembled the Conſpirators together for that very Purpoſe. This made him ſenſible, that he could have no Dependence on the many *Greeks*, about his Court, whom he honoured with his Confidence; and he was more fully convinced of it, when he heard that 80000 Citizens of *Pergamus* had entered into a Conſpiracy againſt him. He pronounced Sentence of Death upon them, and ordered thoſe of his Houſhold to diſcover, and puniſh the Criminals; and they made a very ill uſe of his Authority. They filled the whole City with Slaughter, and rather took care to revenge themſelves on their own perſonal Enemies, than on thoſe of the King. However, theſe Sights made him diſlike his Reſidence at *Pergamus*; and he reſolved to leave a Country which abounded with Aſſaſſins, and where one Conſpirator was no ſooner executed, but others ſtarted up in his room. He ſet out for *Pontus*, hoping for more Safety and more Reſt, in his old Dominions; and before his Departure, he thoroughly conſidered the State of the War which he had undertaken. He had indeed extended his Conqueſts ſo far, that all the Countries which *Rome* had formerly taken from *Antiochus the Great* were become ſubject to

87 See our Accounts of *Colophon*, *Sardis*, and *Tralles*, in the preceding Volumes.

88 *Hypæpene* was probably a City of *Ionia*. The ancient Geographers ſeem not to have known either its Name or Situation.

89 *Appian* is the only Author that mentions *Meſopolis*; and from the little he ſays of it, we infer, that it ſtood in *Ionia*, or one of the Provinces, that bordered upon it.

him. But at the Time when he had ſubdued them, *Italy* was embroiled with Civil Wars. Whereas, ſince ſhe had begun to recover herſelf, ſhe had ſent a very formidable General againſt him, who was ſo very brave and fortunate, that though he had ſent ſuch an Inundation of *Aſiaticks* to oppoſe him, as had in a manner unpeopled his vaſt Dominions, *Sylla* alone had deſtroyed in *Greece* above 200000 of his Subjects. What then was he to expect, when *Valerius* ſhould land his new *Legions* in *Aſia!*

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L. Cornelius Cinna, & L. Valerius Flaccus, Conſuls.

§. XXXII. Theſe Conſiderations ſo ſtruck him, that his Heart inclined to Peace; and he ordered *Archelaus* to treat with *Sylla*, and make a Peace with him, upon his own Terms. *Archelaus* obeyed; but before he durſt venture on an Interview, he ſounded the Inclinations of *Sylla* by another *Archelaus*, who was a Merchant of 90 *Delium*. The *Pro-Conſul*, as may well be imagined, did not decline a Treaty: the bare Propoſal of a Peace pleaſed him. This would put him out of all fear of the Arrival of *Valerius*; and, as he flattered himſelf, procure him an eaſy Victory over that *Conſul*, who was charged with the Orders and Vengeance of *Cinna*. The Place he appointed for the Conference, was a Part of the Sea, off *Delium*; and there he met *Archelaus* in a Bark, in ſight of the two Squadrons that had brought them. The *Aſiatick* General began thus. *If* Mithridates *has taken up Arms againſt* Rome, *it ought to be imputed to the unjuſt* Prætors, *your Predeceſſors in* Aſia, *whoſe Violences forced him to it. You have indeed conducted yourſelf with great Honour in* Greece; *and becauſe ſurrounded with Glory, are therefore perſecuted by the Tyrants who have uſurped the Government in* Rome. Mithridates *has nothing more at Heart than to re-eſtabliſh you in the Honours which you have deſerved, and from which your Republick excludes you. He offers you Ships, Men, and Money, to carry you to* Rome, *to triumph over your Enemies there; and deſires you would propoſe your own Terms.* *Plut. in Sylla. App.*

To this *Sylla*, after a ſhort Recollection, replied. *If* Mithridates *has been injured by our* Prætors, *he ought to have complained to the Republick by his Ambaſſadors. Whereas, he has poſſeſſed himſelf of all* Aſia, *and* Greece, *by Violence; (not to mention the Maſſacre of our* Romans *by his Order, the Vengeance of which I leave to the Gods,) and is now terrified into a Repentance for what he has done. What then can we do more for him, than forgive him what is paſt, if his future Conduct ſhall convince us, that the Change is real? But have we any reaſon to think it is ſo? He only deſires to amuſe us with Delays. I refer it to yourſelf to judge, who have had the greateſt Share in his Confidence. You have too great a Mind,* Archelaus, *not to have often groaned under the weight of the Slavery, in which this imperious Maſter keeps you. Dare then to be free, and reign in his Place.* Sylla *and his Republick offer to ſupport you. Archelaus*, who was a Man of Honour, was equally alarmed at the Suggeſtion of becoming a Traitor, or an Uſurper, and anſwered; *I am not come to beg a Crown, but to treat of a Peace. Upon what Terms will you make one? Upon ſuch,* returned *Sylla* haughtily, *as the Conquerors ſhall think fit to give you.* This ſtruck *Archelaus* dumb, and he could only teſtify his Surprize and Grief, by his Silence. Upon which *Sylla* added, *The Terms are theſe. Let* Mithridates *deliver up his Fleets, and the Officers that command them. Let him return the Priſoners and Deſerters. Let him re-eſtabliſh the* Ciots, *and other Exiles, in their native Countries. Let him give up all the Kingdoms and Provinces he has conquered in* Aſia. *Let him confine himſelf to his own Dominions, and live quietly there. Let him make Satisfaction to the Nations whom he has injured, and defray the Expence of the War which he has drawn upon himſelf. Upon theſe Terms he may hope for pardon.*

This ſaid, they proceeded to debate on every one of theſe Articles; and at length *Archelaus* agreed, *That his Maſter ſhould reſtore* Bithynia *to* Nicomedes, *and* Cappadocia *to* Ariobarzanes; *That he ſhould withdraw his Troops from all the Coaſt of* Aſia, *and evacuate* Paphlagonia; *and laſtly, That he ſhould pay the* Romans 2000 *Talents, by way of Satisfaction for their Expences.* The *Roman* General accepted the Offer; and *Archelaus*, by way of Preliminary, agreed to deliver up to him, all the Ships *Mithridates* had at Sea. And then *Sylla*, as ſoon as aſſured of a Fleet, was no longer in Pain about the Arrival of *Valerius Flaccus*, or the Decree of the Senate.

90 This was formerly, a little maritime City of *Bœotia*. *Plutarch* ſays, it was famous for a fine Temple which the *Greeks* had built there in honour of *Apollo*.

§. XXXIII.

Year of *ROME* DCLXVII. L. Cornelius Cinna, & L. Valerius Flaccus, Conſuls.

§. XXXIII. Before the Conference ended, a Rumour was ſpread that the *Conſul* ſo long expected, had at laſt landed two *Legions* in the *Levant*. His Arrival had been retarded by Accidents, in his Voyage. As he had not began it till *December*, towards the end of his *Conſulſhip*; he no ſooner got out to Sea, but a Storm overtook him. Some of his Ships had been beaten to pieces; others taken and burnt by the *Aſiatick* Privateers which *Mithridates* had ſent into thoſe Seas; and *Rome* thought it but an ill Omen of the Succeſs of his Enterprize, to be thus attacked by Winds, and Enemies, almoſt in Port. Beſides, the *Conſul* was not a Man, from whom much was to be expected. He had ſcarce any Merit, but that of having ſeconded the Fury of *Marius* and *Cinna* with his own. He was ſordidly covetous, and valued Honours only for what he got by them; and had neither the Valour nor Experience neceſſary for carrying on ſo great an Expedition. This *Cinna* had foreſeen; and had therefore placed immediately under him *Lucius Fimbria*, a young Senator, who during the Civil Wars, had ſignalized himſelf more by his Boldneſs, than his Valour or Conduct. Whilſt *Marius* lived, *Fimbria* had been the Miniſter of his Violences, and had ſhed more *Patrician* Blood with his own Hand, than had been ſpilt by the furious Company of Banditti which *Marius* kept in pay. So that the new General loved nothing but Robbery; and his Lieutenant delighted only in Blood. The one was inordinately covetous, the other inhumanly cruel.

It was probably the Avarice of the *Conſul* that cauſed a Famine which the *Romans* ſuffered on board the Fleet. However, after many Dangers, they at laſt reached the Port of *Byzantium*, a flouriſhing City, on the Confines of *Aſia* and *Europe*: And as ſoon as they landed, a Difference broke out between the *Conſul* and his chief Officer. *Valerius* took up his Lodgings in[91] *Byzantium*, where he lived at eaſe, at the Expence of the Citizens, and left *Fimbria* to take up his Quarters in a Camp, which he pitched near the City. This drew Complaints from the *Legionaries*, whom the Lieutenant General encouraged in their Diſcontents; and thereby made himſelf as agreeable to them, as the *Conſul* was odious. He obſerved to them, That they ſtill continued in Tents, in a very rigorous Seaſon; whilſt their General, who ought to have ſhewn them an Example, was enjoying all the Conveniencies of Life, at the publick Expence; and then the *Legionaries* did not confine themſelves to Murmurs. They were for deſerting, and going over to *Sylla*; but *Fimbria* turned their deſigned Deſertion into a Sedition. He, of his own Authority, without Orders from the *Conſul*, led them from their Camp, to take up their Quarters in the City. An Act, which in the virtuous Ages of the Republick, would have been ſeverely puniſhed; but *Valerius* was very glad to accommodate Matters with *Fimbria*, and bear the Inſults of his audacious Subaltern. The reſt of the Winter was ſpent in continual Quarrels between the *Conſul* and his Lieutenant; and when this was known at *Rome*, *Cinna*, who was ſtill abſolute Maſter there, reſolved to take the Command from *Valerius*, and give it to *Fimbria*.

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§. XXXIV. On *The Calends of January*, *Cinna*, without aſſembling the *Comitia*, declared himſelf *Conſul*, the third Time; and choſe that *Papirius Carbo* to be his Colleague, who had been an Aſſiſtant and Accomplice in his Crimes, and was deemed the moſt deſperate Zealot for *Marius*, and the moſt furious Enemy to the Senate. The other chief Dignities in the Republick were alſo filled with ſuch Men, as were wholly devoted to the Tyrant, who reigned alone in *Rome*. *Publius Cethegus*, *Marcus Lætorius*, and *Cneius Granius*, whom *Sylla* had proſcribed with *Marius*, either uſurped the *Prætorſhip* themſelves, or received it from *Cinna*'s Hands. It may therefore well be imagined, that in ſo unſettled a State, the Nobility, eſpecially *Sylla*'s Friends, were not ſpared; and in ſhort, the whole Face of the Republick was changed. There were no Remains to be ſeen of the old Inſtitutions and wiſe Regulations, which the firſt Republicans had eſtabliſhed. The Laws were ſunk into Contempt; Equity was no more. All Things were governed by Caprice, or the Will of the prevailing Faction. The moſt juſt Oppoſition to the Pleaſure of the lawleſs Men in Power, was inſtantly puniſhed, in the ſevereſt Manner. The Forms of aſſembling the People to paſs Sentence on a *Citizen*, before he was put to death, were not regarded. Juridical Sentences were laid aſide; and *Citizens* condemned and executed, without Trial. The Effects of the rich were ſold to the Tyrants by Auction; and among the reſt,

[91] See Vol. 4. p. 62. Note 69.

Sylla's Lands were put up to ſale, and *Metella* and her Children reduced to want. The Men of Birth and Diſtinction therefore, that were left in the Capital, thought theſe Inſults were no longer to be borne. Good Men looked on *Rome* as a Neſt of Robbers, where it was neither honourable or ſafe for them to continue. They left it in Crowds; and whole Companies of illuſtrious Exiles came voluntarily to *Sylla* for Reſt and Safety. So that his Camp was a kind of *Rome*, and diſplayed more of the Majeſty of the *Roman* Senate and People, than the Capital itſelf. *Metella* and her Children fled alſo to her Huſband, for Bread and Safety; and at the Head of the Senators who were come for refuge, implored his Aſſiſtance, againſt the Oppreſſions of the Tyrants who reigned in *Rome*. But the Time was not yet come for his leaving the Eaſt. The Peace he had agreed to with the Agent of *Mithridates* was not yet ſigned; and it would not have been for his Credit to have left to the *Pro-Conſul Valerius Flaccus*, the Glory of finiſhing an Affair, which he had juſt brought to a Concluſion.

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§. XXXV. In the mean Time, the Miſunderſtandings between *Valerius* and *Fimbria* ſtill continued. The latter omitted no means to gain the Affections of the Soldiers. He connived at their Robberies even in the Territories of Friends, and laughed at the Remonſtrances and Orders of the General. *Valerius* therefore took all Opportunities to mortify him; and in a Diſpute between him, and the *Quæſtor* of the Army, determined it in favour of the latter. Upon this, the warm and audacious Lieutenant threatened his General, to go to *Rome* and complain to *Cinna*. To which *Valerius* proudly anſwered, *Be gone then; and ſince you renounce your Office, I give it to* Thermus, *with the Title of* Pro-Prætor *and with a Right to have* Lictors *and* Faſces. *Fimbria* was very ſenſibly affected with this Blow; and *Valerius* reſolved to ſet ſail with his Fleet, for [92] *Chalcedon*. But no ſooner had he left his Land-Forces under the Command of *Thermus*, and embarked, than the deprived Lieutenant took that Opportunity to raiſe a Tumult. He came to *Byzantium*, and complained to the Soldiers, that the *Faſces* had been taken from him by *Thermus*, whoſe only Title to the *Pro-Prætorſhip* was the *Conſul*'s Nomination; whereas it had been given him, by the Conſent of the *Legions:* And then immediately took away the *Faſces* from *Thermus*, and of his own Authority aſſumed them to himſelf. So great was the Inſolence of this Man, who was formed on the Models of the *Marii*, and *Cinna!* Nor did he ſtop there. He aſſembled the Troops, and inveighed againſt their General with vehemence. *You know*, ſaid he, *the Avarice of* Valerius, *and I aſſure you he is determined to ſacrifice your Lives, or Liberty, to it. He has ſold you all to* Mithridates; *and you will ſoon, either periſh by the Swords of the* Aſiaticks, *or languiſh in Chains, under their King. The Price is agreed on; and he has driven me from him, becauſe he was afraid of my Affection for you. He does not care to have a Man near him, who will defend your Lives.*

Diod. Sic. apud Valeſ. App. in Mithrid.

Whether the Soldiers believed this Charge is not known. If not, they at leaſt thought him better able to conduct a great Enterprize than *Valerius*, and proclaimed him General. *Fimbria*, in return for this great Favour, gave them great Liberties, ſuffered them to plunder the neighbouring Cities, without Diſtinction or Reſerve, and they enriched themſelves by theſe Robberies. The plundered People reduced to Deſpair, came and complained to *Valerius*, at *Chalcedon*. The General immediately returned, croſſed the *Boſphorus* to his Army at *Byzantium*, and when he had reprimanded *Fimbria*, ordered him to reſtore to the Owners the Effects he had taken from them. And then the Subaltern diſplayed his Impudence. He ſlightly excuſed himſelf for having permitted the plunder; but forbad the Soldiers to reſtore their Booty. This Diſpute between the two Chiefs raiſed a Commotion among the Troops, and they all ſided with *Fimbria* againſt *Valerius*. In ſhort, the General was forced to give way, and returned to *Chalcedon*. The Army under the Command of *Fimbria* followed him thither, and in order to eſcape his Fury, the *Pro-Conſul* fled to [93] *Nicomedia*, ſhut the Gates, and put himſelf into a Condition to ſuſtain a Siege, againſt his own *Legions*. *Fimbria* very audaciouſly purſued him, and filled all the Places through which he paſſed with Horror. He left them to the Mercy of his Troops;

92 This City belonged to *Bithynia*, and ſtood on the *Thracian Boſphorus*, which divides *Europe* and *Aſia*. It is now but a ſmall Place, where ſome Remains of its ancient State are ſtill to be found. See Vol. 4. p. 62. Note 69.

93 *Nicomedia*, one of the moſt famous Cities of *Bithynia*, took its Name from one *Nicomedes* who reigned there. It is now called *Schemith* by the *Turks*. See the former Volumes.

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and many Cities were ſacked, and the whole Country laid waſte. At length he arrived at the Gates of *Nicomedia*; and whether the City ſurrendered without Reſiſtance, or was betrayed, he made himſelf Maſter of it. The only Object of his Search was the *Pro-Conſul*, who was found in a Well, and dragged out thence to receive his Death at the Hands of a Subaltern, who had received Favours from him, and therefore ought to have ſhewn a Regard for him. But ſuch is generally the Temper of the factious. The ſame Motive of Intereſt that unites them makes them Enemies, when occaſion offers. And though in the firſt virtuous Ages of *Rome*, ſo monſtrous a Crime would not have eſcaped unpuniſhed, *Cinna*, and his Senate, approved of it; and *Fimbria* was nominated at *Rome*, to be General of the Armies of the Republick in the *Levant*.

Epit. Livian. App. in Mithrid. *Epit. Liv. L. 82. c. 64.*

§. XXXVI. In the mean time, *Sylla* played with the Diviſions of the two Generals, who came from *Rome*, either to deprive him, or make War with him. The Peace agreed on with *Mithridates* left him at liberty to march out of *Greece*, which he had ſubdued; and during this ſhort Interval of Reſt, with reſpect to the *Aſiaticks* and *Romans*, he amuſed himſelf with other Enemies of leſs Conſideration. The *Thracians* had joined in the general Revolt which *Archelaus* had raiſed in the Eaſt of *Europe*; and under Pretence of their Alliance with *Mithridates*, had often made Incurſions into *Macedon*, which was now become *Roman*, and committed Depredations there. Beſides, *Macedon* had but lately been ravaged by *Archelaus* and *Taxiles*, and had not recovered what ſhe had ſuffered by them. *Sylla*, tho' declared an Enemy to the Republick by a Decree, yet ſtill retained the Affection of a *Citizen* for her; and indeed we cannot look upon him as a Rebel to his Country. It is true, he retained the Command of an Army in the *Levant*, contrary to the Inclinations of the Senate at *Rome*, and of *Cinna*, who was now an abſolute Monarch over the *Roman* State. But what Obligation was he under to ſubmit to an uſurped Authority? *Cinna* had taken the *Conſulſhip* by violence, without any juridical Election; and his Senators and *Prætors* were all his Creatures and Vaſſals. And therefore their Decree, who had no Authority to make any, had no force but with Cowards, or ſuch as were not able to reſiſt them. All the right of the Government was, properly ſpeaking, in *Sylla*'s Camp. He was the only Magiſtrate at this Time, who had been inveſted in his Office in a legal Manner. The Senate and People of *Rome* had regularly nominated him General of their Armies in the *Levant*. What right then had *Cinna*, who was himſelf an Intruder, to deprive him of an Employment which had been given him by the People aſſembled in *Comitia*? And as to the Senate, there was a Majority of them in the *Levant*, and they muſt have had at leaſt as much Authority inherent in them, as the timorous few that were left at *Rome*.

Sylla therefore did only what was juſt, in keeping his Poſt; and as he ſtill retained the Sentiments of a true *Roman*, and had regard to the Intereſts of his Republick, he thought himſelf obliged to cover *Macedon* from the Invaſion of the *Thracians*. To this end, he carried the War into the Country of this fierce People; but took care when he left *Greece*, to take *Archelaus* with him. Though the Peace was agreed on, he was afraid the *Aſiaticks* would break through it; and therefore thought it neceſſary to prevail on *Archelaus* to accompany him in his new Expedition. This *Cappadocian* Lord was a Man of true Honour, and very capable of Friendſhip, and the *Roman* General had a ſincere Value for him. Neither Careſſes, nor Favours, were ſpared to induce him to take this Journey; *Sylla* gave him 10000 Acres of Land for his Property in *Eubœa* and with it the Title, of a Friend and *Ally* of the *Roman* People. After this they ſet out, and croſſed *Theſſaly* together, and *Archelaus* happening to fall dangerouſly ſick at [94] *Lariſſa*, *Sylla*, though in haſte to purſue his march, continued with him, and took as much care of him as he could have done of his deareſt Friend. This gave the malicious occaſion to ſay, That there had been an underſtanding between the two Generals, when they made War with one another; and That *Sylla* owed his Victories at *Chæronea* and *Orchomenos* to the Connivance of the *Aſiatick*. But the *Roman* deſpiſed thoſe Slanders; and in order to ſerve his Republick, entered *Macedon*, ſettled the Government of that great *Province*, drove back the *Thracians*, and forced them to keep themſelves within their own Limits.

Plut. in Sylla.

94 See Vol. 3. p. 422. Note 178.

§. XXXVII.

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§. XXXVII. Thus was *Sylla* divided between two Affairs, one of which only indirectly concerned him, whilſt the other was his own Work. At the ſame time that he ſettled the Affairs of *Macedon*, at *Philippi* [95], he continued his Negotiations, in order to compleat the Peace agreed on with *Mithridates*; and this would have been ſooner concluded, if *Fimbria* had not obſtructed it. Nature had indeed endowed this ſeditious *Roman* with ſome Qualities proper to make a good Officer. He had Intrepidity, and that kind of Courage, which is more fit for a Subaltern, than a General. But not being Maſter of his Paſſions, he gave himſelf up to the Sallies of an impetuous Temper, and ſeemed to love War, only for the Pleaſure of ſhedding Blood. He took his Meaſures too haſtily, without any Circumſpection; and had no regard to the publick Good, or indeed to any Thing, but his own Ambition. Had he at all conſulted the Intereſt of his Country, he would have ſeconded *Sylla*, in the Deſign of reconquering *Aſia*. But *Sylla*, who knew his turbulent Diſpoſition, expected that he would turn his Arms againſt *Mithridates*, and renew the War which was in a manner ended. Nevertheleſs it happened, that his Hoſtilities only helped forward the Peace, which he deſigned to prevent; and the Miſchief he intended fell wholly on himſelf. So much inferior was he to *Sylla*, in Conduct as well as true Valour!

As ſoon as he had, by the many Crimes before related, raiſed himſelf to the Command with which *Valerius* had been entruſted, he tranſported his Army to the Coaſts of *Aſia*; and the removal of the War ſoon recalled *Mithridates* to *Pergamus*. There, expoſing his Perſon leſs, and being ſurrounded with fewer *Greeks* than formerly, he endeavoured to provide for the Security of his Conqueſts. *Bithynia* being moſt threatened, he ſent his Son *Mithridates* thither; and the Prince being young, he joined with him the *Taxiles* before-mentioned, and *Menander*, and *Diophantes*, three Officers of great Experience. *Fimbria* turned his Arms that way, and the firſt Efforts of young *Mithridates* a little diſconcerted the audacious *Roman*. But at laſt the latter got the aſcendant, and drove the Enemy from Poſt to Poſt. *Fimbria* ſhewed ſome Addreſs and Induſtry, as well as Courage, in the Operations of this Campaign. His Cavalry being inferior to that of the *Aſiaticks*, he always dug three Trenches at a proper diſtance before his Camp, one in front, and one in each flank. By this Means, he kept off the Enemy from inſulting him in his Camp; or generally drove them back with loſs, if they ventured to approach it. He alſo, as occaſion offered, made a ſkilful uſe of the Advantages of his Situation. He one Day poſted himſelf ſo, as to have the River [95] *Rhyndacus*, on the Confines of *Bithynia* and *Myſia*, between him and the Enemy; and at a Time when they did not expect him, the Seaſon being very rainy, he croſſed the River, and made a great Slaughter of them. This Blow terrified young *Mithridates*, who loſt the beſt Part of his Troops; and then he returned for Safety to his Father at *Pergamus*.

App. in Mithridat. Memnon.

Front. Strat. L. 3. c. 17.

But the Father himſelf was no longer ſafe in his Capital. The victorious *Fimbria*, warmed with his firſt Succeſs, was approaching towards it. This could not but cauſe great Confuſion in a Court which did not expect it; and at the ſame Time, it was a ſhameful Thing to ſuffer the *Romans* to be ſo near, and not march out againſt them. The King therefore went himſelf, at the Head of a few Troops, the remains of his ſhattered Armies; but the *Aſiaticks* were affrighted at the Sight of the *Legions*, and diſperſed without fighting. *Mithridates*, for fear of being beſieged in *Pergamus*, fled to [97] *Pitane*; and the *Roman* Army inſtantly following him, had like to have taken him in his Retreat. At leaſt, *Fimbria* flattered himſelf, that the King, who had ſhut himſelf in there, could not eſcape him. *Pitane* was a maritime City of *Æolis*, on the Confines of *Phrygia*, and not very ſtrong; but its Communication with the Sea opened a way for the King's Retreat. However, by an unexpected Piece of good Fortune, it happened, that *Lucullus* now appeared off the Place, with the Fleet he had aſſembled together on the Coaſts of the *Mediterranean*. We have before obſerved, That *Sylla* had ſent this Officer, who was his *Quæſtor*, and faithful Friend, to get a Fleet of

Plut. in Lucullo.

95 *Pliny* and *Ptolomy* place the City of *Philippi* on the Confines of *Thrace*; and *Appian* pretends it was firſt called *Crenides*, and then *Datum*. Afterwards it changed its old Names, to take a new one from *Philip*, who defended it againſt the Invaſion of the *Thracians*. It ſtood 12 Miles from the Coaſts of the *Ægean* Sea; and it is now almoſt buried in its Ruins.

96 This River, riſes in the Pool of *Artynia* near Mount *Olympus*; waters Part of *Myſia*, a Province of *Aſia Minor*; and then falls into the *Propontis*.

97 The ancient Geographers mention ſeveral Cities of this Name; one in *Peloponneſus*, near *Sparta*, and the River *Eurotas*; another on the Eaſtern Coaſt of *Macedon*; a third, in *Myſia*; and a fourth, which is here ſpoken of, on the Frontiers of *Æolis* and *Troas*, near the *Gulph of Smyrna*.

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the *Allies* of the *Roman* People; and That tho' he was honourably received by the King of *Egypt*, he could obtain no Galleys of him. But he afterwards fell down on the Iſland of *Rhodes*; joined the *Rhodian* Fleet, to the Ships he had picked up in his way; made a Deſcent on the Iſlands of *Cos* [98] and *Cnidus* [99]; engaged the Iſlanders to ſhake off the Yoke of *Mithridates*; had ſet the *Ciots* and *Colophonians* at Liberty; and was now cruiſing to clear the Seas of the Pyrates, which ſwarmed in them, ſince the Wars between the *Romans* and *Mithridates*.

§. XXXVIII. *Fimbria* therefore addreſſed himſelf to him, and intreated him to block up the Port of *Pitane* with his Fleet. He informed him, by his Meſſengers, That he had got the proud *Mithridates*, that Enemy to the *Roman* Name, ſafe in his Toils, and had cut off all Means of his eſcaping by Land; and That it would be as eaſy for *him* to prevent his Flight by Sea: and therefore deſired him, not to decline doing his Country that Service, which *Fortune* and the other Gods had put in his Power. But the very Name of *Fimbria* was deteſted by all Men of Honour. The horrid Violence he had offered to his General, had made him execrable. Beſides, *Lucullus* was engaged with *Sylla*, and could do nothing, without his Orders. Upon theſe Conſiderations therefore, he preferred Duty and Honour, to the Glory he might have acquired by taking *Mithridates* Priſoner, and putting an End to the War in *Aſia*. In ſhort, he diſappeared, left the King an open Retreat from *Pontus*; and the Monarch taking the Rout of *Leſbos*, retired for Refuge to *Mitylene*.

In the mean time, *Fimbria* beſieged *Pitane*, took it, and became Maſter of the Field; and then gave a full courſe to his own Cruelty, and the Avarice of his Soldiers. It was Matter of Diverſion to him, to diſmantle and deſtroy Cities, or at leaſt to extort great Sums from them, and reduce them to extreme Want. Such Acts of Inhumanity are recorded of him, as are paſt all Belief. He is ſaid to have crucified the unfortunate *Aſiaticks*, without having any Crime to lay to their Charge, or propoſing any Service to the Publick by it; or indeed having any other Motive, than the Pleaſure of ſeeing human Blood ſpilt. One Day, after ſome Croſſes had been erected for the Execution of ſome innocent Perſons whom he had condemned to die, and who were, as uſual, firſt to be ſcourged; he was told, that there were more Croſſes erected than there were Perſons to ſuffer. To which the barbarous Wretch replied, *That they ſhould not be uſeleſs*: and immediately ordered his *Lictors*, to ſeize ſuch of the Perſons preſent, as came firſt to their hands, and crucified them. *Cyzicus* [100] alſo felt the Effects of his Inhumanity; but no City ſuffered more by it, than *Ilium* [101], which had been raiſed out of the Aſhes of old *Troy*, the Mother of *Rome*. This *Roman* was to this new City of *Troy*, what *Agamemnon* had been to the old, only with leſs Pity. After he had ſacked all the Cities of *Phrygia*, he appeared before this Place; and the *Ilians* judging of the Treatment they were to expect by the Fate of their Neighbours, raſhly ſhut their Gates againſt him, and prepared to ſtand a Siege. At the ſame time, they ſent a Deputation to *Sylla*, to declare that they ſubmitted themſelves to him, and would receive the *Roman* Yoke, from none but himſelf. *Sylla* was ſtill as far off as *Macedon*; and ſent Letters from thence to *Fimbria*, to forbid him to touch a City, which had ſurrendered to him, and put it ſelf under the Protection of *Rome*. But the *Pro-Conſul*'s Prohibition only exaſperated the proud *Fimbria* the more. He increaſed the Number of his Machines before the Place, and made himſelf Maſter of it in eleven Days. When he had made a Breach, he ſaid, *Surely the* Ilians *will receive us into their City as* Romans. *This is the Place whence we originally came, the Parent of the Colony from which we all have ſprung*: And after this malicious Sneer, which foreboded ill to the People, he gave full vent to his Fury. The Soldiers killed all they found without Diſtinction; and the City ſuffered more than when it was firſt deſtroyed. Not an Edifice, whether common or ſacred, was ſpared. The famous Temple of *Minerva*, which had been rebuilt, was again reduced to Aſhes; and with it, a Multitude of unfortunate People who had fled to it for Sanctuary. We are alſo told, that under the Ruins of a little Temple which was demoliſhed, was found the famous *Palladium*, which the *Greeks* were ſaid to have carried to *Argos*, and which the *Romans* boaſted of having received from *Æneas*. *Fimbria* was very merry on this pretended tutelary Goddeſs; and to ſhew the Vanity of her

App. in Mithridat.

98 See Vol. 4. p. 201, Note 10.
99 See Vol. 4. p. 533. Note 120.
100 See Vol. 4. p. 151. Note 161.
101 This City, according to *Euſebius*'s *Chronicon*, was rebuilt by the Children of *Hector*, after it had been utterly deſtroyed by the *Greeks*. See Vol. 4. p. 215, Note 39.

Protection, laid the City ſhe protected level with the Ground. He did not leave one Part of the Walls entire; and to enjoy the Pleaſure of this barbarous Sight, he walked round the City, and often aſked the People about him, whether they ſaw any Building that was yet to be demoliſhed. And laſtly, he finiſhed this terrible Execution, with putting to Death the Meſſengers who had brought him *Sylla*'s Letter. Such were the Monſters *Rome* now produced! Not a Footſtep of the Virtues and Humanity of the old *Romans* was to be ſeen, in the Diſciples of *Marius* and *Cinna!*

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§. XXXIX. *Sylla*, after he had ſubdued the *Thracians*, *Heneti*, *Sinti* [102] and *Scordiſci*, was returned to *Macedon*; and when he received Information of the Devaſtations and Violences *Fimbria* was committing in *Aſia*, his Heart was the more ſet on compleating the Peace with *Mithridates*, that he might be at liberty to make War with the utmoſt Vigour on this *Roman* Citizen, who diſhonoured his Republick by his Barbarities. To this end, he begun his March through *Theſſaly* and *Macedon*, for the *Helleſpont*; and there were two Things that favoured his Deſign. *Mithridates*, ſince his being beaten by *Fimbria*, and his Retreat to an Iſland for Refuge, was more inclined than ever to ſign the Treaty; and the Ships *Lucullus* had brought were ſufficient to tranſport his Troops to *Aſia*. At the ſame time therefore that he was marching by Land, he ordered *Lucullus* to carry his Fleet to the Ports of the *Cherſoneſus* [103], and there wait for him; and on the Road, ſome Ambaſſadors from *Mithridates* met him. Their Orders were to aſſure him, that the King was ready to confirm the Treaty in all Particulars, except that he would exclude *Paphlagonia*, and refuſed to deliver up his Ships; and they added, *That if he refuſed theſe Propoſals*, Fimbria *offered him better*. Theſe laſt Words provoked the generous *Pro-Conſul*, and he cried out; *Let* Mithridates *then treat with* Fimbria; *They will both ſoon find, that the Hopes of an imaginary Peace will plunge them into all the Horrors of War.* Mithridates *muſt be ruined before he will be brought to underſtand his own Intereſt. Let him then periſh, ſince he wont accept of the Safety which I offer him!*

Epit. Liv. L. 84. c. 9.

Ibid. c. 18.

Archelaus, who was preſent at the Conference, did his utmoſt to appeaſe the *Pro-Conſul*, and ſaid; *Suffer me to ſpeak, and be Mediator between you! I give you my Word that I will either prevail on* Mithridates *to accept of all the Articles agreed to, or forfeit my Life and fall by my own Hands.* Upon this, *Sylla*, who knew the Probity of *Archelaus*, entruſted him with this important Negotiation, and ſent him as his Agent to a Prince whom he had ſo long ſerved. In the mean while, he returned back, and to keep himſelf in Action till he received *Mithridates*'s Anſwer, he entered *Mædica* [104], ſettled it in Peace, and came again into *Macedon*. As ſoon as he arrived at *Philippi*, *Archelaus* brought him word, That *Mithridates* had at laſt, upon his Repreſentations, acquieſced; That he had made him ſenſible, how dangerous it was to treat with *Fimbria*, who was well known to have neither Sincerity, Honour, nor Honeſty; and That he would have nothing to do with any other *Roman*, but deſired an Interview with him before the Affair was finally concluded. *Sylla* readily agreed to an Interview which could ſcarce fail of turning to his Honour, approved of the Place propoſed for it, which was *Dardanus* [105] in *Phrygia*, began his March, croſſed *Thrace*, and ſent Orders to *Lucullus* to wait with his Fleet at [106] *Abydos*. When the Army was come into *Cherſoneſus*, the brave Admiral, after he had chaſed the Enemy's [107] Ships in his Paſſage, came and took on board *Sylla*'s Troops, and carried him ſafe into *Aſia*, there firſt to conclude a Peace, and then to begin a new War.

Plut. in Sylla, & Lucullo. App. in Mithridat.

Epit. Liv. L. 83. c. 20.

Ibid.

102 The *Sinti* inhabited a Country of *Macedon* called *Sintica*, from *Sintia*, the Name of their Capital.

103 The Ancients gave this Name to that Peninſula of *Thrace*, or *Romania*, which reaches, on one ſide to the *Propontis*, and on the other to the *Ægean* Sea, near the *Streights of Gallipoli*, and the *Gulph Melas*. See Vol. 4.

104 *Mædica*, or the Country of the *Medi*. See Vol. 3. p. 422. Note 125.

105 *Dardanus* was formerly a City of *Troas*, a Province of *Aſia Minor*, which made Part of *Priam*'s Kingdom. It ſtood on the Coaſt of the *Helleſpont*, eight Miles North of *Abydos*. Some think that the two neighbouring Caſtles of *Seſtos* and *Abydos* were called the *Dardanelles*, from the Name of this City.

106 *Abydos* or *Abydus*, anciently a City of *Phrygia*, at preſent ſcarce deſerves the Name of a Town. It ſtood on the *Thracian Boſphorus* over againſt *Seſtos*. We have elſewhere obſerved, That thoſe Cities were formerly the Boundaries of *Aſia* and *Europe*, as *The Dardanelles* in the ſame Neighbourhood now are.

107 *Plutarch* ſays, That *Lucullus* beat *Mithridates*'s Fleet twice. Firſt, near *Latium* one of the Promontories of *Troas*. And being afterwards informed that *Neoptolemus* waited for him over againſt *Tenedos*, with a naval Force ſuperior to his own, he reſolved to attack him. Accordingly, he crowded all the Sail he could, came up with the Enemy, who flattered himſelf with Victory, diſperſed his Galleys, obliged him to retire, and continued ſole Maſter of the Seas.

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§. XL. *Sylla* came firſt to *Dardanus*, and there waited the Arrival of *Mithridates*, who ſoon came with a Fleet of 200 Sail, and an Army of 26000 Men, and a great Number of ſcythed Chariots. *Dardanus* was only a Village which formerly belonged to the *Trojans*, but agreeably ſituated on the Coaſt of the *Helleſpont*. The *Roman* Army, conſiſting of five *Legions*, encamped within reach of the *Aſiatick*. A vaſt Plain was choſen for the Place of Conference; and thither the two Generals came, each attended with a ſmall Number of Guards. As ſoon as the *Pro-Conſul* appeared, the King advanced ſome Paces, and held out his Hand to him; upon which *Sylla* ſaid, *Well; Shall we have a Peace on the Terms which* Archelaus *has propoſed to you?* But *Mithridates* held his Peace; and the *Roman* ſurprized at his Silence, haughtily proceeded thus. *Speak, and give me your Anſwer! It is the Part of the vanquiſhed to explain themſelves in the Preſence of their Conquerors. I only have a Right to ſpeak, or be ſilent on this Occaſion, as I think proper.* Then *Mithridates* began a ſtudied Harangue, and with an Air of Grief and Uneaſineſs ſaid, *My Father was always a Friend to the* Romans; *but it has been my Fate, not to be able to preſerve their Good-Will which he tranſmitted to me. Shall I then accuſe my ſelf for this, or the Magiſtrates* Rome *long ſince ſent to govern* Aſia? *Alas, it was their Pride and Avarice that cauſed all theſe Diſorders here. By them* Ariobarzanes *was placed on the Throne of* Cappadocia, *and* Nicomedes *on that of* Bithynia. *By them,* Phrygia *was taken from me. By them,* ..... Here *Sylla* interrupted him, and ſaid, *I know you value your ſelf on your Eloquence*; but let us come to the Point. *Have you any tolerable Pretenſions to* Phrygia? *Indeed your Father bought it of* Manius Aquilius; *but the Senate and People of* Rome *diſannulled the Act which put him in Poſſeſſion of it. As for* Nicomedes, *you immediately became his Enemy, as ſoon as he declared himſelf a Friend to the* Romans; *and have ſupported, both againſt him and us, the Uſurpation of his Brother, who was excluded from the Throne by his Father's Will. And with regard to* Ariobarzanes, *what manner of Pretence had you, to invade his Dominions? You have betrayed your ſelf,* Mithridates. *You had nothing leſs in view, than to make your ſelf Maſter of the whole World. This made you chooſe to declare your ſelf an Enemy to* Rome, *at a Time, when* Italy *was in a Flame, with a civil War; and hence your immenſe Preparations. You entered into a Correſpondence with the northern Nations of* Aſia; *You covered the Sea with the Multitude of your Ships; You dried up Rivers with the infinite Numbers of Men and Horſes, that you brought into the Field; and You drained* Egypt *and* Phœnicia *of Pilots and Seamen. Then, all the Weſt of* Aſia, *having loſt its Defenders, was overpowered by the Number of your Troops. Then, tho' forbidden by the old Conventions, to paſs the Boundaries of* Europe, *you there ſtirred up Nations which were ſubject to my Republick, to deſert it. You drew* Greece *into a Revolt; and not content with that, proceeded to raiſe Diſturbances in* Macedon: *And all this Succeſs, was the Conſequence of the moſt ſignal Barbarity. The Blood of above* 100000 Romans, *who were aſſaſſinated by your Orders, calls for Vengeance; and yet after all I offer you Peace. Speak then, and give me your Anſwer in two Words. Will you conſent to the Treaty which* Archelaus *has propoſed to you, or will you not? We have not brought two Armies hither, to loſe Time in long Debates.*

Theſe laſt Words terrified the King, and he complied. He anſwered, That he accepted the Peace in the manner required, and did ſo, on the Faith and Honour of *Sylla*. The *Roman* inſiſted, That all the Authority of his Republick was with him in his Camp; and therefore the Articles of it were not written on Braſs, or ſent to *Rome* to be approved by the Senate, and fixed up in the *Capitol*. As ſoon as *Mithridates* had given his Word, *Sylla* held out his Hand to him, and embraced him. Then he ordered *Nicomedes* and *Ariobarzanes* to be brought forth, and reconciled them to the King their Enemy; and they immediately ſet out to take Poſſeſſion of their reſpective Dominions, eſcorted by Guards of *Romans*. And the other Conditions of the Treaty were likewiſe executed upon the Spot. *Mithridates* paid the *Pro-Conſul* 3000 *Talents* for the Expence of his Voyage; gave him 70 Gallies perfectly equipped; delivered up to him the *Romans* he had taken in the War, and among the reſt *Oppius* and *Caſſius*, who governed the *Aſiatick Province* before the War begun; and reſtored the Kingdom of *Pergamus* with its Dependencies, to the Republick. After this, he went to confine himſelf to the Inheritance of his Fathers; from whence we ſhall ſoon ſee him break out again, with greater Fury and Enmity to *Rome*, than ever.

App. in Mithridat.

Memnon apud Euſeb.

§. XLI.

§. XLI. In the mean time, the Army *Sylla* had landed in *Aſia*, was impatient to come to a Battle with *Mithridates*. They hated the King perſonally. His having ſhed ſo much *Roman* Blood, in all the Cities in *Aſia*, was a Crime, which theſe brave Men could not forgive; and therefore, when their General told them, that he had concluded a Peace with him, they murmured at it. *Shall* Mithridates *then*, ſaid they, *carry off the moſt valuable Spoils of all* Aſia *to his own Dominions with Impunity?* Nor could *Sylla* otherwiſe appeaſe them, than by explaining to them, the Myſtery of his Conduct. *It would have been too much for us*, ſaid he, *to have had two Enemies upon us at once.* Mithridates *and* Fimbria *together, would have overpowered us with Numbers. One would have aſſiſted the other; and the Impetuoſity and Valour of the* Romans, *would have inſpired the* Aſiaticks *with Vivacity and Ardour. But now, that we are delivered from the moſt formidable of the two, it will be the eaſier to ſubdue the other. And is it not more for your Honour to deſtroy a pernicious* Citizen, *than a foreign King? To preſerve* Rome *from an Incendiary, a publick Peſt, is of much more Conſequence, than to give a looſe to our Reſentments, and revenge the Cauſe of the dead, whom we cannot call back to Life. Let us forget paſt Calamities, and be attentive only to the preſent Evils. He that has been the Creature of* Marius, *and the Miniſter and Agent of* Cinna's *Fury, ought now to be the only Object of our Hatred. Let us march to* Fimbria, *and by deſtroying him, deprive our Tyrants of their beſt reſource!* Then all the Army cried out, *To Fimbria! To Fimbria*; and *Sylla* immediately took the Advantage of this univerſal Alacrity.

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Plut. in Sylla.

Fimbria's Troops were then encamped under the Wall of *Thyatira* [108] in *Lydia*; and two *Roman* Armies ſeemed now ready to entertain the *Aſiaticks* with a Battle between themſelves, in the Heart of *Aſia*. But when the *Pro-Conſul* came within about two *Stadia* of his Enemy, he ſent him a Summons, *To ſurrender up his Troops to him, lay down the Generalſhip, and return into* Italy. *Fimbria* proudly anſwered, *That he deſpiſed the Orders of a proſcribed Man, who was declared by the Senate an Enemy to the* Roman *People.* What remained then, but for the two Rivals to run to Arms? *Sylla*, who was the older and more active Officer, and ſuperior on all accounts to young *Fimbria*, immediately began to inveſt the Enemy's Camp, in order ſo to incloſe it, that they ſhould at laſt want Proviſions. To this end, he marked out a wide Ditch, which would make it difficult for the Convoys to paſs; and as ſoon as his Men had began to open the Ground, *Fimbria*'s *Legionaries* came out of their Tents in great Numbers, in their *Tunicks* only, and without Arms, embraced their Comrades of the other Side, and took up the Spade and Mattock, and helped them. This beginning foreboded ill to *Fimbria*; and therefore, when they were returned he aſſembled them, and made a Speech to them, wherein he ſhewed more Weakneſs than Authority. He intreated them *not to deſert a General of their own chooſing, who had enriched them with the Spoils of* Aſia; *or ſuffer him to be injured.* This Language ſo unuſual with Men of his Warmth and Vivacity, leſſened him in the Eſteem of his Soldiers; who took it for granted, that he diſtruſted his own Affairs, ſince he was come to Intreaties.

App. in Mithridat.
Plut. in Sylla.
Epit. Liv. L. 83. c. 32.

§. XLII. On the other hand, *Sylla* left nothing undone to draw off Numbers of his Rival's Men; and as the Paſſage was eaſy from one Camp to the other, they frequently deſerted. They repented of having ſo long ſerved under a General who had uſurped the Command by Violence; and they that continued under his *Eagles*, publickly declared, that they would not take Arms againſt their Countrymen and Friends. So that *Fimbria* was forced to run through his Camp with Tears in his Eyes, and beg his Men not to abandon him. Nay, he went ſo far as to fall on his Knees before them. And then he experienced how ſhort-liv'd thoſe Combinations are, which are founded in Iniquity. The Repentance of the Soldiers, gave them a diſlike to their General, and the Number of the Deſerters greatly increaſed. However, he hoped to have found more ſteddineſs among his Officers; and they ſeemingly approved of the Propoſal he made, of adminiſtring the Oaths again to the few Troops who continued with him. The Deſign was to have called them all over by their Names; and the General began with his Friend and Confident *Nonnius*. But even his Fidelity was not anſwerable to *Fimbria*'s Expectations; he refuſed to ſwear. Then *Fimbria*, in a Rage, drew his Sword, and would have ſtabbed him; but ſo great a Clamour aroſe in the Aſſembly, that the General was forced to ſpare his Life, to ſave his own. After

[108] See Vol. 4. p. 215. Note 37.

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this, he could not think himſelf ſafe in his own Camp, and therefore, as his laſt Reſource, reſolved to have his Adverſary aſſaſſinated. But the Slave who was to do this, was very ill choſen. He betrayed himſelf, and diſcovered the Treachery of his Maſter. When he was got into *Sylla*'s Tent, there appeared ſo much Terror in his Looks, that it was concluded from thence, he muſt have ſome ill Deſign in view; and upon being ſeized, he immediately confeſſed both *Fimbria*'s Crime, and his own.

This exaſperated all the *Legionaries* in *Sylla*'s Camp againſt the Author of ſo barbarous an Attempt; and they cried out, That the new Tyrant ought to be made to ſuffer *Athenio*'s Fate. Since he has imitated the Cruelties of that pretended King of *Sicily*, he ought not, ſaid they, to be ſuffered to enjoy his Uſurpation long. *Sylla* took the Advantage of the Zeal of his Soldiers, and immediately led them to attack his Rival's Trenches. Upon ſight of the Enemy, *Fimbria* abated much of his Pride; and his own Troops refuſed to defend their Camp. He was then ſenſible of his Guilt, and his Remorſe made him timorous. Nevertheleſs he had the Boldneſs to mount the Rampart almoſt alone; and made Signs to the Enemy, that he deſired an Interview with their General. But whether out of Contempt, or becauſe he did not care to come near a Traitor who was capable of any deſperate Act, *Sylla* only ſent *Rutilius* one of his Officers, to treat with him. In the Conference, *Fimbria* ſeemed affected with the Diſregard ſhewn him, and ſaid, That the proudeſt of their Generals, had not thought it beneath them to treat in Perſon with foreign Commanders; but in other Inſtances, he was far from keeping up to his uſual Pride and State. He humbled himſelf ſo far, as to cringe to his Rival's Meſſenger; and would fain have found ſome Pretence to excuſe the Irregularity of his Conduct. The moſt ſpecious he could think of, was his Youth, and his Engagements to *Marius* and *Cinna*, from his Infancy. And *Sylla* was not ſo inexorable now, as he afterwards appeared. He was affected with theſe Marks of Repentance, and ſent him Word; *That if he would leave* Aſia, *and deliver up his Troops, he would not only ſave his Life, but furniſh him with all Conveniencies for returning into* Italy. At which Words, *Fimbria* cried out, with an unexpected return of Vigour, *Return into* Italy! *No, I have another Voyage to make!* And as ſoon as he ſaid this, he inſtantly fled to *Pergamus*. When he arrived there, he entered into the Temple of *Æſculapius*, and ſtabbed himſelf with his own Sword; and the Wound not being mortal, he ordered the only Slave that attended him, to diſpatch him. The faithful Servant did as he was ordered, and then plunged the ſame Sword into his own Boſom. Thus died that *C. Flavius Fimbria*, whoſe Memory would not have been ſo odious, if he had had the good Fortune to have lived in more peaceable Times. His Valour, if rightly directed, and the Genius he had for War, would have made him one of the Heroes of old *Rome*. It was the Education he received from two ſeditious *Citizens*, that corrupted him, and turned his natural Bravery into a kind of Ferocity of Temper.

§. XLIII. And now, *Sylla*, who was in the height of Joy, upon having victoriouſly ſubdued both *Greece* and *Aſia*, made as moderate an uſe of the Advantage juſt gained over *Fimbria*, as he had done of his Superiority over *Mithridates*. The General was at preſent ſo wiſe, as to carry nothing to Extremities. He reſtored *Fimbria*'s Body to his Friends; and told them, that he would not carry his Inhumanity ſo far as *Marius* and *Cinna* had done, who extended their Hatred even to the *Manes* of their Enemies. He alſo received *Fimbria*'s Troops graciouſly, incorporated them with his own, without any Reproaches, and made no Diſtinction between them but that of old Friendſhip. After this, he extended his Compaſſion firſt to *Ilium*; enabled the Inhabitants by his Benefactions, to rebuild their City; granted them their Freedom with ſome new Privileges, and declared them the Friends and *Allies* of the *Roman* People. Then he granted the ſame Liberty, and gave the like Marks of his Good-Will, to the *Rhodians*, *Lycians*, *Cians*, and the Inhabitants of *Magneſia* [109]. This done, he applied himſelf to ſettling the Affairs of the *Aſiatick Province*, that is, of the Kingdom of *Pergamus*, and a vaſt Tract of Land, both along the Sea-Coaſts, and in the inward Parts of the Continent; and afterwards puniſhed the rebellious Provinces, and rewarded ſuch Perſons as had ſhewn themſelves faithful to the Republick. The greateſt Severity he ſhewed was to *Epheſus*, where he ſuffered his Men to live at Diſcretion; and obliged the Inhabitants to give every Officer 50 *Drachmæ*, and every Soldier 16 *Denarii* a Day, and two com-

109 Which of the two Cities of this Name in *Aſia Minor*, is here ſpoken of, we cannot determine. See Vol. 4. p. 216. Note 42; and p. 220. Note 55.

pleat Habits. And when all were quiet, and full of Dread, in *Aſia*, he ſummoned the Deputies of all the *Roman* Cities of the *Pergamian* State, to a ſort of general Diet at *Epheſus*; and there, aſcending his *Tribune*, he, with the Dignity of a Conqueror, and the Vehemence of an Avenger, addreſſed himſelf to them thus. Year of ROME DCLXVIII. L. Cornelius Cinna, & Cn. Papirius Carbo, Conſuls.

Who can expreſs the Ingratitude, Imprudence, and Inconſtancy of you Aſiaticks! *From the Time that* Attalus *gave up to us all the Rights his Fathers and himſelf had over you, You enjoyed the Sweets of the mildeſt of Governments; and yet afterwards broke your Oaths, and preferred the Yoke of a Foreigner, to the Dominion of* Rome. *Under our Protection, you were ſecured from all Storms, Commerce flouriſhed in your Ports, your Cities abounded with Plenty, and your Magazines overflowed with Corn. Nevertheleſs, as ſoon as* Mithridates *appeared, you forgot our Benefactions; and treacherouſly deſerted us. Nor did this content you, without adding Cruelty to your Ingratitude. All the* Romans *and* Italians *which you could find in your Cities; you barbarouſly murdered. The moſt ſacred* Aſyla *could not ſcreen them from Death. How great then is the Puniſhment which you have juſtly deſerved! Is Blood for Blood more than is due to cruel Aſſaſſines? You may well look pale and tremble: But learn to know* Rome. *Clemency is a Virtue peculiar to her Generals. I think* Mithridates *has ſufficiently avenged theſe Things, by the rigorous Slavery he kept you under; and I will ſhew you the Difference between his Government and ours. All the Puniſhment I ſhall inflict upon you, is this. I require you to pay me down immediately five Years Tribute, by way of advance; To make me Satisfaction for all the Expences of the War; and To furniſh the Sums which will be neceſſary for ſettling the* Aſiatick Province *in due order. I will take care that theſe Supplies ſhall be raiſed by an equal Tax; and if any Cities are refractory, I will treat them as Enemies.*

Theſe laſt Words a little abated the Fears of the Deputies, and a Serenity again appeared in their Countenances: According *Sylla* divided all the *Roman* Dominions in *Aſia* into 44 Diſtricts; and to each of theſe was allotted its Share of the Contributions, according to its Ability. *Lucullus* was ordered to receive [110] them in Gold, Silver, or Braſs, according to the Value of the Metal, and coin them into *Roman* Money; and it is very ſurprizing, that in the Diſcharge of ſo very odious an Office, he was neither accuſed of hard Treatment, nor even ſuſpected of Male-Adminiſtration. The Mildneſs of his Temper, and his great Probity, already ſhewed him capable of becoming one of the Heroes of the expiring Republick. As for *Sylla*, when thus enriched with the Contributions of the *Aſiaticks*, and the Sums he had drawn from *Mithridates*, he was wholly intent on returning to *Rome*. Tho' he had a conſiderable Fleet, he took no care to clear the Seas of the *Levant* of the [111] Pyrates that infeſted them; *Cinna* and his Faction were the only Objects of his Concern, after the Reduction of *Greece* and *Aſia*. He knew, that *Cinna* reigned in an abſolute manner at *Rome*; That he had aboliſhed the *Comitia*; and That his Senate conſiſted only of ſuch, as trembled at his Word. So that the Death of *Fimbria* was to *Sylla*, only a Prelude to the Wars he was to maintain with the oppoſite Faction; and he had great Reaſon to expect, that he ſhould find Enemies in *Italy* of a very different kind, from the weak *Phalanxes* of *Mithridates*. Nevertheleſs, whether out of Vexation, or Ambition, or perhaps ſome Remains of Love for the publick Good, he reſolved to return. He poſſibly might not yet have looked far enough into his own Heart, to know what were the true Springs that put him in motion. *Plut. in Lucullo.*

§. XLIV. When the new Year came, it produced no Change in the *Conſulate*. *Cinna* had the laſt Year taken the Precaution to appoint himſelf and *Papirius Carbo Conſuls*, for two Years together. Which was indeed in a manner eſtabliſhing themſelves in their uſurped Authority, for Life. And in order to ſettle himſelf more firmly in the Throne, he married his Daughter *Cornelia*, to a young Lord of the higheſt Extraction, and of the moſt diſtinguiſhed Merit of any in *Rome*. This was the famous *Julius Cæſar*, who afterwards followed the Steps of his Father-in-Law, and being both Year of ROME DCLXIX. L. Cornelius Cinna, & Cn. Papirius Carbo, Conſuls. *Suet. in Julio.*

110 *Plutarch* ſays, the rebellious Cities in *Aſia Minor* paid *Sylla* the Value of *20000 *Talents*; which according to the *French* Way of computing, amount to about ſixty Millions of *Livres*. So that the People of the *Aſiatick* Provinces were ſtripped of all their Effects, and reduced to extreme Want.

111 The Pyrates had made themſelves Maſters of *Taſſus* a maritime City of *Caria*, of *Clazomene*, and of the Iſlands of *Samos* and *Samo-thrace*; and their Avarice had not ſpared the famous Temple of the *Dii Cabiri*. They ſeized all the Riches which the Religion of the People had conſecrated there, to the amount of *1000 *Talents*, or 3 *Millions* of *Livres*.

* 3875000 *l. Sterl.*

* 193750 *l. Sterl.*

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more brave and more ſucceſsful, turned at laſt the Republick into a Monarchy. *Sylla* therefore, whilſt in *Aſia*, was forming Schemes for deſtroying this mighty *Coloſſus*, whom the well-affected *Citizens* could not look on without Indignation. The great Number of Senators that were fled to his Camp for Refuge, were continually repreſenting to him, That he had in vain conquered *Mithridates* and *Fimbria*, if he did not deliver his Country; That he muſt march to *Rome*; and That the Tyranny of *Cinna* muſt be deſtroyed. His Wife joined her Intreaties with theirs, and his Army ſeemed diſpoſed to follow him. So that every Thing favoured his Inclination to return. But, notwithſtanding the Confuſion the Republick was in, he thought it became him to act regularly, and obſerve old Cuſtoms. And therefore, before he left his Province, he judged it neceſſary, to ſend Advice of it to the Senate at *Rome*, as contemptible as they were. One *Lucius Valerius Flaccus*, Brother to him whoſe Office *Fimbria* uſurped, was Preſident of it: *Sylla* wrote a Letter to the *Conſcript Fathers*, drawn up with the greateſt Temper and Moderation. He * neither complained of the Decree, whereby they had declared him an Enemy to the Republick; nor made any mention of the Confiſcation of his Eſtate, or of the extream Want to which they had reduced his Wife and Children. It contained only a Narrative of his Exploits. He put them in Mind of his having taken *Jugurtha*, and brought him to *Rome* in Chains; of the Services he did the Republick in *Tranſalpine Gaul*; of the great Share he had in the Victory over the *Cimbri*; of the Advantages he gained over the rebellious *Allies* in *Italy*; of the taking of *Athens*; of the Recovery of all *Greece* and *Aſia*, after three Victories over the General of *Mithridates*; and laſtly, of his having obliged the King of *Pontus* to keep within his own Territories: And all theſe Things, when put together in a ſtrong Light, ſtruck the Senate both with Admiration and Terror. One of the Ancients thinks a Letter of ſuch Moderation from *Sylla*, was a Maſter-piece, in point of Prudence; and as ſoon as *Valerius Flaccus* reported it to the *Fathers*, they ſeemed to recover their old Vigour. They had always borne the Yoke of *Cinna*'s Tyranny with Reluctance, and the greateſt Part of them were tired with being Slaves to his Will; and therefore they decreed two Things which were far from being agreeable to the ruling *Conſul*. The firſt was, That an Embaſſy ſhould be ſent to *Sylla*, to intreat him, not to carry his Reſentments ſo far, as to come to a Civil War; and the ſecond, That *Cinna* ſhould be forbidden to raiſe any new Levies, till the Ambaſſadors were returned. *Cinna* ſeemed to acquieſce in the Decree; but as ſoon as the Ambaſſadors were gone, he raiſed an Army, and provided a Fleet to hinder *Sylla* from landing in *Italy*.

In the mean time, all Things were got ready in *Aſia* for the Return of the victorious Army. *Sylla* left *Lucius Murena* in the Kingdom of *Pergamus* with *Fimbria*'s two *Legions*, and appointed him Governor of this vaſt Province, which he had extended to *Ionia*. Then he embarked at *Epheſus* for *Athens*, and came to an Anchor in the Port of *Piræeus*, where he was initiated in *The Myſteries of* [112] *Eleuſis*; but he carried nothing from this ſtately City, except ſome curious Books, and among others *Ariſtotle*'s Works[113], which he had ſought with Care. After a ſlight Fit of the Gout had kept him longer in *Greece* than he had deſigned, he went to the Waters of *Ædepſum*[114]; and when he was cured, marched by Land through *Theſſaly* and *Macedon*, in

*See Pag. 388. Note 76.

Vell. Paterc. L. 2.

App. in Mithridat.

Plut. in Sylla.

112 See Vol. 3. p. 23. Note 53.

113 *Ariſtotle*, at his Death, left the Care of his Writings and School to the famous *Theophraſtus*, who tranſmitted them to *Neleus* the *Peripatetick*. The latter carried his Library to *Scepſis*, (a City of *Troas*) the Place of his Nativity; and his Heirs, who were very ignorant, and unacquainted with Letters, ſhut it up in a private Place, and abſolutely refuſed to let the curious ſee it. Afterwards, hearing that the Kings of *Pergamus* were making Collections of the choiceſt Books from all Parts, to enrich their fine Library, they buried *Neleus*'s Library, and in it *Ariſtotle*'s Works, under Ground. But their Deſcendants long after thought fit to draw theſe Writings out of the Obſcurity in which they had been ſo long buried; and one *Apellicon*, a Native of *Teos*, and afterwards a Citizen of *Athens*, bought them, though half eaten up by the Worms, and ſpoiled with Moiſture. After his Death, they fell into the Hands of *Sylla*, who brought them from *Athens* to *Rome*, where *Ariſtotle*'s Doctrine was yet unknown: And for the different Revolutions which the Writings of this Philoſopher afterwards underwent, we refer the curious Reader to *Strabo*, *Athenæus*, *Aulus Gellius*, *Voſſius*, *Patricius*, and particularly to Father *Rapin*, in the Parellel he has drawn between *Ariſtotle* and *Plato*.

114 *Strabo*, and *Stephens the Geographer*, place *Ædepſum*, in the Iſland of *Eubœa*, or the *Negropont*, as it is now called. According to *Plutarch*, this was a place of Pleaſure to *Sylla*. Being rid of the Trouble of a War, which he had finiſhed with ſo much Glory, he here for ſome Time enjoyed the Sweets of Tranquillity. He entertained himſelf ſometimes with Concerts of Muſick, ſometimes with Shows, and ſometimes with theatrical Performances. And it was here that ſome Fiſhermen preſſed to make him a Preſent of ſome Fiſh, as he was walking by the Sea-ſide; which he accepted with ſo much Grace and Condeſcention, that he charmed them.

order to embark his Troops at [115] *Dyrrachium*. His Fleet of 1200 Sail was ordered to wait for him there; and there, we are told, was ſhewn him, ſuch a Monſter as the Sculptors and Painters repreſent the [116] *Satyrs* to have been. A human Body ſupported by two Feet, Legs, and Thighs of a Goat. He had been ſurprized in his ſleep, and brought to the General; who ordered him to be interrogated by People of different Countries, to know what Language he ſpoke. But the *Satyr* only anſwered with Cries not unlike thoſe of Goats, and the neighing of Horſes. The *Roman* General was ſhocked at this monſtrous Mixture of two different Species; but was not ſuperſtitious enough to draw any *Augury* from ſo unuſual an Event.

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§. XLV. The nearer he drew to *Italy*, the greater need he was in, of the ſincere Affection of his Troops. It was to be feared, that his Soldiers would abandon him upon their return; and being tired with military Labours, would go home to their Families, to enjoy the great Booties which they had brought from the Conqueſts of *Greece* and *Aſia*. He alſo might have reaſon to apprehend, that his *Legionaries*, who had been uſed to plunder in an Enemy's Country, would ravage *Italy*, and thereby raiſe up the whole Country againſt him. But his Army prevented his Fears. They came of their own accord; without any Sollicitation, offered to take a new Oath of Fidelity to him; promiſed, that they would not plunder any of their Countrymen, whoſe Effects ſhould be ſafe during their Marches; and not content with this, added a ſtill more generous Act, to the General whom they ſo tenderly loved. They all offered him the Money, they had got together, in their Conqueſts. *Sylla* thanked them for their Generoſity; and having brought great Sums from *Aſia*, declined their Offer. But ſuch a Proof of a diſintereſted Affection to their Leader could not but ſhew him, how dear he was to them.

At *Dyrrachium*, or *Apollonia*, he probably received the Ambaſſadors from the Senate; and was not ſo circumſpect in the Anſwers he gave them, as he had been in his Letter. He frankly and openly declared his Intentions, and ſaid, *I am coming to* Rome, *full of Rage and Revenge. If the* Roman *People will conſent to it, all my unjuſt Perſecutors ſhall either periſh by the Sword, or the Axes of the common Executioners. I will ſpare none but ſuch as ſhall have given Proofs of a very ſincere Repentance. As for the common People, and the unactive, who have not appeared in our Quarrels, I ſhall have regard to their Innocence, and do them Juſtice. I demand, That the Decree which declares me an Enemy to the Republick be diſannulled; That all my Effects be reſtored; That the Senate again inveſt me with all the civil and ſacred Honours of which I have been deprived; That all the Senators baniſhed by* Cinna *be reſtored to their Honours, Places, and Eſtates; and laſtly, That they re-eſtabliſh me in all the publick Employments which I enjoyed before my Departure.* Which was indeed declaring, That he claimed as abſolute an Authority, as that which he had uſurped, when he made himſelf Maſter of *Rome*. *App. de Bell. Civ. L. 1.*

Fame publiſhed *Sylla*'s Anſwer in *Italy* long before he, and the Ambaſſadors, arrived; and this ſhewed *Cinna* and *Papirius* That the Storm would fall upon them, and That nothing but the Succeſs of their Arms could ſave their Lives. They therefore prepared to carry on a Civil War, notwithſtanding the Prohibition of the Senate. They went through all *Italy* raiſing Troops, and collecting Money and Proviſions. The *Freedmen* whom they had incorporated into the *Tribes*, and the Inhabitants of the *Municipia*, who held their Right of *Roman Citizenſhip* from them, joined to ſupport them. They brought a Fleet from *Sicily* to guard the Coaſts of *Italy*; and as theſe Preparations were made with the greateſt Expedition, they therefore gave the People the more Terror. When the two *Conſular* Armies were ready, the Difficulty was to know, where *Sylla* would enter *Italy*. He might, if he pleaſed, march thither by Land, through *Epirus* and *Dalmatia*. *Cinna* therefore thought it neceſſary, either to ſtop him in his Paſſage, or at leaſt obſtruct it. To this end, he embarked ſome of his *Cohorts* for *Dalmatia* and *Liburnia*; and the firſt Detachment arrived ſafe. But the ſe-

115 See Vol. 3. p. 21. Note 44. Near *Dyrrachium* and *Apollonia* there was a charming Plain called *Nymphæum*. The Meadows that ſurrounded it on all Sides, were watered by the River *Anas*. *Plutarch* affirms, That the curious took great Pleaſure in obſerving the Sports of Nature in the Fountains here; which inſtead of Water bubbled up little Flames, without hurting the Plants or Trees in this delicious Place.

116 This *Satyr* which was brought to *Sylla*, was like thoſe mentioned by *St. Jerom*, in his *Life of Paul the Hermit*, and by *St. Athanaſius* in his *Life of St. Anthony*. *Pliny* and *Diodorus Siculus* have with reaſon conſidered as Monſters, the *Fawns* and *Satyrs*, which the ancient Pagans, through a deplorable Blindneſs, ranked among the Demi-Gods. The Dreams of the *Rabbins* and *Paracelſus* on this Head, don't deſerve the Reader's Notice.

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cond met with a Storm, and was driven back on the Coaſts of *Italy*. And theſe Soldiers, being fatigued with the Sea, diſperſed themſelves, and declared where-ever they came, that they could not reſolve to take up Arms againſt their Fellow-Citizens. In the mean time, *Cinna* prepared to go himſelf into *Dalmatia* with the reſt of his Army, but found a great Coldneſs among his *Legionaries*. The Diſcourſes of thoſe whom the Storm had diſperſed, had made an Impreſſion upon their Minds; and they whom he would have embarked inſolently refuſed to go. He was grieved at this Mutiny, and aſſembled his Troops in order to appeaſe them. The Soldiers expected to hear Invectives againſt them, but reſolved to deſpiſe them; and an Accident [117] turned the Mutiny into a Maſſacre. One of the *Lictors* who ſurrounded the *Conſul* as uſual, ſtruck a Soldier, who drew too near the General, with violence. The Soldier returned Blow for Blow, and with his Outcries rouzed his Comrades. Upon this, the Stones inſtantly flew about, and they, who were neareſt the *Conſul*, fell upon him Sword in Hand. *Cinna* retired, and fled. A *Centurion* overtook him, and was going to ſtab him. Then the General bent his Knee to his Subaltern, and offering him a Ring of great Price, begged his Life. But the *Centurion* replied, *Die, Tyrant!* and buried his Sword in his Body. Such was the End of this ambitious Man, who rent the Republick in pieces, over-turned all the Laws, kept the *Conſulate* four Years without the Conſent of the People, tyrannized over the Nobility, and even carried the Crimes of *Marius* farther than he himſelf had done. He died by the Hands of his *Legionaries*; a Death for Generals which ſoon became too common in the *Roman* Camps. Officers raiſed themſelves to the Head of Armies without lawful Authority, and this kept them dependent on their Soldiers, who upon the leaſt Diſcontent revolted. Melancholy Indications of the Republick's being on the Brink of Ruin!

Year of *ROME* DCLXIX. Cn. Papirius Carbo, Conſul.

§. XLVI. After the Death of *Cinna*, *Papirius Carbo* was ſole Maſter of the Republick. Nevertheleſs, the *Tribunes of the People* gave him notice of a *Plebiſcitum*, which ordered him to return to *Rome*, to preſide in the *Comitia*, that a new *Conſul* might be regularly choſen, in the Room of the deceaſed. His Deſire of continuing as long in Authority as *Cinna* had done, made him at firſt neglect the Order; but he was at laſt forced to obey, and haſten his Return. The *Comitia* were held; and the *Augurs*, gained no doubt by the Artifices of the *Conſul*, found ſo many Defects in the Aſſembly, with Regard to Religion, that the Election was poſtponed, and *Carbo* continued ſole *Conſul* all the Year. His firſt Care was to bring back the Troops which *Cinna* had ſent to *Dalmatia*. It was now certain, that *Sylla* would return by Sea, and *Italy* wanted a great Army to defend it. *Carbo* took many Steps to ſtrengthen his Party; and ran into an [118] Exceſs, which obliged the Senate to interpoſe. As he paſſed through all the Cities of the *Allies*, and all the *Roman Colonies*, he was not content with demanding of each its Contingent of Troops, but required Hoſtages of them, in order to ſecure them to his Intereſt. This was a new Precaution, and cauſed many to leave him. When he came to *Placentia*, and demanded theſe Pledges there, *Caſtricius*, a venerable old Man, who was chief Magiſtrate in this his native City, went out to meet the *Conſul*; and fearing neither his Dignity, nor his fierce Air, nor the Guard about him, abſolutely refuſed to comply with the Demand. *What! I have many Swords here*, anſwered the *Conſul* angrily? *And I many Years*, replied *Caſtricius*. The Loſs of a Life which muſt ſoon end, was no Matter of Terror to the brave Magiſtrate; and the Conſtancy of the old Man ſurprized the *Conſul*, who ſoon after received an Order to put a Stop to theſe Oppreſſions.

Epit. Liv.

Val. Max. L. 6.

Epit. Liv. L. 84. c. 7.

Thus *Carbo*'s Attempts to draw all *Italy* into a Revolt againſt *Sylla*, were not equally ſucceſsful every where; and in the midſt of his Progreſs, he received a ſecond Order, which was to return to *Rome*, to preſide at the Election of the new *Conſuls* in *The Field of Mars*. Though much againſt his Inclinations, he was forced to aſſemble the

117 *Plutarch* relates this Matter differently. He ſays, That *Pompey*, after he had married *Antiſtia*, came to *Cinna*'s Camp; and That the ill Behaviour of the General towards him, gave him Reaſon to believe that his Life was not ſafe. He therefore privately withdrew himſelf; and his Abſence raiſed great Murmurs in the Army. Moſt People imagined that *Cinna* had ſacrificed him to his Suſpicions; and the Report ſpreading among the Troops, they demanded young *Pompey* with great Clamours, and on this Account fell upon the *Conſul*.

118 *Sextus Lucilius*, who had been *Tribune* in the Year 668, was the Man who moſt conſtantly oppoſed the Enterprizes of *Carbo*, and it coſt this zealous Senator his Life. *Publius Popilius Lænas*, who was *Tribune* for this Year, and entirely devoted to the ſeditious *Conſul*, threw *Sextus Lucilius* from the *Tarpeian Rock*; and the furious *Popilius*'s own Colegues could no otherwiſe eſcape the ſame Fate, than by fleeing to *Sylla*.

Tribes, 6

Tribes, and chooſe Perſons to ſucceed himſelf. However, he reſolved, if poſſible, to get two choſen of his own Spirit, and immoveably attached to the Faction that oppoſed *Sylla*. To this end he propoſed to the aſſembled People *L. Cornelius Scipio*, and *C. Junius Norbanus*, his Friends, and Accomplices in his Violences; and the *Tribes* being full of new *Citizens*, and *Freedmen* devoted to his Service, he had Intereſt enough to get them proclaimed *Conſuls* elect. This Election was made immediately after the Summer *Solſtice*; ſo that *Papirius* had ſtill near ſix Months to continue alone in the *Conſulate*. But nevertheleſs, he aſſociated his Friends, the new *Conſuls*, with him in the Government; and they all together propoſed it to the Senate to make a Decree, That the People ſhould take up Arms againſt *Sylla*, and treat him as an Enemy to his Country. *Don't imagine*, ſaid theſe factious Men to the *Conſcript Fathers*, *that* Sylla *will diſband his Troops as ſoon as he lands in* Italy. *He will make uſe of them to eſtabliſh himſelf in as abſolute an Authority, as he formerly had. What has he been doing in* Aſia, *but preparing himſelf to maintain a civil War here? Nay, he has already begun it in the* Levant. *The Blood of* Fimbria *was the Firſt-Fruits of it. And the great Pains he has been taking to ſecure the Affections of his Soldiers, threaten us with the Loſs of our Liberty, if not of our Lives.* The Senate were prevailed on by theſe Diſcourſes, to come into the Meaſures propoſed; and they declared it neceſſary to keep *Sylla* out of *Italy* by force of Arms, and to make war with him, with the utmoſt Vigour.

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App. in Mithridat.

This Decree haſtened the Preparations for maintaining the War with the Conqueror of *Mithridates*; and an Army was raiſed according to ſome of above 440 *Cohorts*. Others ſay, that they amounted to 700 *Cohorts*, and that to this Multitude were added many other Troops that *Carbo* and the new *Conſuls* had Intereſt enough to raiſe. And as theſe Forces were numerous they were divided under ſeveral Leaders. Beſides *Carbo* and the two *Conſuls*, the Command of different Bodies of Men was given to *Ap. Claudius*, *Sertorius*, young *C. Marius*, *M. Marius*, *Flavius Fimbria* the Brother of him who killed himſelf in *Aſia*, *Albinovanus*, and *Lucius Brutus Damaſippus*, who were all native *Romans*. *Lamponius* alſo, and *Pontius Teleſinus*, and *Gutta*, who were born in *Italy*, and had each his reſpective Command over the Militia of their reſpective Provinces, took up Arms againſt *Sylla*. All the Forces of the Republick in *Italy* were divided among theſe Generals, who were reſolved, either to keep *Sylla* out of *Italy*, or over-power him with Numbers. In the mean while, the Ambaſſadors of the Senate arrived in the Ports of *Italy* before him; and hearing of *Cinna*'s Death, turned back and joined him. They had ſeen the Appearance this great General made, and had foreboded, that he would certainly be victorious.

Liv Epit. L. 84. c. 11.

Ibid.

Sylla in Comment.

§. XLVII. In the mean time, *Sylla* embarked his Army on board his Fleet of 1200 Ships, left *Dyrrachium*; and notwithſtanding all the Care his Enemies took to keep him out of all the Ports, was received at thoſe of *Brunduſium* and *Tarentum*. There he landed his Troops to the Number of 40000, including ſome Reinforcements of *Greeks* and *Macedonians*. But, after all, this was a weak Army, to oppoſe above 200000 Men, which were now in Arms in *Italy*. As ſoon as he was landed, his firſt Concern was about Religion. He made a Sacrifice to the Gods his Protectors; and the *Aruſpices* had the Addreſs to imprint the Figure of a Crown of Laurel, on the Liver of the Victim. *Sylla* received the *Augury* with Thankfulneſs, and from that Time aſſured his Soldiers of Victory. Then he marched croſs *Calabria* and *Apulia*, with all this Retinue; but the Troops were very ſcrupulous of damaging the Fruits and Harveſts. Whilſt he was on the Road, that *Q. Cæcilius Metellus Pius*, whom the Fury of the late Government had forced to baniſh himſelf into *Liguria*, came, and offered him his Service. *Metellus* was a great Soldier, whom the Republick had never deprived of the Title of *Pro-Conſul* which he had had in *Africa* before the Civil Wars; and the two *Pro-Conſuls* joined to make War with the two *Conſuls*.

App. in Mithridat.

Plut. in Sylla.

L. Cornelius Scipio, and *C. Junius Norbanus* had entered upon their Office as ſoon as their Year began; and the Republick ſeemed to have recovered its ancient Form. The new *Conſuls* had been regularly choſen. The *Prætors* ſent to govern the Provinces, had been continued in their Employments. Only that of *Spain* had been recalled, or was dead, and the famous *Sertorius* put in his room. Though *Sylla* threatened the Capital, all was in Tranquillity there. The Courts of Juſtice were opened as uſual, and the Noiſe and Confuſion of Arms were only in other Places. The *Roman Provinces* in *Africa*, *Sicily*, and *Sardinia* were governed by Men who were againſt

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Sylla, and their Governments were not very peaceable. *Sylla* himſelf encamped in *Campania*, and kept his Troops under the moſt exact Diſcipline. He ſeemed by the firſt Steps he took, to have come into *Italy*, with a Spirit of Peace. Whether he was really inclined to Clemency, for he ſeemed not to have been cruel but by Reſtraint; or the Number of the Enemy's Troops made an Impreſſion upon him; or he in Policy deſembled the Rage he concealed in his Heart; ſo in fact it was, that he at firſt behaved himſelf at the Head of his Army, like a *Citizen* inclined to Concord.

Epit. Liv. Plut. in Sylla.

§. XLVIII. In the mean time, *Norbanus* had drawn near him, and pitched his Camp between *Capua* and [119] *Caſilinum*, a City on the Banks of the [120] *Vulturnus*. This *Conſul* had choſen for his firſt Lieutenant-General, and his Confident, a young Man of [121] nineteen Years of Age, but one whoſe Name was exceedingly reſpected by the *Conſular* Party. This was *C. Marius*, who though by birth Nephew to the great *Marius*, was become his Son, by Adoption. This young *Roman* had imbibed the Spirit of his Family; and his Heart breathed nothing but Trouble and Confuſion. So that, *Sylla*'s ſending two of his Officers, (for he pretended at leaſt to deſire Peace) to the Camp of *Norbanus* and *Marius*, to make the firſt Offers for a Pacification, was in vain. They met with nothing but Inſults and ill Uſage. Then *Sylla*'s Soldiers, who were accuſtomed to conquer and give Law in *Aſia*, were ſo enraged at the Pride of the *Conſul*, and the Fury of young *Marius*, that they ran to Arms without Orders from their General, drew themſelves up in Battalia, and marched out to inſult *Norbanus* and his numerous *Legions*. Upon this a Battle enſued, which was fought by *Sylla*'s Troops with all the Fury of injured Men, and by the *Conſular* Forces with the Languor and Faint-heartedneſs of Women. So that 7000 of theſe Cowards were killed on the Spot, and 6000 made Priſoners of War. The moſt ſurprizing Circumſtance, though not uncommon with the fortunate *Sylla*, was, that this great Victory did not coſt him, at moſt, above 120 Men. And this happy Beginning encouraged *Sylla* to attempt whatever he pleaſed, and to [122] hope for Succeſs in all Things. He confeſſed, he had hitherto been apprehenſive, that his Soldiers would diſband themſelves, and return home to their Families for ſome Repoſe. But their Boldneſs in running to the Battle without his Orders, and their Ardour in it, diſſipated his Fears.

Sylla in Comment. apud Plut.

The News of this unexpected Victory raiſed very great Commotions in *Italy*; and there was an extraordinary Concourſe of the moſt illuſtrious *Romans* to the Camp of *Sylla*, whom, as we have obſerved, the *Pro-Conſul Metellus* had already joined. *Sylla* had taken up Arms in defence of the *Patrician* Party; as *Marius*, *Cinna*, and their Succeſſors, had declared for the *Plebeian*. Though it is probable, the Leaders of either Side, had nothing in view but aggrandizing themſelves; ſome, under the Pretence of defending the Intereſts of the Nobility; others, of preſerving the People from the Oppreſſions of the Great. Indeed the moſt zealous for the popular Faction were themſelves *Patricians*; whom the Hopes of raiſing their Fortunes, rather than any regard to their Birth, had induced to eſpouſe a Party, whoſe Numbers made them moſt powerful in Elections. But the Nobility for the moſt Part, were moſt ready to follow *Sylla*'s Squadrons, as ſoon as his firſt Victory had foreboded greater Succeſs. Beſides, ſome pretended Prodigies, which the Superſtition of the People interpreted to *Sylla*'s Advantage, helped mightily to increaſe his Army. The Example of *Metellus* had alſo its Influence; and determined many wavering Minds to join the Party which that virtuous *Citizen* had eſpouſed. They were perſuaded, that Equity and the publick Good could be only on the Side that he choſe; and this induced many of thoſe to deſert, who ſeemed moſt devoted to the contrary Party. That *Cethegus* who had ſo far ſignalized himſelf in favour of *Cinna* and *Marius*, as to be proſcribed for them, came to *Sylla*, and offered him his perſonal Service, and Intereſt. And which was more ſurprizing,

Jul. Obſeq. c. 118.

119 *Caſilinum* was a City of *Campania*, near *Capua*.

120 The *Vulturnus* waters the *Terra di Lavoro* in the Kingdom of *Naples*. It riſes at the Foot of the *Apennines*, near the old Canton of the *Caracini*, a People of *Samnium*. After it has enlarged the *Calore* and the *Sabbato*, it falls into the *Tuſcan Sea*. The Ancients alſo call it *Caſilinus*, becauſe it watered the City of *Caſilinum*. It is now called the *Volturno*.

121 The Abridger of *Livy*, and the Author of *The Lives of illuſtrious Men* affirm, That *Marius* was then no more than nineteen. But *Appian* and *Velleius Paterculus* make him ſix or ſeven Years older, and conſequently, about twenty ſix.

122 *Plutarch* informs us, That the Slave of one *Pontius* a Citizen of *Silvium* in *Apulia*, came to congratulate *Sylla* on his new Victory; and at the ſame Time, putting on a prophetick Air, foretold to him, on the Part of *Bellona*, that the War he was engaged in ſhould end to his Glory, and to the Confuſion of his Enemies.

Verres the *Quæſtor* of the *Pro-Conſul Papirius Carbo*'s Army, and *M. Pupius Piſo* the *Quæſtor* of *L. Scipio*'s Army, both deſerted at the ſame Time; but with theſe different Circumſtances. *Verres* carried with him his military Cheſt, no doubt to make his Court to *Sylla*. But *Piſo*[123] retired, without touching the Treaſure of the Army; and preferred the Innocence of a private Life, to the Troubles and Crimes of a civil War. Year of ROME DCLXX. L. Cornel. Lentulus Scipio, & C. Junius Norbanus, Conſuls. *Cic. Verrina* 3.

§. XLIX. Thus the *Conſular* Troops diminiſhed, and the *Pro-Conſular* (for ſo we ſhall call thoſe of *Sylla* and *Metellus*) viſibly increaſed. And now, *Sylla* thought himſelf ſtrong enough to ſend out Detachments, and entruſt the Command of them with the young Nobility who had offered to ſerve him. *M. Craſſus*, who was yet in the Flower of his Age, had been one of the firſt to declare for him, and he ſent him to make War in the Country of the *Marſi*. And when *Craſſus* aſked what Reinforcement he ſhould have in caſe he was attacked; *Sylla* anſwered, *None; but the Remembrance of your Father and Brother, who were baſely murdered by our Enemies.* An Anſwer, which ſupplied the Place of a great Army with young *Craſſus*. He aſſembled together his Friends, made Inroads upon the Enemy with ſuch Rapidity that he cut off many of their Parties, and revenged the Death of his Relations an hundred fold. Yet ſtill, this increaſe of the *Pro-Conſul*'s Troops, and the Advantages he had gained, did not put him entirely upon a Level with the *Conſuls*. They had all thoſe Cities and Nations for them, who judge of the Equity of a Cauſe only by outward Appearances. Theſe were on their Side. *Scipio* and *Norbanus* had been elected in *the Field of Mars*; and the Preſumption was, that they were legal Repreſentatives of the whole Body of the Republick. How could the Multitude penetrate into the Secrets of Elections, and diſcover whether they were conducted by Artifice and Partiality? Moſt honeſt Men therefore thought that it was fighting in a juſt Cauſe, to take up Arms for the *Conſuls*. Hence the mighty Armies they drew after them. *Scipio* came and encamped near *Sylla*, and by the many flying Camps he poſted round the *Pro-Conſul*'s Entrenchments, ſeemed to deſign to ſurround him. And it is certain, that this Situation of the Enemy, gave both *Sylla* and *Metellus* ſome Uneaſineſs. However, Induſtry and Artifice ſupplied the Want of Strength. *Plut. in Sylla. App. in Mithridat.*

It was a common Thing with *Sylla*, when he found himſelf hard preſſed by the Enemy, to amuſe them with Propoſals of Peace. By theſe Negotiations he gained Time, and by that Means often found out Expedients, or ſome lucky Minute, to extricate himſelf out of the bad State into which he happened to be brought. And now, he made uſe of the ſame Artifice, which had often been of Service to him, in his Wars with the *Allies*, and *Mithridates*. He ſent Deputies to *Scipio*'s Camp to treat of an Accommodation, agreed to a Ceſſation of Arms by way of Preliminary, and the Soldiers of both Armies converſed with one another, and entertained each other with their Adventures. Thoſe of *Sylla* were old *Legionaries*, trained up by himſelf, and well qualified to debauch the young Soldiers that ſerved under the *Conſul*. During the Truce, after Hoſtages had been mutually given, the *Conſul* and *Pro-Conſul* had ſeveral Conferences together, each accompanied by only two Officers of his Council of War. Their Debates were kept ſecret; and all that was known was, That ſome of the Subjects on which they treated were, *Whether the Senate ſhould continue in Poſſeſſion of their original Authority; Whether the People ſhould give their Suffrages with the ſame Liberty as formerly; and Whether all the Rights of Citizenſhip without any Reſtriction, ſhould be given to a confuſed Multitude of* Italians. *Sylla* diſputed on each of theſe Articles, and thereby prolonged the Negotiations. In the interim, the Soldiers of both Camps paſſed freely from one to the other; and that of *Sylla* rung with the Praiſes the Troops gave their General. *He keeps us*, ſaid they, *in exact Diſcipline, but without Compulſion. His Soldiers don't obey him out of Fear, but Affection. You may judge of his eaſineſs of Temper, and liberal Indulgencies, by the vaſt Riches we have brought from* Aſia. *And for this Reaſon, our Hearts, and Eſtates, and Lives, are all at his Service.*

§. L. In the mean time, *Scipio* and *Sylla* brought Matters to a kind of Concluſion; but ſuch a one as could not be agreeable to either Party. *Sertorius*, the *Prætor*, who was not yet gone for *Spain*, aſſiſted at the Conferences with the *Conſul*; and his Attachment to the *Plebeian* Party, made him diſlike *Sylla*'s Negotiations; or perhaps, he diſcovered the Deceit of the *Pro-Conſul*'s Delays. He went to inform *Norbanus* of the Progreſs of the Conferences, with a Deſign to put a ſtop to all Advances towards

123 We ſhall ſee this *Pupius Piſo* raiſed to the *Conſulate*, with *M. Valerius Meſſala* in the Year 692.

Peace,

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Peace, and renew the War; and when he came to *Sueſſa*, a City in *Sylla*'s Intereſt, where he and his Soldiers were received as in a Time of Truce, he ſeized it. *Sylla* complained of this to the *Conſul*, and upon ſending back his Hoſtages, demanded his own. Theſe Proceedings indicated a Rupture, and the *Conſul*'s Army were enraged at it. They began to eſteem and to fear *Sylla*. The Terms of Pacification which he had propoſed, were thought proper ones; and if they had been accepted, the Republick would have rocovered its Form, and Peace would have been reſtored. This Obſtinacy in fomenting the Troubles, was aſcribed to *Sertorius*; and *Scipio* was in part blamed for it, becauſe ſuſpected of acting in Concert with the *Spaniſh Prætor*, his Confident. And in ſhort, all the Troops in the Enemy's Camp murmured againſt the *Conſul*, and proclaimed the Glory of *Sylla*.

The *Pro-Conſul* was not a Stranger to their Diſpoſitions in his Favour; and he took his Meaſures to gain over to himſelf the Army that kept him blocked up. After the Officers of it had given him their Words that they would ſurrender to him, as ſoon as he appeared; he detached 20 of his *Cohorts*, as if with deſign to force the *Conſul*'s Trenches. Their Approach put all *Scipio*'s Camp in motion; and then he perceived that he was betrayed. The *Pro-Conſular* Troops found the Gates open, and entered the Camp without Reſiſtance, amidſt the Acclamations of an Army conſiſting of 40 *Cohorts*; which all joined thoſe of *Sylla*, and left *Scipio* and his Son by themſelves in his Tent. An Inſtance of ſuch extraordinary Addreſs and Succeſs, as all Antiquity can ſcarce parallel!

§. LI. *Sylla* might have put the *Conſul* and his Son to Death, or made them Priſoners. But he judged, That Moderation would do him more Honour among the People; and That the Reſpect he ſhould pay to a *Conſul* would in the end turn to his own Advantage; and therefore he not only let *Scipio* eſcape, but gave him and his Son a Guard to conduct them back. Without doubt, he was under no Apprehenſions from a General, who could ſo eaſily be deceived. *Sertorius* had adviſed him at parting, to guard againſt *Sylla*'s Artifices. But, ſtrange as it is, he had no Suſpicion of the Revolt of his Troops, nor had any notice of it till the Moment it came to be put in Execution. And *Sertorius*, from that Time took it for granted, That no Conqueſts were to be expected from a General of ſo ſmall Abilities. He immediately ſet out for his Province of *Spain*, and went to ſupport the *Plebeian* Party there. The News of this Deſertion was brought to *Papirius Carbo*, when he was encamped with an Army, to hinder the *Gauls* from declaring for *Sylla*; and being ſtruck with the News, he cried out in ſurprize, *The General we have to deal with makes War like a Lion and a Fox at the ſame Time! But he is more formidable as a Fox, than as a Lion.*

Thus *Sylla*'s Reputation increaſed with his Exploits; but he was more intent on gaining Hearts by feigned Virtues, than Cities and Provinces by Force of Arms. Young *Pompey* was captivated with the Reports ſpread by Fame to the Honour of the Conqueror of *Mithridates*, and of the preſent *Conſuls*. At three and twenty Years of Age, this *Roman* Lord [124] raiſed the Expectations of the Republick from him ſo high, that it gave Umbrage to his Equals. His Father, after he had for ſome time wavered between the two Factions, had at laſt fixed to the *Patrician*. He had been killed by Lightening, when in Arms againſt *Marius* and *Cinna*; and his Example, who had by I know not what Means, engaged on the beſt ſide, was an Inducement to his Son to follow him. On the other hand, *Julius Cæſar*, who likewiſe began to ſhine, was in a manner naturally engaged in the contrary Faction. He was [125] Son-in-Law to *Cinna*, and had lately had a Daughter named *Julia*, by *Cornelia*. *Pompey* therefore readily determined for the Party which his Father had choſen, and which his Rivals in Glory oppoſed. He reſolved to join *Sylla*, but in a manner ſuitable to his Dignity. He was then leading a retired Life, far from the Noiſe and Hurry of *Rome*, at *Picenum*, where he had an Eſtate. But being weary of ſpending his Life in Idleneſs, whilſt the moſt virtuous of the Nobility repaired to *Sylla*'s Camp, he reſolved to ſignalize himſelf at his firſt ſetting out.

Plut. in Pomp.

124 The *Romans* were already ſo prepoſſeſſed in favour of *Pompey*, that they compared him to *Alexander the Great*. They imagined, that he reſembled him much in the Face; and this Prejudice led *Marcius Philiptus* who pleaded for him, to ſay, *That* Philip *was obliged to declare for* Alexander, *to whom he could not refuſe that Mark of his Affection.*

125 Beſides, *Julia*, *Julius Cæſar*'s Aunt, had married old *Marius*; and had by him had young *Marius*. So that *Cæſar* was attached to *Cinna*'s Party by Blood as well as Inclination.

§. LII. The

§. LII. The *Pompeian* Family had always been reſpected in [126] *Picenum*; and young *Pompey* made his Slaves and Clients take up Arms. Then he drew to his Standards the old Soldiers, who had formerly ſerved under his Father. And when he had got together a large Body of Men, he ventured to give himſelf the Title of General, which he aſſumed, without aſking any body's Conſent, in the Preſence of the Inhabitants of [127] *Auximum*, a City near his Eſtate. He mounted *a Tribune*, and declared himſelf an Enemy to the *Conſulars*, and an Avenger of the injured Nobility. At this time, *Papirius Carbo* had ſent one *Vidius*, of whom we know very little, to cauſe *Picenum* to riſe in his Favour; and this Man, enraged at ſeeing young *Pompey* harangue the People for *Sylla*, cried out in a Paſſion, *What an Orator and General is here? He has ſcarce been come from School long enough to have made one Campaign!* But this Inſult coſt him dear. The Aſſembly ſtoned him to Death. Thus was *Pompey* authorized by the People, in his very firſt Step. Then he drove the Friends of the *Conſuls* from *Auximum*, ran over all the Cities and Villages in the Country, raiſed Levies in them, and purſued all thoſe who were well affected to the *Plebeian* Party to the utmoſt Extremities. When it was mentioned as a Reproach to him, that he, who was ſo rigid a Republican, ſhould put himſelf at the Head of an Army without any Commiſſion; he anſwered, That in Times of civil Wars, when it is not determined on which Side Juſtice is, every *Citizen* is a Soldier, and every Lord a General. However, his Troops increaſed ſo faſt, that he had, in a few Days, Men enough to make three *Legions*; and he gave them *Tribunes* and *Centurions*, and formed an Army capable of keeping the Field. Then he advanced towards *Campania* to join *Sylla*, and ſignalized his March by Acts of Hoſtility againſt all the Cities and Detachments of the *Conſular* Party that he met with.

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This March of the brave Youth drew on him three Generals, who commanded Bodies of Men, in that Neighbourhood, under the *Conſuls*. *Carinas*, *Cælius*, and *Junius Brutus* agreed together to attack *Pompey*; not by joining and giving him Battle, but by haraſſing him in different Places, during his March. They thought, that by this Means, an Army tumultuouſly aſſembled, would eaſily be defeated, or diſperſed. But *Pompey*'s firſt Action was worthy of the oldeſt Generals. He, at the Head of his own Cavalry, attacked that of *Brutus*, which was *Gallic*, and not eaſily to be broken. *Pompey* however, ſtuck cloſe to the *Gallic* General, and never loſt ſight of him. He purſued him, and never left him, till he had killed him with his own Lance: And when the Squadrons ſaw their General fallen, they fled, and in their Flight fell on *Brutus*'s Infantry, and put them in Diſorder. This firſt Succeſs, which was wholly owing to his own perſonal Bravery, made *Pompey* formidable to his Enemies; and they ſought all Means of Revenge. But their Leaders quarrell'd among themſelves; and in their Councils, it was at laſt determined, to quit the Field, and leave the Country open to the Conqueror. So that *Pompey* retook all the Cities that had ſurrendered to the *Conſuls*, and was victorious wherever he came.

§. LIII. Nevertheleſs, the *Conſul Scipio*, who had ſince the Deſertion of his Troops raiſed himſelf a new Army, thought proper to try it againſt *Pompey*; and the old General came and offered the young Hero Battle. But when the Infantry on both Sides were in ſight, and advanced within Bow-ſhot, *Scipio*'s Soldiers very civilly ſaluted thoſe of *Pompey*; and all the *Conſul*'s Army inſtantly went over to the Enemy. So that *Scipio* was a ſecond Time deſerted by all his Troops, and retired with Shame. And then *Papirius Carbo* made his laſt Effort to ſtop *Pompey* in his March. He ſent all his Cavalry againſt him, who fought him on the Banks of the *Æſis* [128]; but all the Advantage was on the ſide of the young General. He preſſed the Enemy's Squadrons ſo cloſely, that they were driven into narrow Paſſes; and when they were ſurrounded on all Sides, they ſurrendered at Diſcretion. After all theſe Exploits, *Pompey* continued his Rout without Interruption. *Sylla* was yet a great way from him, and had heard nothing more of this zealous Friend, than that he had declared for him, and was making his Way to him, through numberleſs Dangers. In order therefore to facilitate their junction, *Sylla* reſolved to march towards him, and aſſiſt him, in forcing his Way through the many

126 *Picenum* was that *Italian* Province, which is now *The Marquiſate of Ancona*.

127 *Auximum*, now *Oſmo*, ſtands on a Mountain. *Plutarch* ſays, it was, in *Pompey*'s Time, one of the moſt conſiderable Cities in *Picenum*. It is now much fallen from its ancient Splendor.

128 The *Æſis*, which according to *Silius* the Poet, took its Name from a King of the *Pelaſgi*, divided *Picenum* and *Umbria*. It riſes at the Foot of the *Apennines*, and falls into the *Adriatick Sea*.

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Armies that ſurrounded him. At laſt they met; and their firſt Interview was accompanied with all the Marks of the higheſt Eſteem, and the moſt ſincere Friendſhip. *Pompey* had drawn up his Troops in fine Order, and commanded them to put on their beſt Cloaths, and moſt ſhining Armour: And the Sight of three *Legions* under their *Eagles*, and much more the Relation *Pompey* gave him of his Adventures and Exploits, charmed *Sylla* at their firſt Meeting. He did the young *Roman* extraordinary Honours; gave him the Title of *Imperator*, which the *Legionaries* gave but rarely to their Generals; and whenever *Pompey* appeared before him, *Sylla* lifted up one of the Lappets of his Robe which covered his Head, advanced ſome Paces towards him, and diſtinguiſhed him above all his Officers of what Extraction ſoever. Nor was this only a preſent and temporary Reſpect: *Sylla* did him the ſame Honours, even when he was *Dictator*.

App. in Mithridat.

§. LIV. And now, the Increaſe of *Sylla*'s Army, having increaſed the Fears of the People of *Rome*, and of the *Conſuls*, the Capital was in a great Conſternation; and *Scipio* as well as *Norbanus* and *Carbo*, drew near it, both to keep up their Party there, and to defend it, in caſe of an Attack. *Norbanus* encamped without the Walls, on the Road to *Campania*; and then *Sylla* ſent again to him to treat of a Peace. And tho', it ſeems ſcarce credible, that he could have had any Deſign to ſurprize him, and debauch his Troops; but on the other hand, it ſeems much more probable, that he had a ſincere Regard for the publick Good, and had nothing in view, but to avoid ſhedding *Roman* Blood, and to reſtore Tranquillity to *Rome*, and the Republick to its ancient Form; yet *Norbanus* ſuſpected the ſame Artifices, by which *Scipio* had been over-reached, and therefore refuſed to treat. However, *Sylla* at leaſt gained the Reputation of being of a pacifick Spirit by his Offer. Tho' he ravaged all the Places wherever he came, the Odium of theſe Expeditions all fell upon *Norbanus*, who was ſaid to have refuſed a Peace: And *Papirius Carbo*, who was more turbulent than *Norbanus*, helped to enflame the Minds of the People. He entered *Rome* with his Army, and by the help of it, made himſelf Maſter of the Senate and *Comitia*, and forced them by Violence to declare *Metellus*, *Pompey*, and all the *Patricians* who had joined *Sylla*, Enemies to the Republick. And whilſt *Carbo* was exerting his ſhort Remains of Authority in *Rome*, like a Madman; it happened that the fineſt Building in this ſtately City was reduced to Aſhes. The Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, built by *Tarquin the Proud*, and conſecrated by the ſecond *Conſuls* of the Republick, 424 Years before it was firſt burnt, appeared in a Flame, on the Day before the Eve of *The Nones of July*. All its Ornaments which were for the moſt part of Wood plated over with Gold, were conſumed; and the Fire penetrating into the Vault where the Books of the Sibyl of *Cumæ* were kept in a Stone-Cheſt, *Rome* was more concerned at this Loſs, than at that of the Temple. According to their different Factions, ſome aſcribed this to *Carbo*, and others to *Sylla*, who was ſaid to have hired a Perſon to ſet it on fire. And what gave room for this Suſpicion was, that a Fanatick had foretold this Misfortune to *Sylla*, long before he drew near to *Rome*. But the moſt common Opinion was, That the Fire was owing to the Negligence of the Man who kept the Temple. All the Gold and Silver that could be ſaved, was carried to *Præneſte*, and put under the Care of young *Marius* [129].

Jul. Obſ. c. 118.

Whilſt *Carbo* was lording it over the People at *Rome*, and the *Conſuls* continued in the Field, *Sylla* was wholly employed in gaining Friends in *Ciſalpine Gaul*. This Country was moſt inclined to the *Plebeian* Party, and almoſt all the Nations near the *Alpes*, were in Motion to ſupport the *Conſuls*. *Sylla* had ſent *Metellus* thither with an Army; but through his natural Dilatorineſs, he delayed the Reduction of a Country, which *Sylla* was impatient to have for him. He therefore propoſed it to *Pompey*, who was younger and more active than *Metellus*, to take his Place. But *Pompey* excuſed himſelf, for fear of affronting a Man of his high Rank: Till at length *Metellus* himſelf deſired *Sylla* to ſend *Pompey* to him. And then he ſet out for *Gaul*, and ſignalized himſelf there by ſuch Atchievements, as the Hiſtorians would not have omitted, if his many greater Actions had not eclipſed his leſſer Exploits, and cauſed them to be overlooked. It is certain, That he rouzed *Metellus*'s Indolence; and That both together made a wonderful Progreſs, in favour of *Sylla*. Nevertheleſs, they could not hinder the

129 Some Hiſtorians add, That the Temple of *Veſta* was damaged by the Fire; and That ſeveral ſacred Edifices were thrown down by violent Earthquakes. The People looked on theſe ſad Accidents as ſo many ſure Preſages of the Misfortunes that threatened *Rome*.

Gauls who dwelt on the Banks of the *Po*, from repairing to the *Conſuls* Camp. So that after a Year's War, all that *Sylla* gained, was ſome additional Glory, and a greater Number of the Nobility to his Army. The Forces were ſtill pretty equal on both Sides.

§. LV. The Deſign of *Papirius Carbo*'s exerting his Authority in *Rome*, now appeared to be, that he might get himſelf choſen *Conſul*, a third Time, and procure *C. Marius*, the Nephew of the great *Marius*, and his Son by Adoption, to be elected with him; and by Violence he made the People diſregard all Rules. Young *Marius*, who was offered to the People as a Candidate, was yet only 20 Years of Age, or a little more, and conſequently was thereby diſqualified for holding the firſt Dignity. But he was nominated contrary to Law, and to the great Grief of his Mother, who looked on him as loſt, as ſoon as ſhe ſaw him a chief Commander and Conductor of a War, whoſe dreadful Conſequences ſhe foreſaw. The Winter which was very ſevere, ſuſpended Hoſtilities on both Sides, for ſome Months; and in that Time, the *Conſuls* made it their Buſineſs to raiſe Money enough to pay the Troops which they had aſſembled in *Italy*, and which, under different Commanders, infeſted the ſeveral Parts of it. The publick Treaſury was exhauſted. The only Means left was to ſtrip the Temples in *Rome*, which glittered with Gold and Silver; and a Decree was extorted from the Senate, whereby they ordered theſe Riches to be turned into Money. As ſoon as the Seaſon would permit, all the Armies took the Field. The firſt Battle was fought on the Banks of the *Æſis*, between *Carinas*, one of the *Conſular* Generals, and *Metellus*, who was *Sylla*'s Right-Hand, and moſt avowed Advocate. After a long Diſpute, which laſted from Morning till Night, all the Advantage was on the Side of *Metellus*; and this brought *Carbo* upon him. But his Efforts were fruitleſs. So that the beginning of the Campaign was not at all favourable to the *Conſuls* and their Party.

Year of *ROME* DCLXXI.
CN. PAPIRIUS CARBO, & C. MARIUS, Conſuls.
App. de Bell. Civ. L. 1.

§. LVI. Nevertheleſs, *Sylla* was of Opinion, that he ſhould never gain over the Nations of *Italy* to him, till he had removed out of their Minds a Prejudice which was fatal to his Intereſts. They believed, that as ſoon as he ſhould come to *Rome*, he would diſannul the Law, which granted them all the Rights of *Roman Citizenſhip*; and he therefore uſed all Means poſſible, to undeceive the *Colonies* and *Municipia*, on this important Article. He employed all his Friends in the chief Cities, to remove this Obſtacle to his Dominion; and at laſt ſucceeded. And when the Pleaders, whoſe Cauſes ought to have been finally determined at *Rome*, came in Crowds to his Camp, to have them decided there; he ſent them back to the Capital, with the Confidence of a Man, who depended on ſoon having all Authority there. His Affairs grew better every Day. This made the young *Conſul* exceeding jealous of him; and being as cruel as his Father, he ſent Orders to *Junius Brutus*, ſurnamed *Damaſippus*, then *Prætor* in *Rome*, to put to Death all *Sylla*'s Friends that ſtill reſided there. The *Prætor* aſſembled them together, in one of the Halls, where the Senate uſed to meet, under Pretence of conſulting them, and there cruelly murdered them. Among the ſlain were *Papirius Carbo* the *Conſul*'s Brother, and that *P. Antiſtius* whoſe Daughter *Pompey* had married; and when *L. Domitius* endeavoured to flee from the Swords of the Aſſaſſines, he was killed at the Gate of the Palace. *Mucius Scævola*, the *Pontifex Maximus*, eſcaped from thence, and thought himſelf ſafe in the Temple of *Veſta*; but his Executioners ſacrificed him at the Foot of the Altar, and his Blood flew on the Image of the Goddeſs, and had like to have put out the ſacred Fire. After this, the *Prætor*, to join Ignominy with his Cruelty, fixed *Carbo*'s Head on a Stake, and ſhewed it in all the *Conſular* Armies. The Wife of *Antiſtius*, like a true Heroine, who had none of the Vices of *Lucius Calpurnius Beſtia* her Father, no ſooner heard of the Death of her Huſband, but ſhe thought it became her to follow him to the *Elyſian Fields*, and with a Knife ſhe had in her Hand, ſhe ſtabbed herſelf to the Heart.

Epit. Liv.

§. LVII. All theſe Cruelties committed on his Friends at *Rome*, at laſt changed *Sylla*'s Heart. He had hitherto diſcovered no great Marks of an inhuman Temper. His Youth had been ſpent in Pleaſures, and the Politeneſs he had acquired among the *Roman* Ladies, had rather ſoftened his Heart than hardened it. But the bad Example the oppoſite Faction gave him, made him change his Nature, if I may ſo ſpeak, and brought him by degrees, as will ſoon appear, to be one of the moſt barbarous of Men. He was at preſent full of Fury, and in order to advance by degrees towards *Rome*, he poſſeſſed himſelf of *Setia* [130], a City on the Banks of the *Liris*. Young *Marius* was

App. Bell. Civ. L. 1.
Plut. in Sylla.

130 See Vol. 1. p. 266. Note 6; & Vol. 2. p. 58. Note 13.

grieved

Year of *ROME* DCLXXI. Cn. Papirius Carbo, & C. Marius, Conſuls.

grieved to ſee an Enemy, whom he had juſtly provoked, continually gain Ground upon him, and encamp ſo near the Capital; and he met the *Pro-Conſular* Army, and poſted himſelf in a Place called *Sacriportus* [131], at ſome diſtance from [132] *Præneste*. But tho' the two Camps were near enough, *Sylla* doubted whether it would be proper for him to venture a Battle; and a Dream determined him. He imagined, that in his Sleep, he ſaw old *Marius*, perſuading the *Conſul* not to expoſe himſelf to the Danger that threatened him, the next Day. This he took to be a Notification from the Gods; and as ſoon as it was Day, marched towards the Enemy. *Dolabella*, one of his General-Officers, encamped at ſome diſtance, and *Sylla* ſent him Orders to join him without Delay. But *Marius* did all that was poſſible to prevent their joining. His Troops poſſeſſed themſelves of all the Paſſages, ſeized all the narrow Ways, and at certain diſtances, built little Forts of Stone or Turf. So that *Dolabella* and *Sylla* could not move one Step towards each other, without diſputing every Inch of Ground. They were forced to come to little Battles at all the Works the *Conſul* had erected againſt them. By this Means *Sylla*'s Soldiers were ſo fatigued, with theſe Engagements, their March, and the Rain which fell in very great Quantities, that when they came to be drawn up in Battalia, they could ſcarce ſtand on their Feet. They were all ſo weary, that they reſted themſelves on their Javelins or Bucklers. This their General perceived; and it made him fear leſt his Dream ſhould turn againſt him, and deſpair of Conqueſt on a Day which he had thought lucky.

On the other hand, *Marius* was as preſumptuous, as *Sylla* was diſtruſtful. The young *Conſul* preſumed on the Wearineſs of *Sylla*'s old Soldiers, and inſtantly attacked them at the Head of his Cavalry. But as his pretending to break through theſe brave Men with only a few Squadrons, and without fighting a Battle in due Form, was treating them with Contempt, the Veterans, who were uſed to conquer in the Eaſt and Weſt, were piqued at the Inſult, and Anger recovered their Strength. They threw down their Darts on which they reſted, drew their Swords without ſhooting their Arrows, and without any difficulty repulſed the Cavalry, and put them into Diſorder. Then the *Conſular* Cohorts engaged the *Pro-Conſul*'s *Legions*; and the Action became more furious. The Succeſs was for ſome Time doubtful; but at laſt, *Marius*'s left Wing gave way; and the Diſpute was ended by the Deſertion of ſeven of the *Conſular Cohorts*. They threw down their Colours, and went over to *Sylla*. This was enough to put the reſt of a ſhattered Army to flight, and they diſperſed themſelves confuſedly about the Fields. The Conquerors forgot their Fatigue, and purſued them; and at laſt, made a great Slaughter of them. It is pretended, that *Marius* was not at this Inſtant in the Battle; but being overpowered with Sleep, was repoſing himſelf under a Tree. But if ſo, it's certain, That the Flight of his Troops at leaſt waked him. He mixed with the Fugitives, and made all haſte to reach *Præneste*, which he had ſtrengthened with new Fortifications. But the vanquiſhed had fled thither in ſuch Numbers, that the Inhabitants were obliged to ſhut the Gates before the *Conſul* arrived; and he was forced to be drawn up the Wall with Cords, to ſave his Life. All the reſt that were left without the Walls periſhed miſerably by the Swords of the *Pro-Conſulars*. According to *Sylla*'s Memoirs, 20000 of the Enemy were killed upon the Spot in this ſingle Action, and 8000 made Priſoners; whereas he loſt only three and twenty Soldiers. Which if true, was indeed ſuch good Fortune as is ſcarce to be conceived: And now, his Cruelty began to appear. All the *Samnites* that fell into his Hands were maſſacred without Mercy. He looked on this Nation, as eternal Enemies to the *Roman* Name, and the Incendiaries in all Seditions.

Feneſtella.

§. LVIII. Nor was this Campaign fortunate to *Sylla* alone; his leading Friends *Metellus* and *Pompey* [133] likewiſe gained Battles. The former againſt *Papirius Carbo* [134]

131 We know nothing more of the Place called *Sacriportus* by the *Roman* Hiſtorians, than that it was near *Præneste*.

132 See Vol. 1. p. 242. Note 27.

133 At the ſame Time, that *Pompey* diſcovered all the Merit of a conſummate General before the uſual Age, his Modeſty gave a new Luſtre to his military Exploits. See above p. 442.

134 Upon the News of *Sylla*'s Victories, *Carbo*, who with his Army kept *Mitellus* cloſely ſhut up, was in ſuch a Conſternation, that he abandoned his Poſt, after he had firſt evacuated the Places of which he had made himſelf Maſter. *Pompey*, who was lately arrived in *Ciſalpine Gaul*, being informed of the precipitate Flight of *Carbo*, who took the Road to *Rimini*, immediately made himſelf Maſter of his Camp; and fell on the Rear-Guard of the Enemy's Army with ſuch Succeſs, that the greateſt Part of them either fell by the Sword, or were forced to ſurrender at Diſcretion.

on the Confines of *Ciſalpine Gaul*; the latter near [135] *Sienna* in *Hetruria*. So that the three *Pro-Conſular* Armies all inſenſibly drew near to *Rome*, on different Sides: But *Sylla*'s firſt Point was to ſhut up *Marius* in *Præneste*, and there deſtroy him by Famine. He thought that City too ſtrong to be taken by Aſſault, or indeed openly attacked. It ſtood half Way up the Aſcent of a Mountain, on the top of which was its Citadel; and this Mountain was not acceſſible on either hand, but through two Valleys which were made almoſt as ſteep as Precipices. *Sylla* therefore ordered it to be ſurrounded with a large Circumvallation, out of the Reach of the *Balliſtæ*. And tho' he might have entruſted the Management of this great Work to ſeveral illuſtrious *Patricians*, who had long been in his Service; he choſe to honour one *Lucretius Oſella* with it, an unknown Soldier of Fortune, who had lately come to him. The Nobility murmured at this; and plainly ſaw, That *Sylla*'s Ambition to reign alone in the Republick was too great, to permit any others to ſhare the Honour of his Exploits with him. A Preſentiment which was but too well verified in the Sequel. The nearer he drew to *Rome*, the more he neglected his old Friends. All they whoſe Birth might excite them to aſpire at great Dignities, gave him Umbrage. Which was plainly enough ſhewing the *Romans*, that he, who was going to deſtroy Tyranny, would be a new Tyrant himſelf.

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C. N. Papirius Carbo, & C. Marius Conſuls.

As ſoon as he had provided for the Blockade of *Præneste*, he ordered his *Legions* to try to enter *Rome* on different Sides, and to retire to *Oſtia* if the Gates of the Capital were ſhut againſt them. But his Approach ſtruck more Terror than that of *Pyrrhus*, or the *Gauls*, or *Hannibal*, had done; and wherever his Soldiers came, the Cities were opened to them, and the Villages ſupplied them with Refreſhments. *Rome* herſelf did not refuſe them Admittance within her Walls. A Famine began to be felt there, and Fear had ſunk every one's Spirits. The Inhabitants began to be weary of theſe Troubles; the different Factions had long ſince reduced them to extreme Want. It was of little Conſequence to the Multitude, whether they conſtantly obeyed one Maſter, or bore the Yoke of ſucceſſive annual Tyrants, ſince none of them gave them any Eaſe. *Sylla* knew their Diſpoſitions, came to *Rome* without any Obſtruction, and encamped his Army in *The Field of Mars*.

App. de Bell. Civ. L. 1.

§. LIX. His Preſence made all his Enemies diſappear; they retired to different Places. The *Pro-Conſul* gave Law like a Conqueror, and ordered the Eſtates of all thoſe whoſe Fears had diſperſed them to be confiſcated. After which, he aſſembled the People in the uſual Place, and addreſſed himſelf to them thus.

How hard has been my Fate, to have been twice obliged to enter the City Sword in Hand, which was by the Appointment of the Gods made the Place of my Nativity! Was I born here, to ſee Licentiouſneſs authorized, Liberty oppreſſed, and the Laws and ancient Form of the Republick overturned? Soon after Carthage *was deſtroyed, we ſunk into Depravity; and Ambition eaſily got Ground among vitious Men. Luxury and Debauchery corrupted Individuals, and theſe private Vices ſoon produced publick Misfortunes. Some pernicious Citizens, who well knew the Depravity of our Hearts, made ſuch uſe of it, as turned moſt to their own Advantage; and then every Thing became venal among us. Money has been for ſome time the only Spring of Government; and indigent Virtue has not been able to aſpire at publick Offices. Hence that Confuſion of all Ranks and Orders of Men, which followed, and that Preference of the meaneſt of the People before the moſt venerable of the Nobility. The moſt illuſtrious* Patricians, *and indeed the whole Senatorial Order have ſunk into Contempt; and if any of them has raiſed himſelf out of Obſcurity, he has purchaſed his Diſtinctions by very mean and very ſervile Compliances. But it was not ſo, in the fortunate Ages of the Republick. Then every Order was in its due Place. The Nobility and People ſhared the publick Authority, but with a juſt Subordination. The Commons reſpected the Decrees of the Senate; and if any thing was attempted which they thought would be prejudicial to them, the* Tribunes, *their Protectors, contented themſelves with rejecting the Law which would be injurious. And it has always been my Ambition to revive thoſe happy Times. But how many Enemies have I*

135 According to *Frontinus*, *Pompey* gave up the City of *Sienna* to be plundered, and then led his Army to *Milan*, which was taken and ſacked. The Soldiers in their Fury ſpared nothing, ſacred or prophane. The Senate of this Capital of the Province were maſſacred without Mercy, by a Company of Brutes, contrary to the General's Orders. When *Pompey* was informed of this horrible Slaughter, he aſſembled his Soldiers, and after he had diſcovered the Authors of the Maſſacre, repreſented the horrible Nature of their Crime to his Troops in ſo pathetick a manner, that all the Army earneſtly demanded, that thoſe Villains ſhould be puniſhed, according to the Rigour of the Laws.

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drawn on myself by it? All your Tyrants, and the Defenders of Tyranny, became my Perſecutors. My Goods were put up to publick Sale, my Wife and Children reduced to want, my Friends cruelly aſſaſſinated, and myſelf, in the midſt of my Victories, very provokingly declared an Enemy to the Roman *People. But at laſt, the Gods have in a very extraordinary Manner brought me back to this Place. And what do you now expect from me,* Romans? *What uſe do you imagine I will make of my Conqueſt? This I know is what ſo much alarms you. But you may reſt ſatisfied, that* Sylla *is not inclined to Barbarity; he did not ſuck the Milk of a Tyger in* Rome. *As for my virtuous Friends, I will reward their Services, and my Bounty ſhall not fall ſhort of their Affection. And as for the Multitude, who have been unwarily drawn in to join with my Adverſaries, I will forget paſt Injuries, and aſcribe even their bad Actions to their Weakneſs. The only Revenge I will take of* Rome, *ſhall be to reſtore it to its ancient Splendor.*

The ſimple Populace believed *Sylla* on his Word; but the Wiſe foreſaw that ſo total a Change in the Government could not be made without much Bloodſhed. And indeed, how could all that Moderation which *Sylla* promiſed be reaſonably expected from him? He had been perſonally ill uſed, and in his Paſſion vowed Revenge. Whatever Appearance of Mildneſs he might now put on, it was well known how far his Fury might carry him. Some Inſtances of it had eſcaped him in his firſt *Conſulſhip*. The Caſe of the great *Marius*, and the twelve Senators he had formerly proſcribed, foreboded a greater Number of Proſcriptions hereafter. *In Civil Wars*, ſaid the Men of Obſervation, *the Conſequences of Victory are generally bloody. The Conqueror does not think himſelf ſecure againſt his Rivals, till he has taken off their Heads. Nor is his Revenge always confined even to the Perſons he ſuſpects. How many innocent People are confounded with the guilty? Beſides, the General is ſometimes obliged to ſacrifice to his Friends the Lives of thoſe they hate. So that it is not ſo much the perſonal Revenge of the Conqueror that is to be feared, as that of all the Army with which he has conquered. And to this is to be added the Conſideration of the different Paſſions of the Victor himſelf, which he will endeavour to gratify. If he is reſolved to reign alone, he muſt cut off all about him that give him Umbrage. If Money be his Paſſion, he will condemn the rich, though innocent, to be puniſhed, that he may have an Opportunity of ſeizing their Eſtates under the Appearance of Juſtice. And in ſhort, when Power makes all Things poſſible, it is much to be feared, that there are very few Things which he will think unlawful.*

Thus reaſoned the moſt ſenſible of the *Romans*, and their Forebodings proved but too true. Nevertheleſs, *Sylla* did not think fit to ſtain his firſt coming to the Capital with any one Act of Cruelty. He contented himſelf with promoting his Friends to the Offices he found vacant by the Flight of his Enemies; and then left the City with ſome Precipitation.

§. LX. There were two Things that called him into the Field. One was the Surrender of *Prænesſte*, where the *Conſul Marius* was ſhut up. The other was the Approach of *Cn. Papirius Carbo*, who was advancing, by great Marches, to attempt the Deliverance of his Collegue. *Carbo* was already arrived at [136] *Cluſium* in *Hetruria*; and was there aſſembling all the Forces his Party could raiſe. But of all the *Cohorts* he could get together in all *Italy*, his chief Dependance was on the *Celtiberian* Squadrons, which *Barrienus*, *Prætor* of *Hither Spain*, had ſent to his Aſſiſtance; and as ſoon as he knew of *Sylla*'s March, he ſent theſe brave *Spaniards* againſt the *Pro-Conſular* Cavalry. They met in one of the Plains of the [137] *Clanis*; and there *Sylla*'s Troops had all the Advantage. Fifty *Celtiberians* were killed upon the Spot, and 270 of theſe brave Men went over to the *Pro-Conſul*, which coſt their Countrymen very dear. *Carbo*, by an unparallelled Act of Cruelty, cauſed all the *Celtiberians* that were left in his Army to be maſſacred. And at length a general Battle was fought between the Leaders of the two Factions. It began at Sun-riſing, and laſted till after Sun-ſet, without any Advantage gained on either ſide. But it was a Victory to *Carbo*, not to be conquered. He immediately detached *C. Albinus Carinas* one of his Generals, to force the Lines, with which *Q. Lucretius Ofella* had inveſted *Prænesſte*. This Motion of *Carinas* ſhewed *Sylla Carbo*'s Deſign, and he ſent *Pompey* and *P. Craſſus* to engage him. They fought him in the Plains of *Spoleto*, killed 3000 of his Men, and rendered his Attempt fruitleſs. *Carinas* himſelf had much Difficulty to eſcape, by favour of the Night; and to com-

App. L. 1. De Bell. Civ.

136 See Vol. 1. p. 113. Note 33.

137 The *Clanis* here ſpoken of, is now called *La Chiana*. See Vol. 2. p. 340. Note 92; and Vol. 3. p. 154. Note 93.

pleat

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pleat the Misfortune, his Troops after their Defeat fell into an Ambuſcade which *Sylla* had laid for them, and there he loſt 2000 Men more.

In the mean time, *Marius* was ſtill blocked up in *Prænesta*, and preſſed with Want. *Carbo* thought a great Army neceſſary to ſet him at liberty, and he ſent eight *Legions* under the Command of *Marcius Cenſorinus*, one of his Lieutenant-Generals; but *Cenſorinus*'s March was not more fortunate than that of *Carinas*. *Pompey* fell unexpectedly upon him, cut the greateſt Part of his Army in pieces, and forced the reſt to flee to the Hills for Safety. There the Night favoured their Retreat, but they were ſo angry with their General, that they deſerted him; and went, ſome to *Ariminum*, others to their own Houſes. In ſhort, there returned but ſeven *Coborts* of the eight *Legions* to *Cenſorinus*. A terrible Blow to the *Conſul*'s Army! Inſomuch, that he did not now think himſelf ſtrong enough to attempt the Deliverance of his Collegue. Then, for Want of *Roman* Generals, three Commanders of the confederate Troops undertook it. *Pontius Teleſinus* with his *Samnites*, *M. Lamponius* with his *Lucanians*, and *Gutta* with his *Campani*, joining together, made a Body of 70000 Men; and with this numerous Army they advanced towards *Prænesta*, flattering themſelves, that they ſhould have the Glory of delivering a *Roman Conſul*. But they had to do with *Sylla*. He came in Perſon; ſhut up all the Paſſes that led to the City where *Marius* was inveſted; diſperſed the three Bodies of Troops without coming to a Battle with them; and took from *Prænesta* all Hopes of Relief.

§. LXI. *Marius*, though young, wanted neither Ability nor Experience; and did as much to procure his Eſcape as could have been expected from an old Officer. As there was a great Space between the Walls of *Prænesta* and the Enemy's Lines, he there built a kind of Forts defended by wooden Towers full of *Balliſtæ* and *Catapultæ*, and from them the beſieged inceſſantly threw terrible Showers of Arrows. By the Help of theſe Machines, the Garriſon attempted ſeveral Sallies, and endeavoured to break through the Beſiegers Lines. But *Sylla*, who encamped in the Neighbourhood, ran to *Oſella*'s Aſſiſtance upon the firſt Motion of the Enemy, and forced the beſieged to retire into their City. This Management laſted a great while, and the Famine in the Place increaſed. In the mean time, the Bodies *Sylla* had detached [138] againſt *Carbo*'s Partizans, were continually gaining Advantages over them. The two *Servilii* beat the *Conſular* Troops near *Cluſium*; *Marcus Lucullus* defeated an Army of them, in Sight of *Fidentia* [139]; and *Metellus* gained ſtill greater Advantages near *Faventia* [140], over *Carbo* and *Norbanus* together. The latter, though poſted in a Vineyard, ventured to give Battle; but their Soldiers were embarraſſed with the Vine-roots, gave way almoſt without any Reſiſtance, and a terrible Slaughter was made of them. 10000 were killed upon the Spot, 6000 went over to *Metellus*; and the reſt were ſo diſperſed, that there did not remain above 1000 of them together, and they were forced to flee for Safety to the City of *Arezzo*, which had declared for the *Conſuls*. And after this Victory, *Metellus* made himſelf Maſter of the fine Plains of *Uri*, which were the moſt fruitful in Corn, of any in *Italy*. Nor were *Sylla*'s Arms leſs fortunate in *Campania*. His Troops were brought into *Naples* by the Treachery of ſome of the Inhabitants; and after they had deſtroyed a great Number of the Inhabitants, without Diſtinction of Rank or Sex, they ſeized the Galleys in the Port, and ſent all the Rowers to *Sylla*'s Camp. Every Thing ſeemed to concur to promote his Proſperity. A whole *Legion* commanded by *Albinovanus*, one of the *Conſular* Generals, came over and joined *Metellus*. *Albinovanus* thought himſelf ſo unſafe in the Party he had embraced, that he reſolved to renounce it; but by a Crime which has made his Name infamous. This avowed Zealot for *Marius* and *Cinna*, made his Peace privately with *Sylla*, upon Condition that he ſhould diſplay his Zeal againſt the Party he had embraced, by ſome remarkable Action; and he even ſacrificed his Honour to make his Court. He invited *Nor-*

Vell. Pater. L. 1.

App. Bell. Civ. L. 1.

138 According to *Appian*, a Detachment of *Sylla*'s Army had beaten ſome *Conſular* Troops near *Saturnia*, a City in *Hetruria*, anciently called *Aurinia* and *Italia*, and honoured, according to *Livy*, with the Title of a Colony, in the Year of *Rome* 569.

139 The modern Geographers place the City of *Fidentia*, where *The Town of St. Domnin*, or *Borgo di ſan Domnino*, now ſtands. So that it ſtood in that Part of *Lombardy* which now makes the *Dutchy of Parma*, near the Confines of the Territory of *Plaiſance*. *Pliny* calls this City *Julia Fidentia*. The Hiſtory of the Martyrdom of *St. Domnin* calls it, *Julia Chriſopolis*; and ſome others, by the diminutive Appellation of *Fidentiola*; to ſhew it ſcarce deſerves the Name of a City.

140 *Faventia* is now *Faenza*, which the *French* call *Fayence*. It is a City of *Romagnia*, at a little diſtance from *Ravenna*, on the Banks of the *Damone*, a River which riſes at the Foot of the *Apennines*, and falls into the *Adriatick* Sea.

banus,

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banus, then his General, to an Entertainment with all the Officers of the Army, and among the reſt *Apuſtius*, and *Fimbria* the Brother of him who had ſtabbed himſelf in *Aſia*; and *Norbanus* happened not to accept of the Invitation. The Feaſt was ſplendid, but ended very tragically. When they were in the heighth of their Joy, the perfidious *Albinovanus* brought Aſſaſſins into the Hall who murdered all the Gueſts; and then he withdrew to *Sylla*'s Camp. So horrible were the Effects that the Animoſity of Parties produced! *Norbanus* was ſo alarmed with it, that he deſpaired of finding any Fidelity even among his own Friends. Being deſerted by his Troops, and deprived of his chief Officers by Treachery, he reſolved to ſeek for Safety in ſome other Country. Finding a Merchant-ſhip, ready to ſail for the Iſland of *Rhodes*, he went aboard her without any Attendants, and ſailed thither; but there met with that Fate, which he endeavoured to avoid by leaving *Italy*. The *Rhodians* who were better affected to *Sylla*'s than the oppoſite Party, held a Council to deliberate whether they ſhould give his Enemy Refuge; and upon this, *Norbanus* prevented their coming to a Determination, by ſtabbing himſelf with his own Sword, in the middle of the Market-Place.

§. LXII. Thus fell one of the three chief Supports of the *Plebeian* Faction; and of the other two, *Carbo* and *Marius* the preſent *Conſuls*, the latter was ſtill ſhut up in *Prænesſte*, and all his Attempts to get out had proved fruitleſs. The former therefore now reſolved to make his laſt Effort for his Deliverance; and ſent *Junius Damaſippus* with two *Legions* to reinforce, and carry Proviſions into, the Place. But *Sylla*, who was ſtill poſted in the Defiles, ſtopped both the Succours and the Convoy; and *Prænesſte* continued to be as much ſhut up as ever, and nothing but the Obſtinacy of *Marius* made it hold out. On the other hand, *Carbo* had ſo many Loſſes, that he ſeemed to be almoſt deſerted. *Metellus* had lately added to *Sylla*'s Party, all the Nations of *Ciſalpine Gaul*, from *Ravenna* to the *Alpes*; and the Officers that fought under *Carbo* were diſcomfited, in all Places. In the Neighbourhood of *Placentia*, *Lucullus*, formerly *Sylla*'s *Quæſtor* in *Aſia*, had lately defeated the Army *Quinctius* commanded for the *Conſuls*, in a very extraordinary Manner. *Lucullus*'s Troops were ſurrounded; and whilſt they were ſeeking an Expedient to extricate themſelves, the Wind blew freſh, and paſſing over a neighbouring Meadow, brought the Flowers that grew there, to the Camp, and ſcattered them upon their Heads and Bucklers. This the ignorant Soldiers thought a happy Preſage; and the General ſeized this Opportunity to attack the Enemy; which was done with ſuch Vigour, that with ſixteen *Cohorts* he beat fifty, killed 8000 of the Enemy, and made himſelf Maſter of their Camp. An Action of ſo much Valour, that it raiſed him to the Reputation of being one of the greateſt Soldiers that the expiring Republick had produced. Beſides, *Umbria* had been brought over to *Sylla*, by the Reduction of [141] *Tuder*, a *Municipium*, which had ſurrendered to *Marcus Craſſus* [142].

But notwithſtanding the Loſs of all theſe Forces, the *Plebeian* Faction was ſtill formidable. *Carbo* had yet four Armies in the Field. He commanded the firſt himſelf, near *Cluſium*; and had in his Camp 30000 effective Men. *Junius Damaſippus* commanded two *Legions* for him; *Carinas* and *Marcius* two more; and the *Samnites* kept up a numerous Army, which ſeemed irreconcileable to *Sylla*. But *Carbo*'s Courage failed him too ſoon. He deſpaired of Succeſs in *Italy*, and without attending to the Condition to which *Marius* was reduced in *Prænesſte*, embarked with a few Friends for *Africa*, to carry the War thither; and to his Flight may be aſcribed all the future Misfortunes of his Party. As ſoon as he was embarked, *Pompey* and the *Servilii* came and attacked the Army, which he had left near *Cluſium*; and being deſtitute of a General, it made but a feint Reſiſtance. Twenty thouſand Men out of thirty Thouſand were killed on the Spot, and the reſt diſperſed; and after this general Rout, *Sylla* might well have ſaid, that he had no Enemies left. One of the *Conſuls* was fled; and the other ready to periſh with Want, in an inveſted Town, without Hopes of eſcaping. But when the War ſeemed ended, and *Sylla* depended on a compleat Conqueſt; a new Enemy appeared againſt him, who excelled the native *Romans* both in Valour and Experience.

141 This City ſtood near the *Tyber*, between *Perouſe* and *Narni*. The modern *Italians* calls it *Todi*.

142 According to *Plutarch*, *Marcus* diſcovered his Avarice on this occaſion, by appropriating to himſelf the greateſt Part of the Booty which his Soldiers had taken from the Inhabitants.

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§. LXIII. *Pontius Teleſinus*, a *Samnite* of high Extraction, and often mentioned with Honour by the *Roman* Hiſtorians, was as brave as his Father; and had learned the Art of War, both in the Battles he had fought for the *Romans* as their Vaſſal, and in thoſe he had fought againſt them during the Revolt of the *Allies*. As ſoon as *Sylla* had appeared in *Italy*, to ſubdue the *Plebeian* Party, this Man, and one of his Brothers had declared for the *Conſular* Faction, and followed the Standards of *Carbo* and *Marius*; and after the Victory *Sylla* gained in the Plains of *Sacriportus*, the younger *Pontius* had fled for Refuge to *Præneste* with *Marius*, and there remained in a kind of Captivity. The elder had commanded the Troops of his Nation as a Subaltern; and, being eclipſed by the *Conſuls*, had had a ſmall Share of Glory. But when *Carbo* had diſappeared, he was become almoſt the Head of his Party, and as much Maſter of the Fate of *Rome*, as the other *Roman* Generals; and then that Antipathy revived in his Breaſt, which the *Samnites* had ever had for a Republick which had oppreſſed them, and whoſe Yoke they had always borne with great Reluctance. Though his only Intention in ſerving under the *Conſuls*, was to help forwards the Ruin of the *Romans* now violently ſet againſt one another in a Civil War, he had hitherto in Prudence diſſembled his Reſentments; but now he thought it in his Power to deſtroy this proud City, which gave Law to the whole World, and more immediately to *Italy*. After the Ruin of the two *Conſuls*, he had nothing to do, but to humble *Sylla*; and he hoped he ſhould be able to put his politick Scheme in Execution.

Vell. Pat. L. 2. Plut. in Sylla. App. Bell. Civ. L. 1.

In order to do this the more effectually, he firſt joined his Forces to thoſe of *Carinas*, whom *Carbo* had left alone in *Italy*, to ſupport his declining Party: and the Generals marched towards *Præneste*, with an Army of fourſcore thouſand Men, the greateſt Part of whom were *Samnites*; the *Roman* to deliver *Marius*, the *Samnite* to ſet his Brother at Liberty. But the Poſts which *Sylla* was poſſeſſed of, made the Deſign impracticable; and then *Pontius* propoſed another Scheme, which was much greater, and more agreeable to his Inclinations. This was to ſurprize *Rome*, which had for ſome time been open to all Parties, and which *Sylla* could not put into a Condition to ſuſtain a Siege; and the united Armies made a very expeditious March, and arrived towards the cloſe of the Day, on *The Hill of Alba*, where they encamped, to ſpend the Night. The two Generals applauded themſelves for having eluded the Vigilance of *Sylla*, by the Suddenneſs of their Departure, and flattered themſelves with entering *Rome* the next Day, unknown to the Enemy. And indeed it is not to be doubted, but that the taking of *Rome* would have revived the *Plebeian* Party, if the Deſign had been as happily executed, as it was wiſely formed. But *Pontius* and *Carinas* tarried too long at *Alba*. *Sylla* had Time to be informed of their March, and to arrive ſoon enough to hinder their entering the City. Nevertheleſs, before he appeared, the Head of the *Samnite* Army came and poſted itſelf at the Gate *Collina* [142]; and at the Sight of the *Italian* Troops, the Conſternation in *Rome* was inexpreſſible. The Women ran out of their Houſes, with their Hair about their Shoulders; and filled the Streets, and publick Places, and Temples, with their Lamentations. At the ſame time, ſome of the young Nobility marched out of the City on Horſeback, to ſkirmiſh, and were ſoon puniſhed for their Raſhneſs. The greateſt part of them loſt their Lives, and among the reſt one *Appius Claudius*, a Youth of noble Extraction, and great Hopes.

§. LXIV. But whilſt all were full of Terror in *Rome*, *Balbus* arrived full ſpeed, at the Head of 700 Horſe. *Sylla* had ſent him before, and followed himſelf at the Head of his Infantry with as much Expedition as poſſible. About one in the Afternoon he came in ſight of *Rome*; and his Troops being much fatigued, he ordered them to eat, and reſt themſelves for about two Hours; and then propoſed immediately to give Battle. No General had ever more Authority over his Troops; and the *Legionaries* approved of the Propoſal. *Dolabella* and *Torquatus* in vain repreſented to him, that it was hazarding all his extraordinary Succeſs, upon very unequal Terms, to fight freſh Men with his fatigued Troops. His Experience and Superiority of Genius made him overlook common Prejudices. The Trumpets ſounded, and the Attack began about four in the Afternoon, with equal Animoſity on both Sides. The *Roman* Name was odious to the *Samnites*, and the *Samnite* Nation as much abhorred by the *Romans*. They had formerly had many Struggles in long Wars, and often with equal Succeſs. And in the preſent Action, *Pontius Teleſinus* was ſcarce inferior to *Sylla*, in any thing

142 See Vol. I. p. 212. Note 60.

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except that extraordinary good Fortune which had hitherto attended him, but which might now be the *Samnite*'s Caſe; and the Victory continued long in ſuſpence between the two Generals.

In the *Roman* Army, *Sylla* commanded in the Left, and the brave *Craſſus* in the Right. In the *Samnite*, *Pontius* commanded in the Right, and *Carinas* in the Left. Upon the firſt Attack, *Craſſus* had the Advantage over *Carinas*. The Troops of the latter gave way, and were put into Diſorder. The Conqueror purſued them to *Antemnæ*, and from thence ſent an Expreſs to *Sylla*, to acquaint him with his Victory, and to deſire Proviſions. But the Courier could not get to him. *Pontius* had almoſt reduced him to the ſame State, to which *Craſſus* had brought *Carinas*. His Wing was broken, and he was fully employed in rallying it. He was mounted on a white Horſe, and being eaſily known by his Stature, flew through all the Ranks, exhorted ſome, threatened others, and led ſome back by the Hand to the Battle; and was on this Occaſion in the greateſt Danger, that ever befel him in his Life. As he was hurrying from Line to Line, and appearing in all Places, a *Samnite* Squadron came within reach of him, and two *Samnites* had their Arms lifted up, to throw their Darts at him, when one of his Attendants perceiving it, whipped his Horſe, and made him quicken his Pace ſo very ſeaſonably, that the Darts juſt grazed upon the Horſe's Buttocks, and at a little diſtance, ſtuck deep into the Ground. *Sylla* returned *Apollo* Thanks for his Eſcape, kiſſed a little Statue of this God, which he had brought from *Delphi* and wore about his Neck, and then continued his Courſe. But notwithſtanding all his Efforts, his Wing gave way, and after he had ſeen a great Number of his Friends fall, he had no Reſource but in a Retreat; which he conducted like a great Commander, and brought his Troops back to his Camp.

Pontius looked on his having forced *Sylla* to leave the Field of Battle, as a Victory; and proud, of having ſeen him retire, he cried out in the midſt of his Army, *Courage! My brave* Samnites! *We ſhall ſoon be Maſters of* Rome. *There is no true Liberty for us to be had, till we have deſtroyed the Den of Wolves, which have deprived us of it!* Thus the Hopes of plundering *Rome*, and demoliſhing its Walls, encouraged the *Samnites*; and they drew near the City. A Crowd of the Inhabitants, whoſe Curioſity to ſee the Battle had brought them into the Plain, ran back to it; and for fear the *Samnites* ſhould enter with them, the Port-Cullis was let down. This, with its Weight, killed a good Number of them, and among the reſt, ſome Senators; and the Stop gave *Sylla* Time to recover himſelf. Fired with Shame at having been repulſed, he brought on his Troops again; and though the Day was declining, attacked the *Samnites* afreſh, preſſed them cloſe, overpowered them, and at laſt routed them, about half an Hour after Sun-ſet. Then he gave Orders that no Quarter ſhould be given to any *Samnite*, and all the Night was ſpent in purſuing and killing the vanquiſhed. A memorable Battle, and deciſive both for *Sylla* and for *Rome!* If *Pontius* had kept his firſt Advantage, the Capital of the World would have undergone the Fate of *Carthage* and *Corinth*; the *Roman* Republick would have been utterly deſtroyed; and the reſt of the World would have recovered their ancient Liberty.

But *Sylla*'s Victory was compleat. He took and plundered the *Samnites* Camp. So that now, of all the Enemy's Generals, only one was left that could continue the War. *Pontius Teleſinus* was found expiring on the Field of Battle; and at his laſt Breath, there appeared in his Looks the Fierceneſs and Rage of a diſappointed Hero, who found he muſt die, without delivering the World from the Tyranny of *Rome*. *Carinas*, *Junius Damaſippus*, and *Marcius*, who were taken in their Flight, were by *Sylla*'s Order beheaded: And the next Day, all their Heads were brought to the Camp before *Prænefte*. After the firſt Attack in which *Sylla* was worſted, a Report had been ſpread in *Oſella*'s Camp, That *Sylla* was ſlain in the Battle, and his Army diſperſed; and a great Number of *Romans* had abandoned *Oſella*, and the *Conſul Marius* had reſolved to force the Enemy's Lines. But upon the Sight of the Heads of the Enemy's Generals, the Alarm in *Oſella*'s Camp was at an end, and they in *Prænefte* grew more deſperate.

§. LXV. If the Report then ſpread of *Sylla*'s Death had proved true, his Name would have been tranſmitted to Poſterity without Reproach. Hitherto nothing but the Hero had appeared in all his military Exploits. The Neceſſity he was under of taking up Arms againſt his Country, was an Excuſe for it. The Republick was expoſed to the Plunders of an ambitious Faction, and it ſeemed very neceſſary to deliver

her from them. The great Offices were either uſurped without any Election, or the pretended Elections were not free. The *Conſuls* and *Prætors* exerciſed their Offices without lawful Authority, and with all the Violences of Tyrants. The Senate were a contemptible Body of Men, devoted to the Wills of three or four factious Leaders, who alone dictated the Decrees, and *Plebiſcita*. The Nobles were oppreſſed, and could no otherwiſe have acceſs to Dignities, than by devoting themſelves to the Paſſions of the *Plebeian* Party. In ſhort, there was ſo little Correſpondence between the different Orders of Men, that the whole *Roman* State was no better than a Chaos, where the Intereſts of private Perſons prevailed over thoſe of the Publick. And hitherto, *Sylla* had taken upon him the Character of the Avenger of the Nobility, the Reſtorer of the Laws, and the Reformer of the ancient Government. A glorious Deſign, which would have made him more illuſtrious than the *Camilli*, *Fabii*, *Pauli Æmilii*, and the *Scipio's*, even tho' he had ſunk under the Weight of the Attempt. Hiſtory would have done him Juſtice, by eternizing his Zeal, and lamenting his ill Fate. But it was much to the Injury of his Fame, that he ſurvived his Victories in *Africa*, *Aſia*, and *Italy*. After the Death of *Pontius Teleſinus*, he ſeems to have no longer had the Heart of a *Roman*, but of a *Samnite*. He grew ſo cruel, that he did not ſeem to be the ſame Man; and the Regard Hiſtorians ought to have to Truth, will not ſuffer us to draw a Curtain over theſe tragical Scenes. We cannot indeed ſee ſo much Bloodſhed, without Horror; but it will ſhew us the Miſeries of Republicks, when once ambitious Rivals diſpute for Authority in them.

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144 As ſoon as *Sylla* had diſperſed the Army that came to ſurprize *Rome*, he marched for *Antemnæ*, to purſue his Victory; and there he began to grow very unlike himſelf. That Spirit of Inhumanity with which he had ſo often reproached *Marius* and *Cinna*, ſeized him; after the Defeat of the *Samnites*. He was now at the higheſt pitch of human Grandeur. All his Enemies were vanquiſhed. Of all the Party that oppoſed him, there remained only one Body of 10000 *Romans*; and they, in the laſt Battle, had loſt *Carinas* their Commander, and had now no Reſource but to ſurrender themſelves up to him. And in ſuch Circumſtances, it ſeems to have been Wiſdom, at leaſt it's certain, it would have been Humanity, to have attached them to him, by ſhewing them Mercy. But when 3000 of theſe miſerable Wretches ſent to intreat him, to receive them among his *Legionaries*, and promiſed him an inviolable Fidelity, the cruel General gave them an Anſwer, which could ſcarce have been excuſed in a Barbarian. He ordered their Deputy to tell them, that if their Repentance was ſincere, they ſhould expiate their Fault, by killing all thoſe of their own Body, who ſtill perſiſted in their Obſtinacy. Upon this, theſe unfortunate Men, to merit their Reconciliation, turned their Arms againſt their Comrades; and a bloody Battle enſued, and no ſtop was put to it, till they all 145 unanimouſly cried out, that they would go over to *Sylla* and obey his Orders. This Declaration, and the Step they afterwards took, in going to the Conqueror's Camp, without Arms, and in the Poſture of Suppliants, ſeemed ſufficient to have ſoftened the hardeſt Heart: And *Sylla* pretended to pardon them. But he ſtill reſolved to execute upon them Vengeance elſewhere, in a more ſignal manner. He brought them to *Rome*, which he entered amidſt the Acclamations of the People, and there made it his firſt Buſineſs to ſet them by themſelves, ſhut them up in the *Circus*, and ſurround them with his Troops, whoſe private Orders were to maſſacre them all, at a Time appointed. *Plut. in Syll.*

Then, with as much Coolneſs as if he had no cruel Execution in view, he aſſembled the Senate in the Temple of *Bellona*, to ſhew his Regard for old Cuſtoms; and there he harangued the *Conſcript Fathers*. He told them, that all the Fruit he expected to reap from his Exploits, was to re-eſtabliſh the Republick on the ſame Foot on which it ſtood in the beſt of Times; and they were very attentive to the Orator. But on a ſudden, there aroſe a Cry on the Side of the *Circus* which ſurprized them; and then *Sylla*, with a very ſerene Countenance, and without any Emotion ſaid, *You need not*

144 The Night was far advanced when *Craſſus* had ſent an Expreſs to *Sylla*, to give him an Account of his Victory. He had purſued the Enemy as far as *Antemnæ*, whither the Remains of the vanquiſhed had retired, and the Night had forced him to encamp, within ſight of the City. By break of Day *Sylla* came to his Camp; and after he had given him the Praiſes due to his Valour, he went over the Field of Battle, and reckoned the Number of the Slain; which amounted on both Sides to 50000.

145 *Appian* makes them to have been but 8000 in all; and *Plutarch* ſays, only 6000 ſurrendered to *Sylla*.

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be diſturbed about what paſſes without doors. The Noiſe you hear is only the Groans of a Company of Criminals whom I have ordered to be puniſhed. But when the Senators were informed of the Maſſacre in the *Circus*, and had learnt the Cauſe of it, they ſaid, *We have only changed the Tyrant. The Tyranny is not aboliſhed.* The Circumſtance that moſt alarmed them, was *Sylla*'s Air of Compoſure and Tranquillity, when he heard the Cries of ſo many dying Men. This made the moſt ſenſible of the People ſay, *Alas! we are become a Prey to a wild Beaſt. The Blood he ſhed in Battle did not ſufficiently diſcover the Fury that threatens us. But he has now thrown off the Maſk. What have we not Reaſon to fear from the Heart of a Tyger, which has hitherto been concealed under the Appearances of Moderation!*

§. LXVI. Preſentiments, which were but too fully verified, in the Sequel. *Sylla*'s Fury was not at all abated by the new Advantages he gained. *Præneſte*, which had been ſo long inveſted by *Ofella*, ſurrendered immediately after the late Battle. The Heads of *Pontius*, *Carinas*, and the other Chiefs of the *Conſular* Party, made a great Impreſſion on the *Prænestini*. Beſides, *Sylla* was Maſter of *Rome*, *Carbo* was fled, their City grievouſly diſtreſſed with Hunger; and tho' they had no Reſource but to the Clemency of the Conqueror, *Marius* was no longer heard. Notwithſtanding all the Oppoſition he could make, they delivered up their City to *Ofella*, who took all poſſible Precautions, to get the young *Conſul* into his Hands. He knew, that there were ſeveral ſubterranean Paſſages in *Præneſte*, which opened into the neighbouring Plain; and leſt *Marius* ſhould eſcape through any of them, he ſet Guards to them all. So that the *Conſul*, after he had walked ſome time under Ground, and was ready to have returned to the Light, found himſelf ſurrounded with Enemies. Upon this, ſome ſay, he ſtabbed himſelf with his own Sword, for fear of falling alive into the Enemy's Hands; Others, That young *Pontius Teleſinus* [146] and he voluntarily fought, each ſeeking his own Death; and That *Pontius* falling firſt, the latter ordered [147] a Slave to kill him. However, this laſt Operation of the Campaign, put the Conqueror in a Condition, to do what he pleaſed; and he immediately haſtened to *Præneſte*. There *Ofella* had already executed ſome of the City Magiſtrates, and reſerved the reſt for the Severity of *Sylla*, who cruelly condemned them all to die. Then he divided all the Soldiers he found there, into three Companies, of *Romans*, *Samnites*, and *Prænestini*; made them march out of the City; and through an unaccountable Fit of Clemency, gave the *Romans* their Lives, after he had made them ſenſible that they deſerved to die. But, he delivered the reſt to his [148] Archers, who diſpatched them with a Shower of Arrows; and only the Women and Children had their Lives ſaved. After this, the City itſelf was given up to be plundered, and from being one of the richeſt and moſt populous in *Italy*, became in one Day, the moſt poor and the moſt deſolate. [149] *Norba* alſo, a City of *Campania*, which had perſiſted in its Revolt, was entirely deſtroyed. *Æmilius Lepidus* took it for *Sylla* by Treachery; and the Inhabitants, grown deſperate, prevented the Fury of their Conquerors. Some ſtrangled themſelves; others ſtabbed themſelves with their own Swords; others ſetting Fire to their Houſes, periſhed in the Flames; and the Fire robbed the greedy Soldiers of the Moveables and Money of theſe unfortunate *Campani*.

Vell. Pat. L. 2.

Epit. Liv. Diod. Sic. in Eclog

App. de Bell. Civ. L. 1.

146 This *Pontius Teleſinus* was the Brother to him who had commanded the *Samnite* Army, and had loſt his Life fighting with *Sylla*.

147 To which *Appian* adds, That *Marius*'s Head was brought to *Sylla*; and afterwards expoſed, by his Orders, in the *Forum*, to inſpire Terror. And the ſame Hiſtorian affirms, That the *Pro-Conſul* received this Preſent, with an Air of Inſolence mixed with Indignation and Contempt; and alluding to *Marius*'s Youth and Unexperience, ſaid, *What did this raſh Boy mean, to pretend to govern the Rudder, before he had handled the Oar.*

148 According to the Hiſtorians, 7000 *Samnites* and 5000 *Prænestini* periſhed in this cruel Butchery. According to *Plutarch*, as ſoon as *Sylla* came to *Præneſte*, he made it his firſt Buſineſs to bring the Inhabitants to a Trial. He cited them all, according to their Ranks; and ſitting upon his Tribunal, after a ſlight Accuſation, pronounced Sentence of Death upon them, to give his Cruelty the Appearance of Juſtice But being at laſt tired out with the length of theſe Proceedings, which had already kept him ſome Days at *Præneſte*, and retarded the Effects of his Vengeance; by his Orders, all thoſe whom he had deſtined to die, were brought together into one Place, to the Number of 12000; and were there all cut in pieces, in *Sylla*'s Preſence, who choſe to be a Spectator of this horrible Slaughter. He had indeed offered Mercy to one of the Citizens, who had received him hoſpitably. But the generous *Prænestin* choſe rather to die, than ſurvive the Maſſacre of his Country-men. *I ſhould be aſhamed*, ſaid he to *Sylla*, *to owe my Life to the Executioner of my Country*; and this ſaid, he offered himſelf to the Swords of the Murderers, and was ſoon confounded among the dead and dying.

149 *Norba*, an ancient *Roman Colony*, ſtood on the Confines of *Latium* and *Campania*, in the Place where *Norma Rovinato* now ſtands. The River *Nymphæus*, which the *Italians* call *La Nympa*, watered the Territory of this City.

THE Roman Hiſtory.

BOOK LVIII.

§. I. THE Terror of the Conqueror made all [1] *Italy* give way before him; nevertheleſs, he was more intent on enſlaving the People than gaining their Affections. He placed ſuch Governors as were devoted to him, in all the *Italian Provinces*, put Garriſons in the Cities he ſuſpected; and pitched ſeveral little Camps in different Diſtricts to keep the Country in awe. *Italy* thus ſecured, he next turned his Thoughts to the great *Provinces* of the *Roman* State, which were without that Continent. He had nothing to fear in the Eaſt, from whence he was ſo lately returned; he had left his Friend *Murena* there with an Army of two *Legions*, and the People greatly revered the Name of the Conqueror of *Mithridates*. But the Caſe was different as to [2] *Africa*, *Spain*, and *Sicily*. *Marius*, *Cinna*, and *Papirius Carbo*, the three ſucceſſive Tyrants of *Rome*, had placed *Prætors* of their own Faction, in thoſe great Governments. *Sertorius* was actually renewing the War in *Spain*, and *Carbo* in *Africa*; and for fear theſe two Generals ſhould each make himſelf a little Sovereign in his Diſtrict, *Sylla* ſent againſt them three of his moſt faithful and moſt brave Commanders. *C. Annius* went firſt to *Spain*, and after him *Metellus*: And *Pompey* ſet out for *Africa*: But we muſt for the preſent poſtpone their military Exploits, and ſtop a little, to take a more particular View of *Sylla*'s Proceedings at *Rome*.

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The new Maſter of the Republick had not yet fully diſcovered himſelf. He carried his Fury by degrees to ſuch exceſs, as no *Roman* had reaſon to expect. The firſt Act of his Dominion was to aſſemble the People in *Comitia*; but his Speech was not that of a dutiful *Citizen* applying to lawful Judges for the Puniſhment of the old Diſturbers of the publick Peace. His Conduct was that of a deſpotick Prince, who threatens, dictates, and determines, without any other Rule of Juſtice than his own Good-will and Pleaſure. He began with a pompous Detail of his paſt Victories, and preſent Forces; the former of which gained him real Eſteem, the latter filled every Breaſt with inexpreſſible Dread. It was evident enough, that if he had been a dutiful Republican, he would have diſmiſſed them, and have left it to the People to inflict Ven-

App. de Bell. Civ. L. 1.

1 After he had made *Præneſte* and *Norba* feel the moſt terrible Effects of his Vengeance, he decreed different Puniſhments againſt the other Cities of *Italy*, which had either freely, or by conſtraint, declared for the Faction of *Marius* and *Cinna*. Some were deprived of all the Privileges they enjoyed, as *Municipia*, or *Colonies*, or *Roman Citizens*. Others were diſmantled, and their Citadels deſtroyed. And ſome were reduced to extreme Want by being overloaded with his Taxes. The Citizens of *Florentia*, *Spoleto*, and *Interamna* were ſold like Slaves to the beſt Bidder; and *Sulmona*, one of the moſt conſiderable Cities in *Latium*, after it had ſuſtained a Siege of ſome Days, was utterly deſtroyed.

2 One *Caius Fabius*, ſurnamed *Adrianus*, had lately governed *Africa* in quality of *Pro-Prætor*, and the enormous Robberies he had committed throughout his whole Province, had driven the Inhabitants of *Utica* into a Revolt. Then in order to guard againſt the Enterprizes of the Malecontents, he had attached the Slaves of that City to him, and thoſe vile Wretches whom he had careſſed were the Tools of his Ambition. It was publickly ſaid, That he had a Deſign on the Lives of the Magiſtrates, and of all that could obſtruct his Deſigns; and when this Report was got among the People, the *Roman Citizens* of *Utica*, whom *Fabius* had exaſperated by his Extortions, raiſed an Inſurrection in all Quarters of the City; giving themſelves up to their Reſentments, and being ſupported by the Populace, they ran to the *Prætor*'s Palace, ſet Guards to all the Avenues to it, and ſetting Fire to the Building, there conſumed the unfortunate *Fabius* with it. This Fact is related by *Cicero* in his *Oration againſt Verres*, *Epit. Liv. Oroſius*, and *Val. Maximus*.

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geance by their Suffrages; whereas he but too plainly declared in the cloſe of his Speech, that he was reſolved to be his own Avenger. *I am come*, ſaid he, *to a fixed Reſolution to reſtore the Republick to its firſt Luſtre, and not to ſpare one of the ſeditious that have diſturbed its Peace. When I returned to* Italy, *I did all I could, to put an End to Hoſtilities, and ſpare* Roman *Blood; and the* Conſul Scipio *was willing to hearken to thoſe Negotiations of Peace, that would have ſtopped the Progreſs of the Civil War. But ſome pernicious Citizens and turbulent Magiſtrates oppoſed my pacifick Deſigns. They would have a War; and I have conquered. Let them then ſuffer the Puniſhment they deſerve for their Mutinies, and expiate the Blood they have made me ſhed, with their own! I will not ſpare one* Prætor, *or* Queſtor, *or* Tribune, *that has borne Arms againſt me, ſince the Peace was broke off. In ſhort all my Enemies ſhall periſh.*

Had Lightning fallen on the *Comitia*, it would not have cauſed ſo general a Conſternation as theſe Words; and *Sylla*'s Threatenings were ſoon followed with their Execution. There was that very Day fixed up a Liſt of thoſe he proſcribed; and this, though it contained the Names of 40 Senators, and 1600 *Roman Knights*, was only a Sketch of that Vengeance, of which he had formed the Plan. And if the Edict was cruel, the Execution of it was much more barbarous. The Tyrant had choſen ſuch Agents to execute his Deſigns, as had even leſs Pity than himſelf. The famous *Catiline*, whoſe ſeditious Enterprizes we ſhall hereafter relate with Deteſtation, was to *Sylla*, what *Fimbria* had been to *Marius*. Though yet very young, he was the Inſtrument of all *Sylla*'s Cruelties. Senators and *Roman Knights* were aſſaſſinated in the Streets, before they knew they were proſcribed. The Perſons named in the Liſt, were ſought for in their own Houſes, in the Portico's, and even at the Feet of the Altars. Some were brought alive into *Sylla*'s Preſence, and were daſhed in pieces by being thrown down from high Places, and trodden under Foot. The Eſtates of thoſe that eſcaped were ſold, and a great many of them were ſo cloſely purſued, that they were overtaken and ſtabbed. Nor was the Maſſacre confined to thoſe named in the Liſts. *Sylla* not only every Day publiſhed new Liſts, and ſeemed never tired with ſhedding *Roman* Blood, but extended his Revenge even to the Poſterity of the proſcribed, whom by an Edict he expreſly declared infamous, and deprived of the Right of *Roman Citizenſhip*. Beſides, the Executors of the Decrees took this Opportunity to gratify likewiſe their own perſonal Revenge; and left none of their own Enemies alive. Nor were theſe Horrors confined to the Capital, but extended to the *Provinces*. Every one there, who had declared againſt *Sylla*, or any of his Partizans, was puniſhed with Death. Nay, the moſt innocent, and the moſt peaceable, were confounded with the moſt guilty. Rich *Citizens* were aſſaſſinated, purely for the ſake of the Booty to be got by it; and one Brother killed another, to [3] get Poſſeſſion of his Inheritance. In ſhort, the Slaughter was ſo terrible, both in City, and Country, that *Sylla* was reproached for it, in full Senate, by his beſt Friends. *Metellus*, one of the youngeſt Senators, ventured to ſay to him, openly in the Houſe, *When will you put an End to our alarms? We don't aſk favour for your Enemies, whom it may be expedient to cut off; but we deſire that you would at leaſt remove their Uneaſineſs whom you deſign to ſave.* *Thoſe*, anſwered Sylla, *whom I deſign to ſave? I am not yet abſolutely determined who they ſhall be. At leaſt then, name thoſe*, replied Metellus, *whom you reſolve to deſtroy.* To which *Sylla* anſwered, *You ſhall know that ſoon.*

Flor. L. 3. c. 21.

Plut. in Sylla.

§. II. And indeed, not many Days were paſt before a new [4] Liſt was fixed up of eighty Senators, and a great number of rich *Citizens*, who were proſcribed. Among theſe were more than one *Conſul*, as *Cn. Papirius Carbo*, *L. Cornelius Scipio*; and others who were actually *Prætors* at this Time, as *Sertorius*, and *Marius Gratidianus*, the Brother of the *Conſul* who was killed at *Præneſte*. Indeed *Sertorius* was in *Spain*, out of *Sylla*'s reach. But *Marius* was at *Rome*, and his Death was accompanied with all the ſorts of Puniſhment that the moſt cruel Tyranny could invent. His Crimes were, That his Name was *Marius*, and That the People had carried their Re-

3 This had been *Catiline*'s Caſe; who, to juſtify in ſome Meaſure his Crime, or at leaſt to conceal the Enormity of it, obtained leave of *Sylla* to have the Name of his Brother, whom he had long before killed, inſerted among thoſe of the proſcribed, as if he had been ſtill alive. And the Villain ſhewed his Gratitude to the Tyrant, by becoming the Agent of his Cruelties.

4 Almoſt every Day produced a freſh Liſt of proſcribed Perſons. *Sylla* ſeemed even to take a Pleaſure in increaſing the Terrors of the People, by affecting to declare that his Revenge was not ſatisfied by all theſe Proſcriptions; and he extended it even to the Poſterity of thoſe unfortunate People. He publiſhed an Edict on purpoſe to declare them infamous, and deprived of the Rights of *Roman Citizens*.

gard for him to great Exceſs, though they had already broken down the Statues which they had erected to him in his firſt *Prætorſhip*, for procuring a Regulation of the Coin; and his Executioner was *Catiline*. He was dragged out of a Stable, where he was hid, and whipped through all the Streets of *Rome*. Then he was brought, in this ignominious State, to the Tomb of the *Lutatian* Family, beyond the *Tyber*; and there *Sylla*'s barbarous Agents firſt bored [5] out his Eyes, then cut off his Hands and Ears, then tore out his Tongue, then diſlocated all his Joints and broke his Bones, and then ſtrangled him [6]. But, what ſeemed moſt inhuman in *Sylla*'s Edicts (for he publiſhed three one after another) was this, That a Son was not permitted to conceal his Father, or a Woman her Huſband. Nay, he promiſed [7] Rewards to the Slaves who ſhould kill their proſcribed Maſters. Very exact Enquiries were made after all who had ſerved under *Marius* and *Cinna*, and not one was ſpared. But after all, the Crime that was moſt ſeverely puniſhed, was that of being [8] rich. This was unpardonable. One *Q. Aurelius*, a rich Burgher of *Rome*, had always led a private Life, far from Employments, and publick Factions. Nevertheleſs, he, to his great ſurprize, read his own Name in a Liſt of the proſcribed; upon which he ſaid, *It is not me they aim at, but my fine Houſe at* Alba; and no ſooner had he ſaid it, but an Aſſaſſin diſpatched him. Another, as he was reading the Liſt, inſulted over the Miſeries of thoſe whoſe Names he found there, but at laſt found his own, and was immediately puniſhed for his ill-timed Inſults. It was dangerous to mix with the Crowd that gathered round the Edict. There were ſome poſted among them, on purpoſe to watch the Words, Geſtures, and Looks of the Readers; and any Mark of Compaſſion for a Friend, or a Sigh extorted by the Miſfortunes of the Times, were puniſhed without delay. Nay, an ill Conſtruction was put upon Silence itſelf; which was aſcribed to a tacit Condemnation of the Conduct of the Tyrant. Sometimes it happened, that they of *Sylla*'s Party took this Opportunity to ſcreen themſelves from Puniſhment, for the Crimes which they had committed. *Catiline* had ſtabbed his Brother; and to ſecure himſelf from the odious Accuſation of Fratricide, put the Name of the murdered in the Liſt of the proſcribed. Nor was this all the Favour *Sylla* ſhewed him; he rewarded him further with the Command of his *Gallic* Guards, who executed his Orders. With their Aſſiſtance, *Catiline* aſſaſſinated ſeveral *Roman Knights*, and among others, *Q. Cæcilius*, his Siſter's Huſband; and made his Court to *Sylla*, by bringing him the Heads he had cut off. Theſe were an agreeable Sight to the Tyrant, and he ordered them to be fixed on Poles in the *Comitium*, to terrify the *Romans*. In a Word, nine thouſand Men, or as others, four thouſand ſeven hundred, who were either Magiſtrates, or Senators, or *Knights*, or *Roman Citizens*, all periſhed by *Sylla*'s Orders, or by the Fury of his Agents.

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Cic. de Petit. Conſ. *Seneca de Ira.* *Plin. L.* 34. *Appian.* *Florus.* *Oroſius & alii.*

§. III. From *Rome Sylla* extended his Cruelties to the Cities in the neighbouring *Provinces* that had declared againſt him, and uſed them without Mercy. Some were diſmantled, and their Citadels razed. Others were very heavily taxed, and great Sums raiſed upon them. All the Effects of the Inhabitants of [9] *Florentia*, *Spoleto*, *Interamna*, and

5 According to *Val. Maximus*, one *Marcus Plætorius* diſappeared upon ſeeing the terrible Torments which the unfortunate *Marius* endured; and the barbarous *Sylla* made, even this natural Compaſſion which he could not help, criminal; and *Plætorius* was, by his Orders, killed upon the Spot. Even the being at all affected with the Sufferings of the proſcribed *Citizens*, was what he would not forgive.

6 Nor was even this all with regard to *Marius*. He was ſcarce expired in his Torments, when *Catiline* cut off his Head, carried it as a Trophy, and oſtentatiouſly made a Show of it in the *Forum Romanum*. *Sylla* was then haranguing the People, and he received the ſhocking Preſent without diſcovering the leaſt Emotion, or ſhewing the leaſt Concern when he looked at it. And *Catiline* was not aſhamed to add Prophaneneſs to his Barbarity. His Hands being dawbed with the Blood he had ſhed, he went into the Temple of *Apollo*, which was near the *Forum*, and there purified himſelf by waſhing in the *Luſtral* Water. Thus he made Religion a Sanction for his mournful and bloody Tragedies, with which he daily terrified the *Citizens* of *Rome*. Nor was *Sylla* even yet ſatisfied with his Revenge on this Family. Death having robbed him of his chief Victim, in old *Marius*, he reſolved at leaſt to have the cruel Pleaſure of revenging himſelf on the Aſhes of that formidable Chief of the *Plebeian* Faction. They were by his Orders taken out of his Tomb, and thrown into the *Anio*.

7 He ſet a Price upon the Heads of the proſcribed. Two *Talents**, which make about 2000 *French Crowns*, was the Reward he gave for each Murder; and promiſed the ſame to ſuch Slaves as ſhould kill their Maſters. Upon this there were Children unnatural enough to come to *Sylla* reaking in the Blood of their Fathers, to demand the Rewards of their Parricide.

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8 *Sylla*, who thought Murders nothing, gave full Power to thoſe of his Faction to revenge their private Quarrels with the Sword. Then the Voice of Nature, or of Blood, was no longer heard; they gave themſelves wholly up to the Dictates of Revenge and Avarice. The Names of Father, Brother, Relation, or Friend, no longer carried any Endearment with them; if a Man was rich, how nearly ſoever related, that was enough to cauſe him to be condemned to die.

9 *Florence* was a *Municipium* in *Sylla*'s Time, according

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and *Sulmona* were ſold to the beſt Bidder, their Lands given to *Sylla*'s old Soldiers, and their Owners tranſplanted to other Places. *Præneſte* was razed, and never recovered its former flouriſhing State. Which was a juſt Puniſhment on a People who had deſerved it by their former Seditions, and more by their late Cowardice. They might have overpowered *Sylla* after his return from *Aſia*, but they made a very feint Reſiſtance. Their ancient Love of Liberty might have rouſed the Courage of the *Italians* to ſhake off the Yoke he was bringing upon them. But they tamely ſubmitted to it, without any conſiderable Oppoſition. All the old Pride of the *Romans*, and all their Love of their Country, ſeemed contained within the Breaſt of that [10] *Cato* only, who will hereafter be known by the Appellation of *Cato of Utica*; and was then but fourteen Years of Age. If their ancient Love of Liberty had revived the Courage of the *Italians*, they might perhaps have ſhaken off the Yoke, which brought them to Deſtruction. Whereas they ſubmitted to it without Reſiſtance. *Cato* alone diſcovered the Remains of the old Spirit. His Governor *Sarpedon*, brought him, by Order of his Family, to [11] make his Court to *Sylla*, where the young *Roman* was always graciouſly received: And, one Day, ſeeing a heap of Heads laying at *Sylla*'s Feet, he ſaid to his Governor, *What a Havock is here! Who can hinder the* Romans *from adding the Head of him, who has done this, to all the reſt? Fear*, replied Sarpedon, *has more influence on diſheartened Men, than Hatred. Give me a Sword then*, returned the Youth, *and I myſelf alone will attempt, what all* Rome *dares not undertake. Sarpedon* was ſurprized at the Courage of his Pupil; but took care how he brought him again to the Court of *Sylla*.

§. IV. Whilſt *Italy* was thus groaning under the Oppreſſion of the Tyrant, *Pompey* was in *Africa* purſuing his good Fortune. Before he ſet out on this Expedition, *Sylla* reſolved to attach him to himſelf by ſtronger Ties than thoſe of Friendſhip. His Wife *Metella* adviſed him to marry his Grand-daughter *Æmilia*, who was already married, and big with Child by a Huſband ſhe loved, to the riſing [12] Hero. In order to this, it was neceſſary there ſhould be two Divorces. *Pompey* was obliged to divorce [13] *Antiſtia* his firſt Wife, the Daughter of that *Antiſtius* who had loſt his Life in *Sylla*'s Cauſe; and [14] *Æmilia*, the Daughter of *Æmilius Scaurus*, was forced to leave *Manius Acilius Glabrio* her Huſband, to go to *Pompey*. This was extreamly againſt the Inclinations of the two Huſbands; but *Sylla* extended his Tyranny to the Hearts of Men. As ſoon as *Pompey* had entered into this Alliance with him, he ſet out for the *African Province*, whither *Carbo* had fled for Refuge. In his way, he landed in *Sicily*, and continued there for ſome time. The Iſland was then in the Hands of *Perperna*, *Carbo*'s Friend; but the latter left the Country, and retired for Safety to *Carbo*; and after this, the only City from which *Pompey* had reaſon to expect any Reſiſtance was *Catanea*. He therefore aſked leave of the Inhabitants, as a Favour, to ſend his ſick Men thither; and they conſenting, he ſent the braveſt of his Troops, and by that Means made himſelf Maſter of the Place. In the mean time, *Carbo* was come from *Africa* to *Coſſura*, and had Thoughts of retiring for greater Safety into *Egypt*, whoſe King was his Friend, and upon ill Terms with *Sylla*. But whilſt he was preparing for his Embarkation, in the Iſland of [15] *Coſſura*, between *Africa* and *Sicily*, he was ſurpriſed with the News that *Pompey* had poſſeſſed himſelf of *Catanea*; and looking on it as an uncertain Report, he ſent *Brutus Damaſippus* to get him a true Account. *Damaſippus* ſet out in a Fiſher-boat, and came to the Port of *Lilybæum*; where he was inveſted

Plut. in Pomp.

Epit. Liv. L. 89. c. 2.

cording to *Florus*, *L.* 3. *c.* 21. who calls it *Fluentia*; and in ſome MSS of *Pliny*, the *Florentines* are called *Fuentini*. Of *Spoleto*, *Interamna*, and *Sulmona*, ſee the preceding Volumes.

10 *Marcus Porcius Cato* was the great Grandſon of *Cato the Cenſor* by *Salonia* his ſecond Wife. *Marcus Porcius Cato* his Father, died in canvaſſing for the *Prætorſhip*, and left his Son, and his Daughter *Porcia*, under the Guardianſhip of the famous *Tribune of the People*, *Livius Druſus*, who was their Uncle, by the Mother's Side.

11 *Plutarch* tells us, that *Sylla* had been in a very ſtrict Friendſhip with the Father of *Cato of Utica*, and ſhewed great Regard to his Children. This *Cato*, and *Servilius Cæpio*, his Brother by the Mother's Side, had free Admiſſion into his Palace. *Sylla* was always pleaſed to ſee them, and never ſent them away without ſome Marks of his Affection.

12 *Sylla* was already ſo prepoſſeſſed with Eſteem for the young Hero, that whenever he met him he diſmounted from his Horſe, or continued ſtanding in his Preſence, as a Teſtimony of his Reſpect. He ſaid, according to *Valerius Maximus*, *That he owed this Mark of Diſtinction to a Man, who had declared openly for him, at the Age of eighteen Years, and had engaged his Father's Troops in his Service.*

13 *Antiſtia*'s Mother was ſo affected with the Affront *Pompey* offered her Daughter, that ſhe killed herſelf.

14 *Æmilia*'s Mother was *Metella*, *Sylla*'s Daughter; and conſequently ſhe muſt have been his Grand-daughter.

15 See Vol. 2. p. 580. Note 11.

by ſome of *Pompey*'s Party, and choſe rather to kill himſelf, than be carried alive into his Enemy's Preſence. He fixed his Sword againſt one of the Rower's Benches, threw himſelf upon it, and drove it thro' his Body. And it was not long before *Carbo* followed him.

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§. V. *Pompey* ſent and inveſted *Carbo*, and the Officers who had followed him into *Africa* in great Numbers, and were now with him in *Coſſura*, and brought them all to *Sicily*. However, the *Conſul* did not expect to find *Pompey* an implacable Enemy. He had formerly ſaved his Eſtate, when his Father had been accuſed after his Death of robbing the Publick; and he could not eaſily believe, that Party-zeal could efface all Senſe of Gratitude in the Heart of a Friend. But he found that *Pompey*'s Attachment to *Sylla*'s Faction, made him inſenſible to any Thing elſe. The young General ordered the old Magiſtrate, who had been dignified with three *Conſulates*, to be brought before him; ſuffered him to fall proſtrate at his Feet, loaded with Chains; and received his Humiliations with ſuch an Air of Pride, as was ſhocking even to his Friends. Nor did he ſtop at Contempt only. He aſſembled his Soldiers, mounted his *Tribunal*, ordered the *Conſul* to be brought, reproached him with his Exceſſes, and condemned him to die by the Executioner's Hands. A Soldier inſtantly drew his Sword, in order to kill him; and then *Carbo*'s Weakneſs appeared in the ſtrongeſt Light. He debaſed his laſt Moments with ſo mean an Act of Cowardice, that we are aſhamed to pollute our Hiſtory with it. In order to prolong his Life a few Minutes, he deſired leave to eaſe Nature; and whilſt he was doing ſo, the Executioner cut off his Head. Thus periſhed a ſeditious Man, who was intrepid only in committing Crimes; and *Pompey* would not vouchſafe even to bring his Friends into his Preſence, but judged them worthy of Death, which was immediately executed upon them. The General offered Violence to his own [16] Good-Nature in this critical Conjuncture; and when *Carbo* and his Train were puniſhed, he made no Enquiries after their Accomplices. On the contrary, he even favoured the Eſcape of many of that Party; and his Conduct with regard to *Sicily*, was ſuch, as gained him the Affections of all the People. He adminiſtred Juſtice, and regulated Affairs there, with Moderation. When the [17] *Mamertini* refuſed to ſubmit to his Regulations, and would have maintained their Privileges by force, he brought them to a Compliance with this Queſtion; *Whether it belonged to Burghers to quote Laws, againſt a General, at the Head of an Army?* And the Inhabitants of [18] *Hymera*, were treated with ſtill greater Moderation. Upon his reproaching them with having been too active in the Cauſe of *Marius* and *Cinna*, *Sthenias* their chief Magiſtrate replied; *It is not juſt to charge a whole People with the Faults of one Perſon. I was the Man who raiſed up my Fellow-Citizens againſt* Sylla: *I was in Friendſhip with* Marius; *and we were mutually bound to each other by the Ties of Hoſpitality.* And *Pompey* was ſo well pleaſed with this generous Freedom, that he firſt pardoned him, then his Country, and afterwards honoured him with his Friendſhip. After this, becauſe his Soldiers, who were accuſtomed to Slaughter, had drawn their Swords too often in *Sicily*, he ordered their Swords, when he ſent them on any Expedition there, to be ſealed up in their Scabbards; and ſeverely puniſhed all thoſe whoſe Seals were found broken, at their return. By theſe Acts of Equity and Clemency towards the *Sicilians*, he wiped off thoſe Reproaches of Ferocity and want of Pity, which he had brought on himſelf by the Death of *Carbo*.

Plut. in Pomp.

Liv. Epit. ibid. c. 3.

Liv. ibid. c. 6, 7.

Ibid.

§. VI. After *Pompey*'s Expedition, *Sylla* was Maſter of *Rome*, and all the *Roman* State. In *Spain* indeed, the Remains of the *Plebeian* Faction were ſtill maintained againſt the Arms of *Metellus*, by *Sertorius*, whoſe Wars ſhall be related hereafter; and

16 According to *Plutarch*, *Caius Oppius* reproached *Pompey* with having put to Death *Quintus Valerius*, one of *Carbo*'s Party, a Man venerable for his Merit and extenſive Knowledge. He had been taken in *Sicily*, and brought before *Pompey*, who received him at firſt with ſome Humanity. The General walked a great while with him. This Air of Familiarity gave *Valerius* great hopes of Life; and he diſcovered all the Deſigns of the Faction that oppoſed *Sylla*. After which, *Pompey* threw off the Maſk, and delivered up the Priſoner to the Executioner, who led him to the Place of Execution. But *Plutarch* queſtions the Truth of this Fact, which has no other Authority, but that of *Caius Oppius* who was an avowed Advocate for *Cæſar*, and conſequently intereſted to defame *Pompey*'s Memory. This *Caius Oppius* was a famous Writer. *The Hiſtory of the* Spaniſh *War*; *The Life of the firſt* Scipio Africanus; *The Life of* Marius; and a Libel, in which he proved, that *Cæſarion*, as *Cleopatra* aſſured him, was not the Son of *Cæſar*; were, among other Works, aſcribed to him.

17 That is the Inhabitants of *Meſſina*. See the former Volumes.

18 See Vol. 2. p. 586. Note 24.

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in *Aſia*, *Mithridates*, whoſe Adventures ſhall have their due Place, was already reviving his old Quarrels againſt *Rome*. But we muſt firſt give an Account of *Sylla*'s Conduct. When the Misfortunes the two *Conſuls*, *Marius* and *Carbo*, had brought on the Republick, had coſt them their Lives; no *Roman* any longer refuſed to obey him, tho' an Uſurper; and he might have utterly extinguiſhed the *Roman* Liberty without Contradiction, and changed the *Republican* State into a Monarchy. But as he had, upon his firſt Arrival in *Italy*, aſſumed the Character of an Avenger of the Oppreſſions his Country had ſuffered from thoſe three Tyrants; he reſolved, after he had extinguiſhed the Heat of his Fury in the Blood of all thoſe whom he thought Accomplices in the Tyranny, to leave the *Roman* Senate and People, the Shadow at leaſt, of their former Liberty. To this end, he retired into the Country for ſome Days, under Pretence of leaving the Senate entirely free; and deſired *The Conſcript Fathers*, to chooſe one of their own Body in his Abſence, to govern the Commonwealth, which ſince the Death of the *Conſuls* had had no legal Governour. The Senators, reſolving to chooſe one for this important Office who was wholly devoted to *Sylla*'s Intereſt, pitched on *L. Valerius Flaccus*, their Preſident; and this put it in *Sylla*'s Power, to bring them to execute his own Scheme. He deſired *Flaccus* by Letter, to declare to the Senate and People, That in the preſent Situation, he thought it neceſſary to chooſe a *Dictator*, without limitation in point of Time; and intimated, That at their Requeſt he would accept of the Employment. This Office was now in a manner aboliſhed by diſuſe, ſince *Rome* had not raiſed any of her greateſt Men to it, for theſe 120 Years. When Ambition was the prevailing Paſſion, inſtead of Zeal for the publick Good, it was thought dangerous to entruſt any one Man with an abſolute, tho' temporary, Authority. But nevertheleſs, the Preſident of the *Interregnum* propoſed *Sylla* to them for *Dictator*, and that in the unlimited manner he had himſelf ſuggeſted. *The Gods*, ſaid he, *have given us in* Sylla, *an Avenger of Tyranny, and a Reſtorer of the Republick. By him, we ſee Concord already reſtored; and by his Means, we ſhall ſee the moſt ancient Laws recover their firſt Vigour, the Senate reinſtated in all their Glory, and the People in the Poſſeſſion of their Rights. We have ſeen him cure the Diſtempers of the Publick, like a wiſe Phyſician. As they were deſperate ones, he was forced to make uſe of the Sword, and take away Blood in great Plenty. But ſtill* Rome *is in a ſickly State; and the ſame Hand that has raiſed her from the Grave, is yet wanting to reſtore her to perfect Health. What then can we do better, than give him in a legal manner, that Authority, which he would not extort from us by Force? Let us, with the Title of* Dictator, *give him an unlimited Power, till he has accompliſhed thoſe great Deſigns, whoſe good Effects we already begin to feel! Let him be Arbiter of Peace and War! Let him diſpoſe of the Lives of the* Romans, *as he pleaſes, without Appeal! Let him buy, ſell, or exchange, the Goods of the Republick, as he thinks proper! Let him give, or take away Crowns, at Diſcretion! In a Word, let us, by a juridical Act, confirm all that is paſt, and give him for the future an abſolute Power to conduct all Affairs as he pleaſes, without being accountable, before any Tribunal in the Republick!*

Cic. de Leg. Agrar. & alibi. App. de Bell. Civ. L. 1.

All Men of Senſe thought this an exorbitant Requeſt. It was indeed eſtabliſhing that regal Authority in *Rome*, which had formerly been had in ſo much Abhorrence. But the Remembrance of the ſhedding of ſo much Blood, chilled every Heart. The Senate ſhewed their Surprize by their Silence; but the Law was accepted, none daring to contradict it. *Sylla* was declared *Dictator*, and not one *Roman* had Courage enough, ſo much as to limit the Duration of his Power. This was a terrible Wound to the Republican Government; and it afterwards encouraged other ambitious Men, to venture at more than the new *Dictator* attempted. It was *Sylla*'s Affair that paved the Way for *Julius Cæſar* to change the Republick into a Monarchy; and enſlave it, without Redemption, to the Will of one Man. And as Flattery is the uſual Conſequence of Servitude; this People, who were formerly ſo furious againſt an independent Power, now worſhipped the Idol which they had ſet up. They honoured *Sylla* with an Equeſtrian Statue of Braſs gilt, in that very *Comitium*, where they had with Horror, ſeen the Heads of ſo many illuſtrious *Citizens* ſet up: And on the Pedeſtal was this Inſcription, To the Honour of L. CORNELIUS SYLLA, ſurnamed The Fortunate: The Roman Senate and People have erected this Monument. This Appellation of The Fortunate was very agreeable to him. Some ſay he aſſumed it, immediately after the Death of young *Marius*, at *Præneste*; others, not till after his *Triumph*. However, the People likewiſe made their Court to him, by calling him

Epaphroditus, as being the Favourite of *Fortune* and *Venus*. His continual Proſperity, and his regular Features, might then be taken for Proofs of his being in an uncommon degree of Favour with the two Goddeſſes. Year of *ROME* DCLXXI.

§. VII. Thus was *Sylla* lawfully inveſted with an abſolute Authority; and he maintained it by the ſame Means, by which he had acquired it, Force and Artifice. From henceforward, he always appeared in Publick with a Guard of 24 *Lictors*, the uſual Train of the old *Dictators*; but no *Roman* now alive had ever ſeen ſo formidable an Appearance of Axes and *Faſces*. According to the Cuſtom of *Dictators*, he alſo choſe himſelf a *Maſter of the Horſe*, which Honour he conferred on *L. Valerius Flaccus*, his Agent in procuring the *Dictatorſhip*; and when ſeconded by a Man, ſo abſolutely devoted to him, he undertook to reform the Government. The *Dictator*, and *Maſter of the Horſe*, both made Laws; but the latter always at the Inſtigation, or at leaſt with the Conſent, of the former. The firſt Law they offered related to the Election of the great Magiſtrates. Ever ſince the Republick had been ſo much depraved, it was become common to obtain the *Prætorſhip* or *Conſulate*, without having paſſed through the inferior Degrees; and it was therefore enacted, by the new Decree, That no Man ſhould ſtand for the *Prætorſhip* till he had been *Quæſtor*, or be elected *Conſul* till he had been *Prætor*. This was only the Revival of the ancient Uſage, which *Sylla* thought neceſſary as a previous Step, before he ſuffered an Election of new *Conſuls*; and when that was done, that the Republick might reaſſume its ancient Form, he ordered the People to reaſſemble in *The Campus Martius*, to chooſe their chief Magiſtrates. The Candidates for the *Conſulate* put on white Robes, as uſual; and among them appeared that *Q. Lucretius Ofella*, who had carried on the Siege of *Præneſte*, under *Sylla*. Tho' only a *Roman Knight*, he thought the Protection of the *Dictator* would ſupport him in his Pretenſion, and the People have Regard to his Services. But, when he was making his Intereſt, *Sylla* denied him his; and even forbad him to aſpire at the firſt Dignity, ſince he had not paſſed through the inferior. *Ofella*, on the other hand, depended too much on his Merit, and forgot his Condition. Notwithſtanding the repeated Advices of the *Dictator*, he ſtill appeared in White, and purſued his Point. *Sylla* was ſhocked at this Audaciouſneſs, in a Man who owed all to his Favour whoſe Orders he now diſregarded, and had at Heart the Obſervation of the new Law, which the bold *Ofella* ſeemed to deſpiſe. One Day therefore, when the raſh Man paſſed along the *Forum*, attended by the People whoſe Suffrages he was ſolliciting, *Sylla*, who ſaw him from his Tribunal, immediately diſpatched a *Centurion* with Orders to cut off his Head. The *Centurion* obeyed; but as it was not known that the *Dictator* had given thoſe Orders, the People brought the Murderer before him. When he came, *Sylla* ſternly ſaid, *Let the* Centurion *go! He has only obeyed my Orders.* This Declaration raiſed the Murmurs and Indignation of the Aſſembly; but the *Dictator* ſoon ſuppreſſed this Appearance of a Mutiny. He immediately made them thoroughly ſenſible, that they had given themſelves a Maſter, whom it was dangerous to contradict. *I have*, ſaid he, *a Fable to tell you, which you may apply to yourſelves. A Ploughman being bit by Vermin, pulled off his Cloaths, cleaned them, and continued his Work. The Vermin continued to torment him, and he killed more of them; but being at length tired out with their teizing him afreſh, he threw his Cloaths into the Fire. Your firſt Revolts have coſt you but little Blood. Take care, that the next be not puniſhed with Fire.*

L. CORNELIUS SYLLA, Dictator.

App. L. 1. de Bell. Civ.

App. ibid.

§. VIII. Then the Election of the *Conſuls* was made, agreeably to *Sylla*'s Will; and *M. Tullius Decula*, and *Cn. Cornelius Dolabella*, two of the chief Officers of his Army who were uſed to obey him, were raiſed to that Dignity. By getting them promoted, *Sylla* put the Government into the Hands of thoſe who were abſolutely devoted to him; and accordingly, he aſſigned them their *Provinces*, and gave the former *Gaul*, the latter *Macedon*. Each ſet out for his Diſtrict, and left *Sylla* to reign alone in the Capital. And now, the *Dictator* and his *Maſter of the Horſe*, applied themſelves wholly to the Reformation of the Laws. They began with reſtoring the *Pontifices*, *Augurs*, and *Decemviri* appointed to keep and explain the *Sybilline* Books, to their former Honours. By an unjuſt Regulation, they had been, for ten Years laſt paſt, deprived of the Power of filling up the Vacancies in their reſpective Bodies. The Right of chooſing them had been transferred to the People, in the Times that the *Plebeian* Faction prevailed.

But *Sylla* reſtored to the *Pontifices* a Prerogative, which was as old as their Inſtitution. It was likewiſe his Pleaſure, That in each of theſe Colleges, inſtead of *ten* Perſons, there ſhould be *fifteen*; which changed their Name from that of *Decemviri*, to

Year of *ROME* DCLXXII.

L. CORNELIUS SYLLA, Dictator. M. TULLIUS DECULA, & CN. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA, Conſuls.

Aſcon. Padian. in Lib. Cic. de Divinatione. Dion. Hal. L. 4.

that

Year of ROME DCLXXII.

L. Cornelius Sylla, Dictator.
M. Tullius Decula, & Cn. Cornelius Dolabella, Conſuls.
Tacit. Annal. L. 5.

that of *Quindecimviri*. The firſt Office he aſſigned them, was to repair the Loſs of the *Sybilline* Books, which had been burnt with the *Capitol*; and they ſought for Copies, or at leaſt Fragments of them, in the Cities of *Erythræa*, *Samos*, and *Ilium*, and in *Africa*, *Sicily*, and the Cities in the Eaſt of *Italy*. Out of this Collection, they made, as far as poſſible, a new Set of theſe Prophecies, which might probably be larger, but not ſo authentick, as the 19 Originals of the *Sybil of Cumæ*, which had been kept at *Rome*, ever ſince the Time of *Tarquin the Proud*: Tho' all the learned Men then in *Rome*, who were not few in Number, employed their Learning and Judgment, in endeavouring to diſtinguiſh the true Oracles from the falſe Copies, which had been diſperſed in all the three Parts of the World.

By

19 The Number of the *Sybils*, has been a Problem for many Ages, which the Learned have not found it eaſy to ſolve. The Ancients differ ſo much on this Head, that we can come at no Certainty about it. Some, as *Suidas*, ſay there were fourteen. *Ælian* reckons but four. *Solinus* will admit of no more than three; and *Martianus Capella* reduces them to two. But moſt Writers adhere to *Varro*, who has plainly fixed their Number to ten. They give the *firſt* Rank to *Sambetha*, as the eldeſt. She was born on the Shores of the *Red Sea*, and uttered her Oracles in *Perſia*. Next to her comes *Libya*, who according to *Euripides*, was the Daughter of *Jupiter* and *Lamia*. After ſhe had rambled about in ſeveral Parts of *Aſia*, ſhe ſucceſſively made ſome ſtay at *Claros*, *Delphi*, and *Samos*; and at laſt died at *Troas*, where her Tomb was the Object of the Veneration of the People, and of the Curioſity of Strangers. The *third*, whom *Diodorus Siculus* calls *Daphne*, was the Daughter of *Tireſias*. Having fallen into the Conqueror's Hands, after the Ruin of *Thebes*, ſhe was conſecrated to the Worſhip of *Apollo*, in the Temple of *Delphi*. There, ſays our Hiſtorian, being actuated by the Spirit of the God, ſhe looked into the Secrets of Futurity, and uttered her Oracles in Verſe; ſome of which *Homer* borrowed to adorn his Poems. The *fourth* was the *Sybil of Cuma*, in *Ionia*; to whom *Lactantius* aſcribes the *Sybilline* Books which *Tarquin* ordered to be kept in the *Capitol*, by a certain Number of Guardians appointed for that purpoſe. The *fifth*, whom *Plutarch* and *Pauſanias* call *Herophila*, and who was famous during the *Trojan* War, was born at *Erythræa*, a City of *Ionia*; as was alſo another, whom *Strabo* calls *Athenais*, and who propheſied in the Time of *Alexander the Great*. The *ſixth* took her Name from the City of *Cumæ* in *Italy*, which gave her Birth. The *ſeventh* was born at *Marpeſſus*, a Town on the *Helleſpont*, whence ſhe is commonly called *Helleſpontica*; and the *eighth* at *Samos*. The *ninth* called *Phrygia*, reſided at *Ancyra*. And laſtly, the *tenth*, who was named *Albanæa*, propheſied in the City of *Tibur*, or *Tivoli*. And if we believe ſome Writers, the Cities of *Babylon* in *Aſſyria*, and of *Colophon* and *Gergis* in *Aſia Minor*, as alſo *Judæa*, *Egypt*, and *Epirus*, had all their *Sybils*. But this is not a proper Place to follow them in their Enquiries, and examine the Reaſons each produces in Proof of his own Opinion. It is ſufficient to obſerve here, That a Modern of this laſt Age thought he had very good Grounds, for uniting all the *Sybils* in one. He ſays, the falſe Reaſonings which moſt Writers make uſe of, to prove there were ſeveral of theſe Propheteſſes, the Inconſequences that follow from them, and the ridiculous Fictions they relate for certain Truths, obliged him to embrace this Opinion. So that, according to him, there was but one and the ſame *Sybil*, to whom were given different Names, from the ſeveral Places where ſhe uttered her Oracles; and who had no fixed Abode, but being led by the Genius that inſpired her, firſt publiſhed her Predictions in *Erythræa*, her native City, then rambled about the World, and at laſt ended her Rambles and her Life at *Cumæ* in *Italy*. Beſides, ſays he, all the Verſes aſcribed to the *Sybils* are *Greek*; and who can believe, that a *Perſian* or *Egyptian* Woman, would have written in a Language, with which ſhe was not acquainted? No wonder therefore, that *Plato*, *Plutarch*, *Dio Chryſoſtomus*, and *Cicero*, ſhould mention only one *Sybil*. The Learned embraced this Opinion, becauſe they thought it the moſt ſimple, and the moſt probable. But be that as it will, it is certain, the *Sybils* were held in great Veneration at *Rome*, and among the eaſtern Nations. A Collection was made of the Oracles they uttered in Verſe, and Copies of them were multiplied in ſeveral Cities of *Greece* and *Aſia*. The Pagans looked on theſe Prophetick Rhapſodies, as a myſterious Book, which contained the Decrees of Fate; or rather, the eternal Decrees of the Divinity, concerning the Government of the World. This was the uſual Reſource of People in Times of Calamity, and in important Affairs, the Succeſs of which was doubtful. All that remains is to enquire, whether they really proceeded from a prophetick Spirit. St. *Jerome* thought that God gave them this wonderful Gift, in Reward for their Chaſtity. But he probably did not know, That one of the *Sybils* was not aſhamed, to recite her Amours in her Verſes; and to confeſs, That her Incontinence had provoked the Juſtice of the ſupreme Being. Some pretend, That the Devil diſcovered future Things to them. Others aſcribe the Enthuſiaſm with which they were ſeized, to a melancholy Diſpoſition, produced by the Vapours of the Cave, in which they lived. But is it not more natural to ſay, That they were fanatical Women, who gave themſelves the Airs of Propheteſſes, in order to impoſe on the Credulity of the ſimple; and That the Agreement of their Predictions with the Events, was purely accidental? At leaſt, it's certain, as the Pagan Authors themſelves confeſs, That the Terms in which their Prophecies were expreſſed, were the moſt obſcure, and the moſt ambiguous. By this means, they were capable of the different Interpretations, which each Perſon thought fit to give them. *Cicero*, *De Divinatione*, *L.* 2, does not diſſemble, that the different Rhapſodies of the *Sybilline* Books, were wrote and diſpoſed in ſuch a manner, as to be capable of being accommodated to all ſorts of Events. *Callide enim, qui illa compoſuit, perfecit, ut quodcumque acciderit, prædictum videretur, hominem & temporum definitione ſublatâ.* And the ſame Judgment ought to be made of the Collection, which was ſubſtituted in the Room of the old Books of the *Sybil of Cumæ*, by *Sylla's* Orders, after the burning of the *Capitol*. The different Fragments, out of which the Commiſſioners appointed by the *Dictator*, compoſed this Volume, contained the Dregs of Superſtition, and were a jumble of all the Dreams of Paganiſm. Afterwards, ſome Men, who pretended to Inſpiration, enlarged this Volume, as they thought fit. The Licentiouſneſs of theſe Forgeries was carried ſo far, that *Tiberius* thought himſelf obliged to ſuppreſs ſo enormous an abuſe. As to the eight Books, which now bear the Name of the *Sybils*, the Criticks agree, That they were

By a *Second* Law, *Sylla* ſhortened the Interval ſettled between the *Ædileſhip*, *Prætorſhip*, and *Conſulate*. It was his Pleaſure, that Perſons might be removed from one Office to the other, without a Year's ſpace intervening. But on the other hand, he revived the old Uſage, which had often been broken by *Marius*, That no Man ſhould enjoy a ſecond *Conſulate*, till ten Years after the firſt.

The *Third* Law related to the *Prætorſhip*. It enacted, That eight *Prætors* ſhould be choſen every Year; That at leaſt ſix of them ſhould continue in *Rome* one whole Year, to preſide in the Courts of Juſtice; and That then they ſhould draw Lots for their Provinces.

By the *Fourth*, the Number of *Quæſtors* was increaſed. *Sylla* ordained, That the Republick ſhould have twenty every Year, one half choſen by the People, the other nominated by the *Conſuls*; and That theſe ſhould all have Places in the Senate. So that increaſing their Number, was increaſing that of the *Conſcript Fathers*.

The *Fifth* tended only to diminiſh the Power of the *Tribunes of the People*; to which the *Dictator* aſcribed all the late Troubles. He therefore endeavoured to weaken it by new Regulations. From being Sovereigns, he reduced them to be barely Protectors of the Rights of the Commons, without ſuffering them to make Speeches, either for or againſt any Laws that were in Agitation. Beſides, he made the Office it ſelf ſo odious, that no body ſollicited for it. He enacted, That for the future, only Senators ſhould be choſen *Tribunes*; and That they who had borne this Office, ſhould from thenceforwards be incapable of being raiſed to the ſuperior Offices of the *Prætorſhip* and *Conſulate*. This made the ambitious diſdain Seats in a College, beyond which they could not riſe.

By the *Seventh* Law *Sylla* reſtored the Senate to their ancient Luſtre. He had always aſſumed the Character of an Avenger of the Nobility, and a Reſtorer of the Rights taken from the *Patrician* Order. Nevertheleſs the Number of the *Conſcript Fathers* had been exceedingly diminiſhed in his *Dictatorſhip*. The two Plagues, Civil War and Proſcriptions, had ſwept away the greateſt Part of thoſe illuſtrious Men. In order therefore to fill up their Places, *Sylla* ordered that 300 *Knights* ſhould be advanced to the Honour and Office of Senators. Some indeed pretend, that in his *Dictatorſhip*, the Senate conſiſted of 500 Perſons [20], including the Magiſtrates whom the People choſe,

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M. TULLIUS DECULA, & CN. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA, Conſuls.

App. de Bell. Civ. L. 1.
Pomponius de Origine Juris.
Tacit. Annal. L. 11.
Cic. 3. de Leg.

were the Work, in part at leaſt, of ſome Chriſtian of the ſecond Century. Thoſe Fathers of the Church, who did not perceive the Impoſture, thought it ſufficient to have recourſe to theſe ſuppoſititious Writings to eſtabliſh Chriſtianity on the Ruins of Paganiſm; and therefore often quoted this Book, whoſe Authority was great among the Pagans, in favour of the Chriſtian Religion. Hence *Celſus* gives the *Chriſtians* the Name of *Sybilliſts*. But *Origen* and *St. Auſtin* did not ſuffer themſelves to be carried away with this common Error. The Puerilities diſperſed in theſe Books, and the Barbariſms of Style, diſcovered the Suppoſititiouſneſs of them. Beſides, Verſes made *ex poſt facto* were ſo unguardedly inſerted in them, that it was not eaſy to be deceived by them. The Truths of Chriſtianity are repreſented in them, rather as Myſteries already verified by the Events, than as Prophecies which were yet to be accompliſhed. And indeed, it is not at all credible, that theſe Pagan Women ſhould be more favoured by God, with reſpect to Revelation, and more enlightened, than even the Prophets of the old Law were. This clear Evidence of Chriſtianity, as ſtated in the *Sybilline* Books, made *Iſaac Voſſius* ſay, without any Proof, That a *Jew* had been the Author of them. But, beſides that thoſe Fragments which concern the true Religion, have no relation to *Judaiſm*, it is asked, whence this *Jew* took this particular Account of the Doctrines of Chriſtianity; the Judgment, Hell, Purgatory, and the great Honours and Prerogatives of *Mary* the Mother of GOD. Dr. *Hyde*, who was ſhocked at the Contradictions and fabulous Adventures with which the Pagans ſtuffed the Hiſtory of the *Sybils*, forſakes the common Opinion of the Moderns, and ſtrikes out a new Way of accounting for them. He obſerves in the Conſtellation called *The Virgin*, the bright Star which the *Perſians* called *Sambula*; and remarks, That the *Perſians* who were fond of judiciary Aſtrology, looked on the Sign of *The Virgin*, as having a greater Power, than all the other cœleſtial Bodies, to diſcover future Things. The *Greeks*, having learnt the Sciences of the eaſtern Nations, ſoon adopted theſe trifling Opinions, and agreeably to their Genius, embelliſhed them with their Fictions. Their Poets ſoon invented a *Sybil Virgin*, in alluſion to the Term *Sambula*; carried her into ſeveral Countries, and made her act the Part of a Propheteſs. But this is contradicting all the Ancients, and vending forced Hypotheſes, and chimerical Alluſions, for avowed Facts. The Author explains himſelf on this Head, in his Work *Of The Religion of the ancient Perſians*.

20 The Number of the Senators had been fixed to 300, till the Time of *Marcus Livius Druſus*, *The Tribune of the People*, who had added 300 *Knights* to this illuſtrious Body. But the Law that authorized this Promotion, and all the reſt that he made in his *Tribuneſhip*, expired with him. They were annulled after his Death, at the Motion of the *Conſul*, *Marcius Philippus*. So that the Liſt of the *Conſcript Fathers* was reduced to 300, as before. And it is certain, That *Sylla* honoured ſeveral of the *Citizens* who adhered to him with the Title of Senators, either to reward their Services, or ſtrengthen his Party; but the Hiſtorians have not told us the exact Number of thoſe on whom he beſtowed this Diſtinction. All we know is, what *Cicero* tells us, in the 14th Letter of

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choſe, as *Quæſtors*, *Ædiles*, *Prætors*, and *Conſuls*; but it is well known, that the latter always had Seats in the Senate-Houſe. And if on the one hand, he honoured the *Roman Knights* with promoting ſo great a Number of them; ſo he on the other reſtored to the Senators, the fineſt of the Privileges which they had loſt. It had been thought proper, for theſe 50 Years, to appoint *Knights* only, to hear private Cauſes; But *Sylla* enacted, That no Cauſe ſhould be pleaded before any but Senators, who alone ſhould be choſen Judges in the ſeveral Courts of Juſtice.

Cicero Verr. 1.

After this Regulation with reſpect to the Judges, the *Eighth* Law preſcribed the Forms of Trials. It enacted, That no Perſon ſhould have Right to except to more than three of thoſe, who were appointed to judge the Cauſe; and That in Criminal Caſes, the Sentence ſhould be pronounced publickly, or privately, as the accuſed deſired.

Cic. in Cluentiana.

By the *Ninth*, it was enacted, That an Action ſhould lay againſt the Judges, who had ſuffered themſelves to be corrupted, whatever their Rank and Quality was; as alſo againſt all thoſe who had altered, forged, or mutilated *Wills*: and That the *Wills* made in *Rome* by Soldiers, who ſhould afterwards be taken by the Enemy, and die in Captivity, ſhould be in full Force.

Ulpian. Digeſt.

The *Tenth* inflicted Puniſhments on Aſſaſſins, Poiſoners, Incendiaries, Robbers, and all thoſe who ſhould mutilate young Perſons for the Service of their Luſts; forbad voluntary Abortions; and inflicted Puniſhments on all thoſe who ſhould procure them, as well as on thoſe, who ſhould offer Violence to Women.

The *Eleventh*, inflicted the moſt grievous Pains, on ſuch as ſhould be convicted of robbing the Publick; and forbad the Judges granting them a long Time, for paying the Sums, which they ſhould be condemned to raiſe.

Cic. contra Verr.

The *Twelfth* forbad debaſing the Coin, whether Gold or Silver, either by clipping, or adulterating it.

Plin. L. 33. c. 9. Cic. Verr. 3.

The *Thirteenth* reſtrained the Luxury of Meals; or rather, increaſed it, by the Method taken to reform it. It brought the Price of Delicacies very low, and thereby put it in the Power of Perſons of moderate Fortunes to purchaſe them.

Macrob. Saturnal. 3. Cic. ad Lentulum. L. 1. Epiſt. Famil.

The *Fourteenth* related to the Power and Duty of the *Roman* Generals in their Provinces. It enacted, That ſuch as ſhould not be recalled, after their Year was expired, ſhould retain the ſame Authority in their reſpective Provinces, as the *Pro-Conſuls*, tho' the *Comitia by Curiæ* had not granted them any new Powers: That no General or Governour, ſhould continue in his Province more than 30 Days after the Arrival of his Succeſſor; and That the Cities of their Provinces ſhould only furniſh them with certain fixed Sums, at their Departure.

Cic. ad App. Ibid. Cic. pro Sext. Roſcio.

The *Fifteenth* concerned the proſcribed and their Children. It ordained, That they who eſcaped Death after their Proſcription, ſhould be put to Death, wherever they were found, as Enemies to the Republick; That they who concealed them, ſhould be liable to the ſame Puniſhment; That their Effects, like thoſe of Enemies killed in Battle, ſhould be ſold to the beſt Bidder; and That their Children ſhould be incapable of holding any of the ſuperior Offices in the Republick.

§. IX. Theſe Laws, it muſt be allowed, with an Exception to that which related to the proſcribed, were in general, both equitable and judicious. The greateſt Part of them were only Revivals of the Edicts, which had been in force in the firſt Ages of the Republick; and the Obſervation of which would have preſerved it in a flouriſhing State, if the *Tribunes* had not altered, or aboliſhed them. Nevertheleſs *Sylla*, who had aſſumed the Character of the Reſtorer of ancient Uſages, had the Mortification to ſee ſome of them ſink into Diſcredit, before he died. But the greateſt Part continued in Force, and are Parts of the *Roman Law* to this Day.

When the *Dictator* had thus ſettled the Government, Suits were revived, and the Bar frequented. Now firſt appeared, that great Light of the *Roman* Eloquence, *Cicero*; who ſeems to have been born, to equal the Rhetorick of the *Romans* to that of the *Greeks*, if not to ſurpaſs their *Demoſthenes*. At the Age of 26, he undertook to defend *Quinctius*, whoſe Eſtate ſome would have taken from him by Chicanery. Indeed the Cauſe was

of his firſt Book to *Atticus*; That in the Year 692, an Aſſembly of the Senate which was held, on Account of the Sacrilege of *Clodius*, conſiſted of 415 Perſons. To whom, if we add thoſe that were abſent, either voluntarily, or out of Neceſſity, and the Magiſtrates, who were then actually in Office, we may find the 500, who had a Right to ſit in the Senate in *Sylla's* Time.

pleaded

pleaded in private; but the young Orator ſpoke ſo well, that after this firſt Entrance at the Bar, he was emboldened to undertake the greateſt Subjects, and plead the moſt important Cauſes.

Year of *ROME* DCLXXII.

L. Cornelius Sylla, Dictator. M. Tullius Decula, & Cn. Cornelius Dolabella, Conſuls.

Appian. L. 1. de Bell. Civ.

§. X. As for *Sylla*, he was at the Top of human Glory, and the higheſt Pitch of Happineſs. All the World obeyed his Orders, and *Rome* trembled at his Voice. He made himſelf Maſter of all the Wealth in the Capital; and deprived whomſoever he pleaſed of all he poſſeſſed. In the Eaſt, Kings revered his Decrees. He gave, or took away, Crowns, at Pleaſure. *Egypt* [21] firſt felt this abſolute Power of the *Roman Dictator*. *Ptolomy Lathurus* was juſt dead, after a Reign of 36 Years. *Cleopatra* [22], the Widow of *Alexander* the Brother of *Lathurus*, ſate alone on the Throne, which her Huſband had enjoyed before his Brother; and the Queen had ſo much Deference for *Rome*, as to ſend thither for an Huſband of the Race of the Kings of her Country, to hold the Reins of Government with her. *Sylla* happened to have in his Family, and in a manner among his Domeſticks, a Prince of the Blood royal of *Egypt*. This was *Alexander*, the Son of that *Alexander*, who had reigned before his Brother *Lathurus*; and this Prince, who was born to the Purple, but not of that *Cleopatra* who now reigned, had met with many Adventures.

After the Death of his Father, he had been baniſhed into the Iſland of *Cos*, probably by Order of his Uncle *Lathurus*, and was there brought up for ſome Time. But at length, the Iſlanders delivered him up into the Hands of *Mithridates*, and the young *Egyptian* Prince could not think himſelf ſafe with the King of *Pontus*, whoſe Cruelty and Tyranny was ſuch, that he had polluted his Hands with the Blood of his own Children. He therefore fled from the Court of *Mithridates*, and took Refuge in *Sylla*'s Camp, when he was making War in *Aſia*; and he lived with the *Dictator*, with little or no Diſtinction, till *Cleopatra*'s Ambaſſadors arrived. Then *Sylla* choſe him to go and reign in *Egypt*; and *Alexander* left *Sylla* with fixed Reſolutions to enrich himſelf with the Wealth of his new Kingdom. But when he had married his Mother-in-Law, inceſtuous Marriages being very cuſtomary in the *Egyptian* royal Family, the new Monarch made ſo much haſte, to impoveriſh his new Subjects, in order thereby to preſerve the Affection of the *Romans*, that it proved fatal to him. *Cleopatra* adviſed him to act with more Moderation, and he cauſed her to be aſſaſſinated. This made him inſupportable to his Subjects, and they murdered him in the Market-Place at *Alexandria*, after a [23] Reign of nineteen Days.

§. XI. *Sylla* was little affected with the Death of the new King of *Egypt*. His Power daily increaſed in the Capital of the World. Under Pretence of ſupplying the Places of the many *Roman Citizens* who had periſhed in the Civil Wars, he gave Liberty and the Right of *Roman Citizenſhip*, to 10000 Slaves, choſen out of thoſe, who had ſerved the proſcribed. They had all been forfeited with the reſt of their Effects; and the *Dictator*, who had taken them to himſelf, enfranchiſed them, made them a kind of diſtinct *Tribe*, and called them from his own Name, *Cornelians*. Theſe were bound in Gratitude to fight and vote for him, on all Occaſions; and his next Step was to fill the *Provinces* with Men devoted to him. He had not yet rewarded thoſe brave Soldiers, who had gained his conqueſts in the *Levant* and *Italy*, and whom he found immoveable in their Fidelity; and he therefore now diſmiſſed them the Service, and divided among them the Lands of the *Municipia* and *Colonies*, which had appeared againſt him. When thus ſurrounded by a Guard of *Freedmen* at *Rome*, and ſupported

21 According to *Appian*, his Father, having been driven from *Alexandria*, and forced to give up the Throne to *Ptolomy Lathurus* his elder Brother, had fled for Refuge to the Iſland of *Cos* with this *Ptolomy-Alexander* his Son. There he put the young Prince under the Protection of theſe Iſlanders; but they could not keep him out of the Hands of *Mithridates*, who charged himſelf with the Care of his Education; and under this Pretence, that avaritious Monarch ſeized the Treaſures the King of *Egypt* had got together in *Cos*.

22 *Pauſanias* calls her *Berenice*. She was the Daughter of *Ptolomy-Lathurus* the Brother of *Ptolomy-Alexander*; and conſequently Couſin-German to the young Prince, who left *Rome*, to take Poſſeſſion of the Throne of *Egypt*. To which that Author adds, That the *Athenians* erected a Statue of Braſs, in honour to this Princeſs and her Father, in Gratitude for the Benefactions they had received from both.

23 If, as *Appian* reports, *Alexander* was aſſaſſinated by the People of *Alexandria*, 19 Days after his Election to the Throne of *Egypt*, we cannot conceive why *Euſebius* in his *Chronicon*, makes his immediate Succeſſor to have been *Ptolomy-Auletes*. This Prince did not obtain the Crown, till about the Year of *Rome* 688; which was 16 or 17 Years after the Death of *Alexander*, who died in the Year 672. It is therefore certain, that this Interval was filled up, by another *Alexander*, the Brother of the deceaſed; which we will reſerve to be proved hereafter, in the courſe of the Hiſtory, that we may not here interrupt the Order of Facts and Years.

by

Year of *ROME* DCLXXII.

L. Cornelius Sylla, Dictator. M. Tullius Decula, & Cn. Cornelius Dolabella, Conſuls.

by his old *Legionaries* in the Country, he had nothing to fear, either from Revolts in the City, or ſudden Inſurrections or Tumults among the *Allies*.

All was ſo quiet in the Capital, that *Sylla* thought this a proper Time to decree himſelf *a Triumph* [24], and order the Proceſſion. It was paſt Diſpute, that few Generals had better deſerved it. The Reconqueſt of *Greece*, the ſuccouring of *Macedon*, the ſubduing of *Thrace*, the delivering all the *Aſiatick* Coaſt from the Chains of *Mithridates*, and laſtly, the obliging the King of *Pontus* himſelf to accept of ſuch a Peace, as the Conqueror would give him, were ſtrong Arguments in his Favour. And *Sylla* had ſo much Moderation, as not to mention among the Facts for which he deſired to *triumph*, either the Conqueſt of *Italy*, or the Victories gained over *Fimbria*, *Carbo*, and young *Marius*, or even over *Pontius*, the General of the *Samnites*. He ſeemed to look back with ſome Horror, on all the *Roman* Blood, which the Neceſſity of the Times had forced him to ſhed. When all Things were ready for his triumphant Entry into the Capital, *Rome* had not for a great while ſeen one ſo magnificent. It laſted two Days, and raiſed the Admiration of all the Spectators. Not to mention the long Train of Carts loaded with the Spoils of *Aſia*, and the Biers on which were carried the Figures of the conquered Cities, eſpecially thoſe of *Athens* and *Piræeus*; the Sight that moſt affected the People, was that of the many illuſtrious *Romans* who had been delivered out of the Hands of *Marius* and *Cinna*, and who deſired to accompany the Victor with Crowns of Flowers on their Heads. The amiable Names of *Saviour* and *Deliverer* which theſe gave him, were a pleaſing Contraſt to the Title of *A Tyrant diſguiſed under the Appearance of a Dictator*, which the Soldiers beſtowed on him, in the Licentiouſneſs allowed on theſe Occaſions. But what ſtruck the Spectators moſt, was the great Sums of Money that were carried before his Chariot. *Pliny* tells us, *L.* 23, That in the firſt Day were ſhewn the People 15000 pounds Weight of Gold, and 115000 pounds Weight of Silver which *Sylla* had brought from his Conqueſts; and on the ſecond Day was expoſed to the view of the Spectators, the 13000 Pounds Weight of Gold, and the 7000 pounds Weight of Silver, which young *Marius* had ſaved out of the Fire of the *Capitol*, and which had been recovered at *Prænefte*, after his Death. As ſoon as the Proceſſion was over, the Conqueror, according to ancient Cuſtom, mounted the *Roſtra*, and by way of returning the People Thanks for the Honours he had juſt received, gave them a pompous Detail of his Exploits. Whether out of Modeſty, or Superſtition, he aſcribed them all to *Fortune*; and ordered, That for the future, no [25] other Title ſhould be given him but that of *The Fortunate*. He had aſſumed this Honour, before this Time; but now he took it upon him, in a juridical manner, as other Heroes had done the Appellations of *Africanus*, or *Aſiaticus*.

App. L. 1. de Bell. Civ.

Tab. Triumph. Val. Max. L. 1. c. 3.

App. Bell. Civ. L. 1.

Nor was the Show of a *Triumph* deemed enough to ſoften the Minds of the People; *Sylla* added to it, ſome of the moſt magnificent *Games Rome* had ever ſeen. All the ſkilful Actors of *Greece* left it, to come and ſhew their Art in the Capital of the World. Some ſay, that only the Races could be performed, in the famous *Olympic Games*, which were celebrated this Year; all the other Shows being brought to the *Circus's*, *Theatres*, and *Amphitheatres*, in *Rome*. In order to enable himſelf to defray this vaſt Expence, the *Dictator* ſeized the Effects of the richeſt *Citizens* on the ſlighteſt Pretences; laid extraordinary Taxes on all Places, and demanded immenſe Tributes of the *Roman Provinces*, and even of the Kings, who had no Relation to *Rome*, but as in Alliance with her. In this manner, the *Dictator* was endeavouring to recover the loſt Affections of the People at *Rome*, and depriving all that he ſuſpected, of their Eſtates; whilſt *Pompey* was in his Government of *Sicily*, watching over *Africa*, whither the chief Leaders of the *Marian* Faction had fled.

24 There are two Medals which have perpetuated to the Memory of the Exploits, by which *Sylla* merited the Honours of *a Triumph*. The Reverſe of the firſt is charged with four Crowns, which probably repreſent the taking of *Athens*, and the three memorable Victories he gained over the Troops of *Mithridates*, particularly thoſe in the Plains of *Cheronea* and *Orchomenos*. On the Reverſe of the ſecond, we ſee a *Roman Citizen*, who ſeems to claim the General's Protection againſt the Furies of *Marius* and *Cinna*; to point out, agreeable to Hiſtory, that he was the Refuge of the Proſcribed, and the Deliverer of his Country; Titles which were given him by the Citizens of his Faction.

See Plate 15. Page 416. No. 3.

See Pl. 15. Page 416. No. 4.

25 *Plutarch* ſays, That *Sylla* in moſt of his Letters, uſed only the Surname of *The Fortunate*, or *The Favourite of Venus*. And indeed, no other was inſcribed on the Statues erected to his Honour.

§. XII. New Troubles had been raiſed in the *African Province*, ſince the Death of the *Conſul Papirius Carbo*. The Remains of the Faction of *Marius* and *Cinna* were reviving there, and theſe Sparks gave the *Dictator* ſome Apprehenſions that the Fire would ſpread into *Italy*. *Marius* when baniſhed, and ſeated on the Ruins of *Carthage*, had from ſmaller Beginnings riſen up, as out of a Sleep, and appeared in *Rome* more powerful, and more furious than ever. And *Cneius Domitius Ænobarbus* his Nephew was now proſcribed, and rambling about all the Countries in *Africa*, as that great Man did; and was aſſembling together all the Forces he could, to make Head againſt *Sylla*, or at leaſt ballance a little his exorbitant Power. He had already gained over to his Intereſt one of the Kings that had a Share of *Numidia*. This Kingdom, which the *Romans* had formerly conquered, had been almoſt entirely reſtored to two *Numidian* Princes, who governed it, in Subjection to *Rome*. One was *Hiarbas*, who had joined the *Marian* Faction; the other *Hiempſal*, who was determined to follow the contrary Party, to that which the little King his Neighbour had embraced. *Hiarbas* therefore furniſhed *Domitius* with Troops, and this *Roman* had already got an Army of above 20000 Men. This Progreſs made by a proſcribed Perſon, gave *Sylla* Jealouſy; and he ſent Orders to *Pompey* to leave *Sicily*, which he had ſettled in Tranquillity, and go into *Africa*, to reduce *Domitius* and *Hiarbas*. *Pompey*'s Attachment to *Sylla* was boundleſs, and his martial Ardour inclined him to go wherever Glory was to be acquired; and therefore when all Things were got ready, he put to Sea.

Year of *ROME* DCLXXII.
L. Cornelius Sylla, Dictator.
M. Tullius Decula, & Cn. Cornelius Dolabella, Conſuls.
Plut. in Sylla. Epit. Livian.

His Army conſiſted of no leſs than five *Legions* compleat; all fond of their General to Adoration. He embarked them, after he had appointed *Memmius* to govern *Sicily* in his Abſence, on board a Fleet of 120 Galleys, which were accompanied with fourſcore Veſſels laden with Ammunitions, and Machines of War. After a good Paſſage, he landed them partly in the Port of *Utica*, and partly in the Port which ſupplied *Carthage* with ſo much Riches, when it was in being. Upon their Arrival, ſome of *Pompey*'s Soldiers found ſome Remains of the *Carthaginian* Wealth. In digging the Ground, they found a Treaſure which they ſhared among themſelves. This good Fortune encouraged the reſt to take up the Spade and Mattock, and they all left the Service to remove the Earth, which they thought full of Riches. However, it fortunately happened, that the Army of *Domitius* was at a Diſtance, whilſt they were ſpending ſome Days in this trifling Search, with ſuch Earneſtneſs that *Pompey* had a great deal of Difficulty to get together his Men, whoſe Avarice had diſperſed them all over the Fields; and at laſt the Fatigue and Fruitleſsneſs of their Labour brought them back to the Camp. Nevertheleſs, the only Puniſhment *Pompey* inflicted on them was to rally them for the great Riches they had gotten; and they, charmed with his Goodneſs to them, cried out, That he ſhould lead them to the Enemy, and they would ſhew him that their Arms had acquired freſh Strength by digging the Ground.

Domitius now drew near; and Deſertions were frequent in his Army. Seven thouſand of his Men came over to *Pompey*, at once. This was an unhappy Preſage; but a proſcribed Man had nothing to do but to attempt the moſt deſperate Things. At length he appeared in the Fields of *Utica*, and the Armies were in ſight of each other. There was only one Hill between them; which was ſo ſteep as to be difficult of Aſcent. The two Armies were drawn up in Battalia very early in the Morning; and a Storm aroſe, which made *Domitius* believe that *Pompey* would not attack him that Day. He therefore ſounded a Retreat, and when his Troops were returning in Diſorder to their Camp, *Pompey* took that Opportunity to fall upon him. He made his Men climb up the Hill, though very ſlippery with the Rain, extended his *Legions* in the Valley, and began the Aſſault. The Enemy retired, and *Pompey* purſued them as Fugitives; but on a ſudden *Domitius* faced about, and fought with the Animoſity that is uſual on both Sides in Civil Wars. The Wind and Rain both favoured *Pompey*, being in his Back; but *Domitius*'s Men could ſcarce ſtand the Violence of them. The latter fell in their Eyes and blinded them, the former took away their Breath. Nevertheleſs, the Battle was very terrible. They were *Romans* againſt *Romans*, without any difference in Arms or Habits, and could not eaſily diſtinguiſh Friends from Foes. And this Diſorder had like to have coſt *Pompey* dear. One of his Soldiers cried out to him, *Who goes there?* And he, being intent on viewing the Battle, and having his Face covered with his Helmet, was a little dilatory in giving the Word. So that the Soldier was juſt ready to ſtab him, when upon hearing his General ſpeak, he knew his Voice. After ſome Hours Slaughter, the Affair ended in favour of *Pompey*. Of

Year of ROME DCLXXII.

L. Cornelius Sylla, Dictator. M. Tullius Decula, & Cn. Cornelius Dolabella, Conſuls.

Plut. in Pomp.

20000 Men *Domitius* left 17000 dead upon the Spot, and had ſome Difficulty to recover his Camp, with the poor Remains of his ſhattered Troops. The Conquerors immediately aſcribed the Victory to *Pompey*, and would have honoured him with the Title of Imperator, which was never given to Generals, but after an illuſtrious Action. But *Pompey* refuſed to accept it, as long as the Victory continued imperfect; and ſaid, Domitius *is yet alive, and his Camp entire; we have yet gained but half a Victory.*

This animated his Soldiers with freſh Spirit; and they marched with great Fury to attack the Camp. *Pompey* led them on, with his Head uncovered, for fear of a ſecond Miſtake. And then *Domitius* ſought Death, which the Decree of Proſcription had pronounced againſt him. He was one of the firſt that fell in the Defence of the Camp; and the Camp was ſoon taken, after his Death. It was plundered and demoliſhed; King *Hiarbas* was made Priſoner of War; and in conſequence of this Succeſs, *Pompey* recovered all the Cities of *Africa*, that had been drawn off from *Sylla*'s Party. He entered *Numidia*, gave *Hiempſal* the Dominions of *Hiarbas* his Priſoner; and puſhing his Conqueſts very far, into theſe Countries where the *Roman* Name began to grow leſs formidable, he filled them with Terror. But he made the wild Beaſts of the Country feel his Strength, more than the Inhabitants. He hunted the Lions, and almoſt cleared all the Deſerts of *Numidia* of them. This compleat Expedition coſt him but forty Days, and it ſeemed to be rather Matter of Diverſion than of Buſineſs.

§. XIII. So rapid a Progreſs, by an Hero of 24 Years of Age, alarmed the *Dictator* himſelf. Indeed *Pompey* had only made this War for *Sylla*'s Sake, and by his Orders; but, whether from Policy, or Jealouſy, the *Dictator* did not think proper to ſuffer the young Warrior to continue any longer at the Head of a great Army. When therefore *Pompey* returned to *Utica*, he found there an Order from *Sylla*, requiring him to return to *Rome*, diſband his Troops, and keep only one *Legion* for his Succeſſor. *Pompey* was ſenſibly affected with this Blow, but diſſembled it. His Soldiers were very clamorous; and if their General, whom they greatly loved, had not appeaſed their Reſentments, the Victory in *Africa* would have produced another Civil War. But *Pompey* knew how to conduct himſelf with Temper; and in order to appeaſe his *Legionaries*, he aſſured them, that he would rather die by his own Hands, than involve *Rome* in new Troubles. An Action worthy of an Hero, and much beyond what might have been expected from his Age and Succeſs! And therefore the *Dictator* gave too eaſy Credit to the falſe Report which was ſpread, that *Pompey* had revolted. *Muſt I ſtill have Children to fight with*, ſaid he, *at my Age?* Pompey *ſhall then ſoon follow young* Marius. But his Wrath was ſoon appeaſed, when he was informed, that the ſuppoſed Rebel was the moſt ſubmiſſive of all his Subjects.

Pompey was then near *Rome*, with no other Attendance than his Domeſticks. All the People came to meet him, as *Sylla* himſelf haſtened to do. He was charmed with his Submiſſion, embraced him tenderly, and in the Preſence of a numerous Guard, honoured him with the Surname of *The Great*, which he retained ever after. He had deſerved it more by his Conqueſt over himſelf, than either his Victory over *Domitius*, or his Reduction of *Numidia*. Nevertheleſs, he did not adopt this Title, nor would he ever give it to himſelf, till the Multitude were ſo much accuſtomed to it, that it created no Odium to aſſume it. *Sylla* indeed hoped that this glorious Title would have ſatisfied the Deſires of the young Conqueror; but he had greater Things in view. He had deſerved a *Triumph*, and was likely to obtain it. He therefore did not enter the City, but continued in the Suburbs, and poſtponed the Proſecution of the Affair, till the Ferment which was raiſed in *Rome*, on Account of the Elections for the ſucceeding Year, ſhould be entirely over. He was not ignorant, that there were ſeveral Difficulties in his Way. His Age of only 24 Years, his Rank, which was that of a private *Roman Knight*, his Victory which had been gained under the Authority of another, and over a domeſtick Enemy, and laſtly, the Jealouſy of *Sylla*, which was more to be feared than all the reſt, made him apprehenſive that his Scheme would prove abortive. But all this did not diſcourage him. He was as active and

16 *Plutarch* obſerves, That from the Birth of the Republick, to *Pompey*'s Time, only two *Romans* had been honoured with this Title: The firſt, the famous *Valerius* who re-eſtabliſhed Concord between the Senate and the People; and the ſecond, *Fabius Rullus*, who had been five Times *Conſul*, and had well deſerved it by his great Exploits.

vigorous in the purſuit of Civil Honours, as in the Performance of military Exploits.

Year of *ROME* DCLXXIII.

L. Cornelius Sylla, Dictator. L. Cornelius Sylla, & Q. Cæcilius Metellus, Conſuls.

§. XIV. When the *Roman Centuries* were aſſembled in the *Field of Mars* to chooſe new *Conſuls*; *Sylla* himſelf, though *Dictator*, was willing to be elected *Conſul*, without laying down his ſuperior Office. And accordingly, as he was Maſter of the Suffrages, he got himſelf nominated, and with himſelf *Q. Cæcilius Metellus*, the firſt Nobleman that joined him after his return from *Aſia*. He probably deſired the Place of *Conſul* only to keep up the uſual Forms in the Republick, without leſſening that Sovereignty which he was not fond of reſigning. And after his Example, the Emperors themſelves, when poſſeſſed of an abſolute Monarchy, vouchſafed, for the Sake of Popularity, to demean themſelves ſo far, as to take upon them the *Conſulate* too. *Metellus*'s Province was to go to *Spain* to make War with *Sertorius*, whoſe Progreſs gave Umbrage; but he did not haſten his Departure. He continued at *Rome*, and ſhared the Government with *Sylla*, whoſe Counſellor and Confident he was.

Never was any *Conſular* Year more peaceable. Every Man trembled at the Name of *Sylla*, and the *Romans* were at laſt accuſtomed to bear the Authority of a Maſter. There was not even any Appearance of a Diſagreement between the People and the Senate. It now appeared how eſſential a Means it was of ſecuring the publick Peace, to confine the *Tribunate* ſolely to the Protection of defenceleſs *Citizens*. The *Comitium* no longer rung with the Noiſe of thoſe Declaimers, who were continually reviving that hatred, which it will ever be eaſy to cultivate, between the Great and the Populace. Stones, Sticks, and Ponyards, were no longer the Recourſe to maintain trifling Intereſts, which the Orators perſuaded the hot-headed Multitude were of great Importance. The wiſe Laws *Sylla* had enacted were obſerved under his own Adminiſtration. Order was re-eſtabliſhed in the Courts of Judicature, and Murders, which were formerly ſo very little regarded, were now puniſhed with great Severity. The Senate, who confined themſelves to publick Affairs, relating to Peace, or War, or the Government of the Provinces, regulated their Decrees by the good Will and Pleaſure of the *Dictator*. The Cauſes of private Perſons were brought into the Courts of the eight *Prætors* which *Sylla* had eſtabliſhed; and Juſtice was adminiſtered with great Exactneſs and Impartiality, by Judges choſen only out of the ſenatorial Order. Inſomuch, that it may even be affirmed, That *Rome* would certainly have preferred this new kind of Government which was in a manner monarchical, to the Storms ſhe had formerly felt, if the *Dictator* had regulated his own Conduct by the Laws which he had himſelf eſtabliſhed.

Cic. in Bruto.

§. XV. But *Sylla*, now at the height of Proſperity, grew debauched, covetous, and at the ſame time exceſſively profuſe of the Wealth which he took from private Perſons, to throw away in Bounties on his Friends. *Craſſus*, one of his Generals, and Confidents, was more covetous than all the reſt. Though born of a rich Family, and Heir to a great Eſtate, he ſet no Bounds to his Avarice; and no Man got more by his Attachment to *Sylla*, than he did. As ſoon as the Effects of any proſcribed Perſon were put up to ſale, *Craſſus* either obtained them as a free Gift from the *Dictator*, or got them ſold to him at a very low Price; and at laſt came to think every Thing lawful, in order to accumulate Wealth. He, of his own Authority, proſcribed an Inhabitant of *Bruttium*, in order to ſeize his Effects. *Sylla*, cruel as he was, received the News of this barbarous Proceeding with great Indignation; and from that Time no more honoured him with his Confidence, or employed him in the Adminiſtration. Not that *Craſſus* was alone, in this gainful Trade, the *Dictator*'s *Freed-men* alſo profited by the Spoils of the unfortunate. And the higheſt Aggravation of this Iniquity was, that *Sylla* himſelf ſat in Court in Perſon, preſided at theſe Sales, and ordered the moſt Part of the Inheritances he had confiscated, to be given to Players, Buffoons, and infamous Women. So that the greateſt Debauchees, and vileſt of the People in *Rome*, became almoſt next to *Sylla*, the richeſt Perſons there. As to himſelf, he uſurped great Eſtates without number, and his Revenues amounted to an exceſſive Sum. This enabled him to give immenſe Bounties to the People, entertain them with magnificent Feaſts, and amuſe them with pompous Shows. The Accounts the Hiſtorians give us of theſe Things will hardly find Credit in our Days. He thought fit to conſecrate a Tithe Part of his immenſe Wealth to *Hercules*, and after the Ceremony, he made a general Feaſt, for all the People of *Rome*, and entertained them with the richeſt Wines, ſome of which were ſo old as to bear the Name of *Optimus*, who had

Plut. in Craſſo.

Idem in Sylla.

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been *Conſul* forty Years before, in a Year famous for a moſt excellent Vintage. And as to Meats, the moſt delicate that the Sea, or Rivers, or Foreſts, or Fields, could afford, were provided with the greateſt Profuſion. The Plenty was ſo great, that much was left which the hungry People could not eat, and was afterwards thrown into the *Tyber*. But, as the Hiſtorians have not told us either the Place, or Order of theſe publick Feaſts; there ſeems to be reaſon to doubt, whether all the *Romans* in general were invited to them.

§. XVI. The Joy of this magnificent Feaſt was a little abated, by the Sickneſs of *Metella*, the *Dictator*'s Wife, whom he always reſpected, notwithſtanding her Irregularities. She had brought him three Children, a Daughter and two Boys, the elder of which had been carried to the Funeral-Pile, a few Days before the Death of his Mother. The Father gave the ſurviving Son and Daughter the Surnames of *Fauſtus*, and *Fauſta*, in Conformity to that of *Felix*, which he had taken himſelf. As ſoon as *Metella*'s Diſtemper appeared to be dangerous, the *Dictator* divorced her, and ordered her to be carried from his own Houſe to another; under Pretence that it was indecent that a Houſe ſo much frequented as his, ſhould be troubled by funeral Ceremonies. Or rather, the *Pontifices* declared to him, That his Houſe would be polluted by her Death; and That he ought to prevent this fatal Accident, by a Divorce in form. But certainly, if he intended to puniſh *Metella* for her paſt Diſorders, he was too late. And who can believe, that ſuch timorous religious Sentiments could ever enter into an Heart ſo hardened as that of *Sylla?* We muſt therefore aſcribe this unreaſonable Method of divorcing his Wife, when ſhe was going out of the World, to the ſame Oddneſs and Capriciouſneſs of Temper, which led him, after he had divorced her, to perform very magnificent Obſequies for her. He had revived the Law, which forbad the Luxury of Funerals; but he thought himſelf above Rules. Notwithſtanding his Law, he ſpared no Expence in this; either perhaps in Honour to his Wife, or to do Honour to himſelf, or to pleaſe *Metellus* his Collegue, the Brother of the deceaſed.

Plut. in Syl. However, the *Dictator*'s Grief did not laſt long. He knew how to drown it in Pleaſure. He divided his Time between Buſineſs and Debauchery. He loved all Sorts of Shows, but that of *Gladiators* was moſt ſuitable to his cruel and ſanguinary Temper. He entertained the People with one, ſome Months after the Death of his Wife; and there, in the midſt of Horror and Blood, conceived a new Paſſion, for an Object that came accidentally in his way. *Valeria*, a young Woman of high Birth, and great Beauty, captivated him. She was the Daughter of *Meſſala*, and Siſter of the famous Orator *Hortenſius*; had been, within a few Days, divorced from her Huſband; and enjoyed almoſt as much Liberty as that of Widowhood. The Seats, at Shows, were not then regulated; Men and Women all ſate promiſcuouſly without Diſtinction of Sex, or Rank; and the *Dictator* happened to be ſeated next to *Valeria*, whom he had never before ſeen. The young Lady, though virtuous, and of a good Reputation, was gay and free, and had a Livelineſs in her Manner which gave a Luſtre to her Beauty. She was delighted to be ſo near a Man ſo much feared and reſpected; and following the Dictates of her natural Vivacity, pulled an Hair out of the *Dictator*'s Habit, and thereby drew his Attention from the Show. He turned ſuddenly about, and, ſurprized with the Familiarity, ſaid, *With what Deſign have you committed a Robbery upon me, which I did not expect?* To which *Valeria* replied, *I muſt confeſs, I have always been very ambitious of being happy, and I fancied, that the leaſt bit of Down or Hair taken from the happieſt of Mortals, might bring me good Fortune.* *Sylla* took the anſwer, and was charmed with her Beauty. His Eyes immediately diſcovered what he felt for her; and afterwards, he addreſſed himſelf to her in form. *Valeria* was reſolute in her Virtue, and *Sylla* conſtant in his Paſſion. And in ſhort, their Amour ended in a Marriage, which did more Honour to the Wife, than to the Huſband. *Rome* was ſurprized to ſee an old Warrior, bred up in Blood and Slaughter, give way to ſuch Weakneſſes, as would ſcarce have been thought pardonable in a Youth.

Plut. in Pomp. §. XVII. Whilſt the *Dictator* was thus amuſing himſelf, *Pompey* was fighting for the *Triumph*, which he did not deſpair of obtaining. The Glory he had acquired in his laſt Campaign, was ſo great, that if only the Senate and People had been concerned, they would eaſily have overlooked his Age in regard to his Merit. *Sylla* was the only Perſon that oppoſed the Pretenſions of the young Conqueror, though he had himſelf reaped all the Fruits of his Victory, and the Pretence on which he founded his Oppoſition was the Law, which forbad any but a *Conſul*, or *Prætor*, to *Triumph*,

and that for Battles gained under, their own *Auſpices*. Whereas, *Pompey* had been made General by an extraordinary Commiſſion. Did then the Sovereign of *Rome* make any real Scruple about over-looking this Law, in order to reward ſo great Services? His Affectation was ſuſpected by *Pompey*. He plainly ſaw by theſe Proceedings, that *Sylla* either was jealous of him, or perhaps afraid of incurring ſome Odium, by making uſe of his Power to authorize ſuch irregular Honours; and the Method he took to ſucceed was both prudent and bold. He complained to the *Dictator* himſelf of his Delays; and went ſo far as to ſay, *That many more People adored the riſing Sun, than the ſetting*. Theſe Words he ſpoke with ſo low a Voice, that the *Dictator* did not hear him; but when they were repeated, he fully underſtood their Meaning, perceived that his own Power was declining and that of *Pompey* increaſing, and ſuddenly cried out, in a Paſſion, *Let him then triumph*. This he repeated twice, and *Pompey* took Advantage of it. He immediately ordered every Thing to be got ready for his Proceſſion; and to give the more Uneaſineſs to thoſe that envied him, gave Directions that his Chariot ſhould be drawn by four Elephants. He had taken ſeveral of them in *Africa*, from the Kings he had ſubdued. But it unfortunately happened that the triumphal Arch was not wide enough for four Elephants to paſs a-breaſt under it; and he was therefore forced to be content with Horſes as uſual.

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Plin. L. 8. c. 2.

Then the Covetouſneſs of the *Legionaries Pompey* had brought from *Africa* ſtarted a new Difficulty. It was cuſtomary for the triumphant Victor, to give Money to the Soldiers who had ſerved him in the War, and were to attend him in his Proceſſion; and in the preſent Caſe, their Demands were exorbitant. If *Pompey* had complied with their Deſires, he muſt have drained the publick Treaſury of all he had brought to it, to diſtribute it among them. They demanded great Sums, and that in a ſeditious Way. But the young Hero was reſolute. He declared, he would rather decline the *Triumph*, than gratify their Avarice; and this Reſolution was ſo much applauded by the Senators, that they who had moſt oppoſed his having that Honour, declared, That notwithſtanding his Age, they thought he now deſerved it. His Claim, as has been obſerved, was not founded in his having conquered *Domitius*, but his having reduced King [27] *Hiarbas*, and reconquered *Numidia*. And now, a *Roman Knight*, who was only between five and ſix and twenty, was diſtinguiſhed with the higheſt military Honours that could be conferred upon him, before he had arrived at a ſufficient Age, to have a Seat in the Senate. In this inſtance at leaſt, his good Fortune was greater than that of *The fortunate Sylla*; but Heaven was raiſing up againſt him a formidable Rival in the Perſon of [28] *Julius Cæſar*. In this very Year, *Cæſar* made his

Suet. in Cæſare.

27 According to *The Epitomy of Livy*, *Hiarbas* had been killed in a Battle with the *Romans*. But another Hiſtorian whoſe Works are aſcribed to *Salluſt*, ſay, That this Prince, whom he calls *Hierta*, had fled, hoping to eſcape from the Conqueror; That being purſued by *Bogud*, the Son of the King of *Mauritania*, he had been abandoned by his Troops, who ſurrendered themſelves up to the young Prince without ſtriking a Stroke; That he was afterwards beſieged in a City in *Africa* where he was ſhut up, and could not withſtand *Pompey*'s Attacks; and That, upon the Surrendry of the City, the unfortunate *Hierta* was put to death, by order of the *Roman* General.

28 *Caius Julius Cæſar* was then nineteen Years of Age, having been born in the Year of *Rome* 654, the *Conſulate* of *Marcus Antonius Nepos*, and *Aulus Poſtumius Albinus*. He was proud of his noble Extraction, and boaſted of being deſcended from the Gods, in a direct Line, by *Iulus* the Son of *Æneas*, and Grandſon of *Anchiſes* and the Goddeſs *Venus*. By his Grandmother *Marcia*, he carried up his Family to King *Ancus Marcius*. His Father *Caius*, and his Uncle *Julius*, both died, according to *Pliny*, in the ſame manner, and in the Flower of their Age. They both dropped down dead in the Morning as they were dreſſing, the former at *Piſa*, after his Return from his *Prætorſhip* in *Macedon*; the latter at *Rome*, when he was *Prætor* there. *Nullis evidentibus cauſis obiere, dum calceantur matutino, duo Cæſares, Prætor, & Prætura perfunctus Dictatoris Cæſaris pater; hic Piſis exanimatus, ille Romæ.* *Cæſar* was but ſixteen when he loſt his Father. But his Mother *Antiſtia*, one of the moſt virtuous Ladies in *Rome*, took all the Care of his Education that he could expect. His Relations had from his Infancy eſpouſed him to the young Daughter of a *Knight* of an ancient Family, and with whom he might expect great Riches. But more powerful Motives of Intereſt and Ambition led him to divorce her, in order to marry *Cornelia*, the Daughter of the *Conſul*, *Cornelius Cinna*. At the Age of ſeventeen, being ſupported by the *Marian* Faction, he was, according to *Suetonius*, appointed High-Prieſt of *Jupiter*. A little time after, *Sylla* endeavoured to prevailed on him to ſeparate himſelf from *Cornelia*, who had already brought him his firſt Daughter *Julia*. But *Cæſar* had the Courage to reſiſt this formidable Maſter to his Face; though he had juſt before forced *Piſa* to divorce his Wife *Annia*, whom he tenderly loved. *Annia* had firſt married *Cornelius Cinna*, and for that Reaſon was in Diſgrace with *Sylla*. The *Dictator*, exaſperated at *Cæſar*'s Refuſal, deprived him of his ſacerdotal Dignity, of the Fortune of his Wife *Cornelia*, and of the Inheritances that were fallen to him, by the Death of ſome of his Relations. But *Plutarch* tells us, That *Sylla* gave Law in *Rome*, when *Cæſar* ſtood for the Prieſthood of *Jupiter*, and that he was excluded by the Intrigues of the prevailing Party. But be that as it will, his Ruin was reſolved on, and he

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Plut. in Pomp.
Epit. Liv.

his firſt Campaign in the [29] Eaſt, ſignalized himſelf at the Siege of [30] *Mitylene*, and there received ſeveral *Civic Crowns*. However, *Pompey* now began to act a very great Part; and nothing ingratiated him more with the People, than his Modeſty after his *Triumph*. He ranked himſelf among the reſt of the *Roman Knights* without any Diſtinction; and readily ſubmitted to be reviewed with them, by the *Cenſors*.

§. XVIII. However, *Sylla*'s Power did not ſuffer much, by theſe firſt Honours, that were paid to *Pompey*. His abſolute Authority in *Italy* was diſputed by only two Cities, which ſtill perſiſted in an Oppoſition to him. One was *Nola* of *Campania*, which the *Samnites* had ſeized; the other [31] *Volaterræ*, a City of *Hetruria*, and one of the twelve *Lucumonies*. But the latter, after ſome Days Siege, ſurrendered to *Sylla*; and *Nola*, which was defended by the moſt obſtinate Troops in the World, was taken by Treachery. The Inhabitants brought into the Place *M. Æmilius Lepidus*, who reſolved to cut all the Garriſon in pieces. But the *Samnites* prevented the Vengeance of the *Roman*, by firſt ſetting Fire to their Houſes, and then killing themſelves. So that the Flames prevented the Pillage of a City, which was the laſt that had ſurrendered to the victorious Party. And it was, in this time of appearing [32] Tranquillity, that *Cicero* firſt pleaded in a publick Cauſe. His Eloquence made a great Impreſſion on a very numerous Audience, to whom he appeared to be a compleat Orator, at twenty ſix Years of Age. The accuſed whom he defended, was charged with Parricide. One of *Sylla*'s Favourites carried on the Proſecution againſt him under-hand. This *Freed-man* had already poſſeſſed himſelf of the Father's [33] Eſtate, and now wanted to deprive the Son of his Life by a moſt unjuſt Accuſation. *Cicero* was ſenſible, that it was a dangerous Thing, to plead for a Man who was perſecuted by all the *Dictator*'s Faction. But he had Courage enough to ſpeak for the defenceleſs, and was not very cautious in his Reflections on a Government which made *Rome* tremble. And therefore he thought it neceſſary to leave his Country, after he had given this publick

he would have been among the proſcribed, if ſome Friends to the *Julian* Family, had not out of Intereſt or Inclination, made uſe of all their Credit with *Sylla* to ſuſpend the Decree of Proſcription. They all intreated him to excuſe the Sallies of a warm and preſumptuous Youth. To whom *Sylla* anſwered; *You are very ſhort-ſighted, if you don't diſcover ſeveral* Marius's *in this young Man. May the Gods grant, that you may never have the Mortification to be Witneſſes of his Attempts againſt the Nobility!* When *Cæſar* heard this, he immediately reſolved to retreat. He rambled, ſome Time, in the Country of the *Sabines*, without any fixed abode, that he might the more effectually eſcape the Search of his Enemies, who purſued him with great Fury. And being frequently obliged to take ſudden Journies, almoſt always in the Night, he at laſt had the Misfortune to be ſurprized by a Brigade of *Sylla*'s Guards. But *Cornelius* their Captain, conſented to let him go, upon his paying two *Talents*, that is, 2000 *French Crowns*, which was done upon the Spot. However, this plainly ſhewed *Cæſar*, that he would be in perpetual Danger, as long as he continued in *Italy*; and therefore, to be out of the *Dictator*'s reach, he ſought a ſafer Retreat, in the Court of *Nicomedes*, King of *Bithynia*. There he waited till the Death of *Sylla*, which gave him an Opportunity to diſcover the vaſt Deſigns he had formed for aggrandizing himſelf. And, if we are to give Credit to the defamatory *Chronichon*, *Cæſar*'s Reſidence here proved fatal to his Modeſty, and the private Hours he ſpent with this Prince, raiſed Suſpicions not to his Honour. But *Suetonius* ſays nothing of *Cæſar*'s Flight. On the contrary, he affirms, That *Sylla*, at the Intreaty of the *Veſtals*, and *Marcus Æmilius*, and *Aurelius Cotta*, granted him his Pardon.

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[29] *Cæſar* then firſt made a Campaign in *Aſia* under *Marcus Minucius Thermus*, the *Prætor*. *Suetonius* ſays, That this General ſent him into *Bithynia*, and gave him the Command of the Fleet *Nicomedes* had fitted out, to aſſiſt at the Siege of *Mitylene*. *Cæſar* diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his Valour at the taking that City, and merited the *Civic Crown* which *Thermus* ordered to be given him. We have obſerved, in the ſecond Volume, that the Generals ordered this glorious Reward to thoſe who had ſaved the Lives of any *Citizen*, by killing the Enemy, who was ready to diſpatch him.

30 This was the only City in *Aſia*, that had refuſed to ſubmit to the *Roman* Dominion, after the Treaty of Peace concluded between *Mithridates* and *Sylla*. *Minucius* made himſelf Maſter of it, and razed it, by way of Puniſhment for its Revolt. See above, p. 98. Note 68.

31 *Volaterræ*, an ancient City of *Hetruria*, was become the Refuge of moſt of thoſe who had been proſcribed by *Sylla*. It was then, by its Situation, one of the ſtrongeſt Places in *Italy*; and being defended by four *Legions*, it had withſtood all the *Dictator*'s Forces, for two Years. The Remains of *Volaterræ* are ſtill to be traced in *Voltera*, a City of *Tuſcany*.

32 The Fury of the Proſcriptions was not yet ſo far abated, but that ſeveral ſtill ſeverly felt the Effects of them. A *Citizen* of *Rome*, named *Mutilus*, who was purſued by *Sylla*'s Agents, fled to his own Houſe, for Refuge; and *Baſtia*, his own Wife, had the Barbarity to refuſe him entrance, under Pretence that ſhe durſt not harbour a proſcribed Perſon. Upon which, the unfortunate Man being driven to Deſpair, ſtabbed himſelf, with his own Sword, and fell down dead in the Fury's Sight.

33 The Father of *Roſcius* had been proſcribed, and killed by *Sylla*'s Orders; and the *Dictator* had aſſigned to *Chryſogonus*, for the Sum of 2000* *Drachmæ*, that is 1000 *Livres*, all the Effects of the deceaſed, which were valued at leaſt at 250* *Talents*, which make 250000 *French Crowns*. The Orator deſcribed this moſt crying Injuſtice, in the moſt lively Colours; and by the Power of his Eloquence forced the Judges to give Sentence in favour of an unfortunate Son, who was deprived of the Inheritance of his Father, and forced to defend his Life, againſt the unjuſt Attacks of an Uſurper.

Proof both of his fine Genius, and Intrepidity. He retired to *Athens*, where he perfected his Talents for Oratory, and improved his Taſte for Philoſophy, and Politicks.

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§. XIX. And now, amidſt all *Sylla*'s good Fortune, the Burden of publick Affairs began to be too heavy for him. As ſoon as his *Conſulate* was ended, the People came in Crowds to intreat him to accept of the ſame Office for the next Year; but he was diſpleaſed with it. It ſeems, he had accepted it the laſt Year, only in order to compleat the Pacification of *Italy*, by the taking of *Nola*, and *Volaterræ*; whereas now all was quiet. Indeed, the Order he had re-eſtabliſhed at Home and Abroad, might juſtly have been deemed a maſterly Piece of Conduct, if he had not been obliged to ſhed ſo much Blood, in the Execution of it. But whatever Charm ſovereign Power may have, eſpecially in a State where it cannot but be odious, it ſatiates in the End. The firſt Proof *Sylla* gave of his being weary of it, was his Refuſal of a third *Conſulſhip*. He nominated *P. Servilius Vatia*, a Man of Merit and his old Friend, and *Appius Claudius Pulcher*, to be the new *Conſuls*, and the People conferred the *Faſces* on them in a legal manner, in *The Field of Mars*. So that *Sylla* was now only *Dictator*; and he had Thoughts of eaſing himſelf of that Weight. Buſineſs began to languiſh in his Hands, and Pleaſure was almoſt his whole Employment.

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The *Conſuls* took each his Province as uſual; *Servilius* had *Sicily*, and was to make War with the Pyrates; *App. Claudius* went to govern *Macedon*. And *Metellus* the late *Conſul* went with the Title of *Pro-Conſul*, to *Spain*. This was the only Corner of the World, where the Faction of *Marius* and *Cinna* was ſtill kept alive, by the Valour and Intrigues of *Sertorius*. But we ſhall at preſent poſtpone our Relation of them, as alſo that of the Wars of *Mithridates*, which had been renewed in the Eaſt, till we have firſt finiſhed *Sylla*'s Story. All we ſhall here obſerve of them is, that the King of *Pontus* very artfully took the Opportunity of *Sylla's Dictatorſhip*, to get the Peace he had made with him ratified. We have above obſerved, that before *Sylla* left *Aſia*, he had ſettled certain Articles with *Mithridates* which were not ſigned. The two Generals who treated Sword in hand, thought their Words ſufficient, and little concerned themſelves, about paſſing their Agreement in Form of Law. But afterwards the *Aſiatick* King wanted better Security. He ſent Ambaſſadors to *Rome* to have the Treaty judicially confirmed; which indeed Juſtice required. But *Ariobarzanes* complained, by his Ambaſſadors, of *Mithridates*'s Breach [34] of Faith, in ſtill keeping from him a Part of his Dominions. Nevertheleſs the Matter was at laſt amicably accommodated by *Sylla*. So that the Peace the *Dictator* had concluded with *Mithridates*, was, for the preſent, patched up, rather than eſtabliſhed, by the Senate and People. However, upon theſe weak Aſſurances, *Mithridates* reſtored the Cities and Provinces he had detained; and this imperfect Act of Pacification was the *Dictator*'s laſt Work. His Heart was now wholly bent on Retirement and Repoſe.

App. in Mithridat.

§. XX. Had he conſulted Ambition or Policy, there were very many Reaſons that might have diverted him from abdicating the *Dictatorſhip*. Men's other Paſſions uſually leave them in old Age, but the Deſire of Power generally increaſes with it. The *Roman People* had ſet no Limits to his Power, in point of Time; and *Rome* was now accuſtomed to bear the Yoke. There were no domeſtick Troubles to oblige him to quit the Helm; and he had a Son, whom he might have hoped to have ſettled in the ſame ſupreme Station. His Friends, who were as much intereſted as himſelf in his Preſervation, were a ſufficient Security to him againſt the Attempts of the old zealous Republicans; whereas ſo many Dangers muſt ſurround him in a private Life, that he could never reaſonably expect to be ſafe. But none of theſe Conſiderations had weight with him. And therefore, his venturing to put himſelf upon a Level with the reſt of the People, after he had deſtroyed above 100000 *Roman Citizens*, taken away the Lives of 90 Senators, proſcribed or cut the Throats of near 2600 *Knights*, and buried Multitudes of the *Allies* in the Ruins of their *Municipia* and *Colonies*, muſt doubtleſs have proceeded from a Greatneſs of Mind, to which none of the Hiſtorians have done Juſtice. Indeed *Julius Cæſar*, who was afterwards raiſed to the ſame Dignity, ſaid of it, *That* Sylla *was very ignorant*. But if we will judge rightly of it, we muſt not

Plut. in Sylla. App. Bell. Civ. L. 1. Oroſ. L. 5.

Epit. Liv. L. 89. c. 39.

34 Tho' *Mithridates* had given *Ariobarzanes* one of his Sons, of only four Years of Age, to guaranty his Performance of the Peace concluded between them; the perfidious Monarch ſtill kept the Places in *Coppadocia* which he had promiſed to reſtore.

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blindly follow the Sentiments of an ambitious Man, whoſe own Uſurpation coſt him dear. If we form our Judgment impartially on the Principles of Reaſon; what could a Man of the moſt refined Virtue have done more, than reſtore his Country to her ancient Liberty, re-eſtabliſh the Republick in her old Form, after he had revived and enforced the Laws, and then offer ſo much Violence to himſelf, as to lay down his Power, as ſoon as it was no longer neceſſary for the publick Good? Could the warmeſt Patriot have ſhewn a more generous Regard for his Country? But the Hatred which his numberleſs Cruelties drew upon him, has induced the Hiſtorians to ſuppreſs theſe Reflections, tho' juſt, becauſe ſo much to the Honour of his Memory. They have only ſhewn us his Tyranny, and drawn a Veil over his Heroiſm.

When he was come to a final Reſolution in himſelf, he, without communicating it to his Friends, aſſembled the People, mounted the *Roſtra*, and ſurprized *Rome* with ſo unexpected an Incident. He repreſented in a ſhort Speech, the miſerable Condition in which he had found the Republick at his Return from *Aſia*; and added, *That the Danger being extreme, he had been forced to make uſe of violent Remedies. Ever ſince the* Tribuneſhip *of the* Gracchi, ſaid he, *the People have all been running mad with Sedition. The Contagion began in the City, and ſpread into the* Provinces. *It was ſo epidemical, that all Orders of Men were infected with it; and in ſuch a Caſe, the Loſs of a little Blood only, would have increaſed the Diſtemper, inſtead of curing it. I therefore ventured, even to exhauſt a little ſo robuſt a Body, in order to reſtore it to perfect Health. And now,* Romans, *I will leave you to your ſelves, to enjoy that happy Recovery, which I have procured for you. I reſign my Office, and am ready to give an Account of all my Adminiſtration; to juſtify every Particular, even thoſe of the Proſcriptions; and to anſwer in a private Capacity, to all the Accuſations that ſhall be brought againſt me.*

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This ſaid, he diſmiſſed his *Lictors*, came down from *The Tribune*, and walked a great while in the *Forum*. The *Romans* were ſo ſtruck with this generous Act, that none of them dared to inſult him. Tho' the City was full of the Children of proſcribed Perſons, and many of the proſcribed themſelves were there, who after the firſt Heat of the Maſſacres, were ſuffered to appear in *Rome* with Impunity; yet of all theſe Malecontents, there was only one Child that ſhewed any Reſentment againſt the depoſed *Dictator*. He purſued him with great Clamours to his Houſe; but *Sylla* ſaid to the few Friends he had about him, *The Child is mad! If ever any other Perſon ſhould be advanced to ſo high a pitch as I have been, he will not lay down his Power, for fear of ſuch Inſults.* Then, in order to withdraw from the firſt Clamours of the *Romans*, he retired to his fine Country-Houſe, near *Cumæ*; there ſpent ſome Days, in more Tranquillity than he could have done at *Rome*, in the innocent Diverſions of Fiſhing and Hunting; and as ſoon as the fine Seaſon was over, returned to the City, that his Enemies might not have occaſion to ſay, that fear confined him to a Deſert. When he was at *Rome*, tho' in no magiſterial Office, he maintained the Rank of a Man of the firſt Diſtinction, both in the Army, and the State. But he no farther intermeddled in publick Affairs, than became a private Perſon, whoſe great Employments and powerful Friends gave him more Weight, than a common *Citizen*; and the only Mortification he had, was to ſee *Pompey* his Pupil, and if I may ſo ſpeak his Creature, aſſume an Aſcendant over him to his Diſadvantage.

§. XXI. *Pompey*, tho' ſcarce twenty nine Years of Age, already aſſumed as much Pre-eminence and Diſtinction in publick, as *Sylla* had acquired, after many Years, and important Services. But the young *Roman* choſe to purſue more gentle Methods than the old *Dictator* had done. The latter had carried all before him by Force; the former was for procuring the ſame End, by Inſinuation and Addreſs. This appeared at the firſt Election of the great Magiſtrates after *Sylla*'s Renunciation. Each of theſe illuſtrious *Romans* preſented to the People his Friend to be the firſt *Conſul*, who were of very different Characters. *Pompey* recommended one *M. Æmilius Lepidus*, who was paſſionate, and violent, and a very proper Perſon to revive the old Seditions. *Sylla*, whoſe long Experience had taught him to know Men, ſollicited for *Q. Lutatius*[35] *Catulus*, a Man venerable for his Wiſdom, and great Probity. The Emulation was greater between the Chiefs of the two Parties, than between the Candidates themſelves;

35 He was the Son of the famous *Catulus* the Conqueror of the *Cimbri*, who had been one of the Victims that had fallen a Sacrifice to the Fury of *Marius*.

and *Pompey* prevailed. His Friend *Lepidus* was first nominated *Consul*, and *Catulus* only second. Not that there was any difference between the Officers; but each Rival piqued himself on getting the better of all others, and having his Friend first chosen. *Pompey* triumphed at his Victory, even in *Sylla*'s Presence; and the old *Dictator* replied, *Young Man, You have made an indiscreet Choice. I wish, that neither you, nor the Republick, may ever repent of it!* But the Event soon verified the Prediction.

In the mean time, *M. Æmilius Lepidus* and *Q. Lutatius Catulus* entered upon their Office, on the *Calends of January*; and the Republick was now governed as formerly, by *Consuls* only, and free from any absolute Authority. The two Heads drew Lots for their Provinces; and *Italy* fell to *Catulus*, and *Transalpine Gaul* to *Lepidus*. But as nothing required the speedy Departure of the latter for his Province, he continued a great while in *Italy*; and there discovered that turbulent and restless Spirit, which *Sylla* had foretold, and which *Pompey* had not sufficiently known. As for *Sylla*, he was probably intent only, on withdrawing from the Storms, which the Misunderstandings between the two *Consuls* plainly foretold, and which threatened the Capital. He retired again to the Country-House he had built between *Cumæ* and *Puteoli*; and there his youthful Passions revived, and he gave himself up to the most infamous Debauchery, tho' full sixty Years of Age. The Charms of his Wife *Valeria* could not keep him from a scandalous Commerce with Actresses, and Female Musicians. The Pleasures of a splendid Table no longer affected him. He chose to spend his Days and Nights in drinking, on a Straw-Bed, as if he had been in a Guard-Room with [36] vile Fellows, who had nothing to recommend them, but their Love of Debauchery, and the Jests they had stollen from the Stage. These Excesses soon brought a Distemper upon him, which he carried about him a great while, before he knew it. His Blood was corrupted, and bred an Impostume in his Bowels. The Corruption within infected his Flesh, and all his Body swarmed with Vermine. The more they were picked off from him, the more they increased; and even the Water of the Baths which he used, was full of them. And now, finding his End approaching, and having his Understanding still entire, he finished his *Memoirs* of his own Life, wherein he declared, That the *Chaldean* Astrologers had foretold, that he should not long survive his Advancement to the supreme Dignity in his Republick. We have now no Remains left of these *Memoirs*, except the Fragments which Authors have quoted. However, his Dreams now became very troublesome to him; and he, one Night, imagined, that he saw the *Shade* of his eldest Son, who had been dead some Months, inviting him to come to the Infernal Regions, to him and his Mother *Metella*.

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M. Æmilius Lepidus, & Q. Lutatius Catulus, Consuls.

Plut. in Sylla.

§. XXII. Tho' the Impostume he had within him, was almost ripe, he still engaged in such publick Business as lay within his reach. Ten Days before his Death he appeased a Sedition in *Puteoli*, mediated between the Parties, first re-established Tranquillity among them, and then confirmed it by wise Laws; and lastly, gave them a Form of Government which they adopted. Nevertheless *Granius*, the chief Magistrate of *Puteoli*, had not paid the Taxes which had been laid on all the Cities, towards repairing the *Capitol*; designing to postpone it, till *Sylla*'s Death, and thereby to evade it. *Sylla* was provoked at the Insolence of a Man who founded his Hopes on his approaching Death, and he sent for *Granius* into his Bed-Chamber, and with great Clamour and violent Gesticulations, ordered him to be strangled before his Face. His Vehemence in the Heat of his Passion broke the Impostume; he threw up great Quantities of black and corrupted Blood; and at Night, his Pain carried him off. What other Fate could this sanguinary Man expect, than to die weltring in Blood? It was indeed a just Punishment of Heaven, on a Man, whose violent Passions had robbed him even of the Principles of Humanity. Tho' after all, if we take away his insatiable Thirst of shedding Blood, either to aggrandize himself, or re-establish Order in his Republick; in all other Particulars, his Glory will equal, if not excel, that of the most illustrious Heroes of *Rome*. He was a prudent and intrepid Warrior, moderate in his Counsels, steady to his Religion, extremely artful in ingratiating himself with the People, very industrious in debauching the Enemy's Men, knowing in the Art of encamping and forming Troops in a proper manner, according to the Circumstances of Time and Place, as faithful to his Promises as terrible in his Threatnings,

Epit. Liv. L. 90. c. 4.

[36] *Plutarch* says, That *Roscius* the Actor, *Sorix* the chief Mimick, and *Metrobius*, who acted the Parts of Women on the Stage, were his chief Confidents.

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and in short, both a great Soldier, and a great Statesman. But his Cruelty eclipsed and blemished all his Talents; and as to his Debaucheries, they were his Resource towards the end of Life, to stifle his Remorses.

His Funeral raised a kind of Division in the Republick. The *Consul Lepidus* was for having him carried to the Burial-place of his Ancestors, without any Mark of Distinction. But *Catulus* made use of the Authority his Office gave him, and *Pompey* of the Interest he had with the People, to prevail on them, to pay the deceased all the Funeral-Honours that were due to his Merit: And the latter prevailed. So true is it, that the Services he did his Republick, got the better even of the Discontents, which his Proscriptions had raised!

App. Bell. Civ. L. 1.

On the Day appointed, his funeral Procession was made with all the Magnificence of the finest *Triumph*. His Corpse laid on a Litter plated over with Gold, was attended by a large Body of Horse, and a vast Multitude of old Soldiers, who came to assist at the Obsequies of their General. Many Trumpets filled the Air with mournful Sounds; and the same *Lictors* which the *Dictator* had had in his Service when alive, preceded his Body armed with their Axes and *Fasces*. This Procession was made from *Cumæ* to *Rome*; and when it came to the Capital, its Magnificence increased. The 2000 Gold Crowns, which the Conqueror had received from the Cities he had taken by Assault, or saved from being plundered, and from the *Legions* which he had led to Conquest, were carried through the City, before the Bier, and the *Pontifices* and *Vestals* followed it in great Order. After them came the Senate and all the *Curule* Magistrates; and in the last Place, the *Roman Knights*, and a numerous Train of Officers, who had acquired Glory under the Standards of the deceased. Great Acclamations in favour of the Dead, were distinctly repeated, first by the Senators, then by the *Knights*, and after them by the whole Multitude. Praises which were the more sincere, as they could not now be extorted by Fear. In this manner the Body was carried to *The Comitium*. There it was placed on an high Couch, in State; and the most eloquent Orator of the Age, in the Room of *Faustus*, *Sylla*'s Son, who was not old enough to appear on the *Rostra*, spake a funeral Oration over it, in Honour to *Sylla*. This done, the Corpse was again placed on a Bier, and carried on the Shoulders of four Senators, to *The Field of Mars*, where no Funeral-pile had ever yet been raised, except for the Obsequies of the first Kings of *Rome*. But this was now done for *Sylla*; and when the *Roman Knights*, and the rest of the Soldiery, had made their Evolutions round the Pile, Fire was set to it, and the Body burnt. I say burnt, because *Sylla* was the only one of the *Patrician* Branch of the *Cornelii*, that was not buried, according to the Privilege of his Family. It was feared, that his Bones, like those of *Marius*, might be dug up, and thrown into the *Anio*. It was observed, that even the Heavens seemed to favour the Honours of the deceased. It was very cloudy the whole Day, and as soon as the Ceremony was over it began to rain; which made the People say, That *Sylla*'s good Fortune attended him even after he was dead. But after all, what real Happiness could a Tyrant enjoy, who had oppressed his Republick, and had Reason to be in continual Fears, that some Avenger or other would start up, and revenge the Cause of his injured Country? Tho' happy in the Eyes of the Vulgar, he was in reality more miserable than those, whose Estates he had sold for his own Use. In the midst of all his Power, he carried a Tormentor in his own Breast; which he could never stifle, even when drunk with Pleasures.

§. XXIII. Immediately after his Ashes were deposited in the stately Tomb prepared for them, the *Marian* Faction began to revive. Notwithstanding the Persecution it had suffered, there was still a Leaven of it remaining, which fermented again, and caused the Ruin of the Republick. *Æmilius Lepidus* the *Consul*, tho' an utter Enemy to the *Dictator*, had escaped the Proscription; and *Pompey*, to the great Misfortune of the Publick, had raised him to the *Consulate*. He was a Villain, who, when *Prætor* of *Sicily*, had oppressed his Province with enormous Exactions; and the *Metelli* who accused him for it, had desisted from the Prosecution, for fear of stirring up the People, whose Part he had taken, and whose Protection he had begged. But after all, the Affair only slept, and might be revived; and as he had no Resource, but in the Divisions of the Nobility and the People, *Lepidus* made use of the Advantage his *Consulate* gave him, to bring them into new Quarrels. He began with attempting to annul *Sylla*'s Acts; which would not only have put the proscribed in Possession of their Estates, but likewise have deprived the Republick of the many wise Laws the *Dictator* had made,

App. de Bell. Civ. L. 1.

made, to preſerve Order in it. It would rob it of its preſent Peace, and expoſe it to greater Concuſſions than it had felt in the moſt tempeſtuous Times. *Catulus* therefore oppoſed the Innovations of his Collegue, and broke with him. Upon this, *Lepidus* carried his Rage ſo far, as to threaten *Catulus*, that he would raiſe up the *Allies* of *Italy* a ſecond Time, and reſtore them the Lands which the *Gracchi*, the *Marii*, and *Cinna*, had given them. The Senate dreaded the Conſequences of theſe Beginnings of Strife, and forced the two Collegues to ſwear, That they would not carry their Quarrel ſo far as to take up Arms againſt one another. Care was alſo taken to ſeparate the Rivals, and to make *Lepidus* ſet out without further delay, for his Province of *Tranſalpine Gaul*. But the Incendiary put his own Conſtruction on the Obligation of his Oath. He thought he was bound by it, only during his *Conſular* Year; and reſolved to make War on his Collegue, as ſoon as they were out of their preſent Office, and were at the Head of their Armies, as *Pro-Conſuls*. He was fond of this falſe Maxim, and would not paſs the *Alpes* all the Year, but continued in *Hetruria*, making new Levies to enlarge his *Legions*. The Plots of the ſeditious *Conſul* did not eſcape the Penetration of the Senate; and they would fain have drawn him to *Rome*, under pretence of his preſiding at the Election of the new *Conſuls*. But he thought this intended Honour a Snare, and obſtinately continued in his Camp, ſowed Diviſions in a great Part of *Italy*, and brought ſome Cities into his Intereſt by his Liberalities, and whole Provinces by his Promiſes.

Year of ROME DCLXXV. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS, & Q. LUTATIUS CATULUS, Conſuls.

And now, *Rome* was at length ſenſible, that ſhe was threatened with a new Civil War, and recollected with Horror all the Miſeries, that *Marius* and *Sylla* had brought on this unfortunate Capital, which was thus continually expoſed to freſh inteſtine Calamities. A new Tyrant aroſe out of the Aſhes of the preceding, and one publick Misfortune ſucceeded another, without Interruption. The wiſeſt Men were therefore for putting rigorouſly in execution *The Plautian Law*; and for adding ſuch Clauſes to it, as would make it more formidable: And it was publiſhed in theſe Words. *All Men are forbidden to take up Arms, or enter into any Conſpiracy, againſt the Republick. The Judgment of all Cauſes concerning Rebellions, ſhall belong to the* Prætor, *who may hear them, and pronounce Sentence againſt the guilty, even on Feſtivals.* But what Regard is paid to the beſt of Laws by the audacious and the violent? *Lepidus* had already forgotten his Oath; and after he had refuſed to come to *Rome* to the Elections, drew near it at the Head of his *Conſular* Army, in order to procure himſelf a ſecond *Conſulate* by Force, if he could not ſucceed without it. This was following the Steps of *Cinna* and *Papirius Carbo*; and then the Senate thought it neceſſary to oppoſe ſuch Force and Temerity, with Force. But the Misfortune was, that *Catulus* was no Soldier. *Rome* had few *Citizens* of more approved Virtue, greater Capacities for Buſineſs, or more Intrepidity in Council; but all great Talents do not center in one Man. For want of a *Conſul* therefore, *Pompey* offered his Service to defend the Senate. Tho' a Friend to *Lepidus* he was more ſo to his Country. He had taken a falſe Step, in raiſing this pernicious *Citizen* to the *Conſulate*, contrary to *Sylla*'s Opinion; and he made amends for it, by deſtroying the Idol which he had ſet up.

Cicero pro Sextio.

Lepidus had already brought his *Legions* near *Rome*, and expected to have led them into the City without Oppoſition, in regard to his Dignity, and the *Faſces* that attended him. But to his great Surprize, he ſaw his Collegue and *Pompey* both under Arms; one poſted at the Entrance of the Bridge *Milvius*, the other drawn up in Battalia, at the Foot of the *Janiculus*. However, the ſeditious *Conſul* without much Deliberation, began an attack; the *Campus Martius* was the Field of Battle, where the two *Conſuls* fought, in ſight of the *Romans*, who ran to the Ramparts to ſee the Action; and *Catulus* was too well ſeconded to be defeated. *Pompey* put the Army of *Lepidus* into Diſorder, upon the firſt Onſet, and forced him to return to *Hetruria* faſter than he came from it.

§. XXIV. Nevertheleſs, one ſingle Victory was not ſufficient to deſtroy the Schemes of an almoſt general Conſpiracy, which the ſeditious *Conſul* had formed in *Italy*. *Lepidus* had for one of his Lieutenant Generals, one *Marcus Junius Brutus*, the Father of the famous *Brutus*, who murdered *Julius Cæſar*. This *Brutus*, who had embarked in this bad Cauſe, commanded a great Detachment of *Lepidus*'s Army in *Ciſalpine Gaul*, and was there making a dangerous Progreſs. Againſt him therefore *Pompey* turned his Arms, after he had put the *Conſul* to flight. *Brutus* wanted neither Courage,

Plut. in Pomp.

Year of *ROME* DCLXXV. M. Æmilius Lepidus, & Q. Lutatius Catulus, Consuls.

nor Experience in War. He shut himself up in *Mutina* [37], and took great Care not to expose his Men, which were the only Resource *Lepidus* had left, to the Hazards of a Battle. *Pompey* besieged the Place; and after some Time, *Brutus* voluntarily surrendered up his whole Army at Discretion; which seems to have lessened the Severity of his Punishment. *Pompey*, at present, only sent him as a Prisoner of War, to a little City on the Banks of *The Po*; tho' he afterwards put in practise against him, the Instructions he had learnt from *Sylla*. He considered, that a Man who had once rebelled against his Country, would be always a bad Subject; and therefore beheaded the unfortunate *Brutus*, without regarding the Hatred that so odious an execution might bring upon him.

Whilst *Pompey* was busy before *Mutina*, *Lepidus*, with fresh Assurance, came, and once more approached *Rome*. To the great Surprize of the Inhabitants, he appeared at the Foot of the Wall, and demanded a second *Consulate*. The Elections had been suspended, tho' the *Consular* Year was expired; the Times being such, as would not admit of the People's assembling in *The Field of Mars*. This Alarm from *Lepidus* made the *Conscript Fathers* the more active; and they assembled, and at the Motion of Q. *Philippus* came to these two Resolutions. 1. That the Republick was fallen into an *Interregnum*, and that *App. Claudius* should be President, and take Care of the Government. 2. That the President in the *Interregnum*, and *Catulus* then declared *Pro-Consul*, should provide for the publick Safety. Upon this, *Catulus* immediately took Arms, and was preparing to drive *Lepidus* farther off; when Letters came from *Pompey* which were more effectual than all the Efforts of *Catulus*. He wrote the Senate Word, that *Mutina* was taken, and *Brutus* dead; and as *Pompey*'s Victories all fell on *Lepidus* in the end, the Senate declared him an Enemy to the Republick, and drove him a second time into *Hetruria*.

Year of *ROME* DCLXXVI. D. Junius Brutus Lepidus, & Mam. Æmilius Livianus, Consuls.

§. XXV. Then the Republick was in more Tranquillity, and the great Elections were made with Freedom. The President of the *Interregnum* presided at them, and *D. Junius Brutus* surnamed *Lepidus*, was chosen, with *Mamercus Æmilius*, surnamed *Livianus*. The latter found some difficulty in his Election, because he was suspected of Avarice. He had declined being *Ædile*, to avoid the Expence of the publick *Games*. Their Administration was distinguished by some considerable Events, which shall be related hereafter. But we must not lose sight of the Rebel *Æmilius Lepidus*; till we have seen him suffer such a Punishment, as his Fury and Rebellion deserved.

After he had been beaten a second Time, and received the Mortification of failing of the *Consulate*, he resolved to leave *Italy*. With this View he drew near the Sea, and encamped under *Cosa* [38], a maritime City of *Hetruria*. *Catulus* followed him thither; there fought a third Battle with him, in which also he was worsted; and then came *Pompey*, and gave him the finishing Stroke. After all these Losses, he embarked himself and his Troops; and was more concerned at the Loss of *Apuleia* his Wife whom he tenderly loved, than at that of his Country. He appeared off *Sardinia*, where the *Prætor* received him as a seditious Man, whose Misfortunes rather than his Rebellion had made him contemptible; and the Fugitive coasted round the Island, and had great difficulty to find a Spot of Land where he could get ashore. There, being worn out with Labour, after the Fatigues of the Sea, and devoured with Vexation, he fell into a languishing State, which it was feared, would affect his Life. But it was not despaired of, till he received a Letter, which put an end to his Misfortunes. It informed him, that his Wife, who had been suspected of Gallantries, had broke through all the Bounds of Modesty. This raised so furious a Contest between Love and Hatred in the Breast of the injured Husband, that he sunk under it. He died in a Fit of Rage, more affected by the Infamy that dishonoured his Family, than the Troubles he had raised in the Republick. Thus ended the War of *Lepidus*, which was one of the Consequences of the Commotions of *Marius* and *Cinna*; and *Catulus* and *Pompey* had all the Honour of having saved *Rome* from the new Misfortunes that threatened her.

App. de Bell. Civ. L. 1. Plut. in Pomp.

§. XXVI. But to return to those Commotions in *Asia* and *Spain*, which we postponed till after the Death of *Sylla*. The East and West were both disturbed, in this *Consulate*; one with the Wars the *Romans* carried on against foreign Kings; the other with the Continuance of those intestine Seditions, which had passed from *Italy* into

[37] Now *Modena*, a famous City between the *Po* and the *Apennines*.
[38] See Vol. 2. p. 489. Note 36.

Spain.

Year of ROME DCLXXVI. D. Junius Brutus Lepidus, & Mam. Æmilius Livianus, Conſuls.

Spain. *Mithridates* had raiſed new Forces, and began to get the aſcendant. *Sertorius*, to the great Misfortune of the Republick, ſtill kept up the Party, which *Sylla* had not been able to extinguiſh, with the Blood of the great Numbers he had proſcribed. And we will now look back, and take a View, of the Progreſs they made, during the domeſtick Troubles in *Italy*, which we have related. It may be juſt Matter of Admiration, how *Rome* could ſtill maintain her ground and triumph, though attacked at the ſame Time by her own Children, and the moſt formidable Power in the *Levant*. And after all, the two ever-contending Factions of the *Patricians* and *Plebeians* were like an Ulcer in her own Bowels, which we ſhall ſee end at laſt, in changing the Republick into a Monarchy.

As ſoon as *Sylla* had left the Eaſt which he thought pacified, a new Storm began to ariſe. He left *L. Licinius Murena* to govern *The Aſiatick Province*, in quality of *Prætor*; and *Murena* ſuffered himſelf to be hurried away with the deſire of a *Triumph*; a Paſſion not uncommon among the *Roman* Generals. As he was at the Head of a conſiderable Army, *Sylla* having left him two *Legions*, and it being in his Power upon the firſt Signal, to aſſemble a great Body of *Aſiatick* Troops, he thought himſelf ſtrong enough, to renew the War with *Mithridates*. Indeed the King of *Pontus* had made Peace with *Rome*, and the *Roman* Senate and People had ſent *Murena* no Commiſſion to renew Hoſtilities. But Affairs were ſo embroiled in *Italy*, that he made no Difficulty of making himſelf the ſole Arbiter of his Conduct. *Mithridates*, on the other hand, depended on the Alliance he had made with *Rome*, and had no Thoughts of breaking it. He was returned home, and wholly intent on bringing back to their Duty the Cities near the [39] *Boſphorus*, and the People of [40] *Colchis*, who had withdrawn themſelves from his Dominion whilſt he was making War with *Sylla*. The *Colchians* firſt offered to ſubmit, and upon Terms which they could not but think agreeable to the King. He had a Son of his own Name, who had given Proof of his Valour againſt *Fimbria*, and ſeemed worthy to reign; and they demanded him of his Father, to place him on the Throne of *Colchis*, refuſing to acknowledge the Sovereignty of the King of *Pontus*, otherwiſe than in this his other ſelf. But, though other Princes have been pleaſed with conquering in order to give Sceptres to their Children; *Mithridates* was enraged, that his rebellious Subjects ſhould preſume to divide his Empire before his Death; and he puniſhed his Child, for the Good-will they had ſhewn to him. The young Prince was arreſted by the King's Order, loaded with Chains of Gold, and ſacrificed to the Suſpicions and Ambition of his own Father.

App. in Mithridat. *Plut. in Sylla.*

But tho' the Murder of the Prince was a very odious Act, *Murena* did not think this a ſufficient Pretence for declaring War with the King of *Pontus*. He waited for a more favourable Opportunity, which ſoon offered itſelf. *Mithridates* prepared a great Armament, and raiſed a great many Troops, in order to reduce *Colchis*, and the Countries near the *Boſphorus*, at the ſame Time; and the *Roman Prætor*, who wanted an Occaſion to quarrel, pretended that his ſole Deſign in theſe great Preparations was to fall on the Provinces of the Republick in *Aſia*. Beſides, *Ariobarzanes* ſtill complained, that *Mithridates* kept ſome of his Cities from him; and *Archelaus* himſelf was now continually exciting *Murena* to break with the King of *Pontus*. The Fortune of the latter had changed at the Court of *Mithridates*. After having been the King's Confident, and Commander-General of his Armies, he fell into Diſgrace; and to avoid ſuffering by the Hand of a Prince, who ſpared not the Blood of his own Children, he was retired with all his Family to *Murena*'s Camp. There he was ever prompting the *Prætor* to a War, and had no great Difficulty to bring him to reſolve on what was agreeable to his own Inclinations. In ſhort, the *Roman* entered *Cappadocia*, reconquered the Cities the King had uſurped there, and overran *Comania* like a Torrent. *Mithridates* at firſt ſent only a few Squadrons to oppoſe theſe Incurſions; and this weak Body being ſoon cut in pieces, he then had recourſe to Complaints, and Repreſentations. His Ambaſſadors repreſented to *Murena* himſelf, the great Injuſtice of his

39 The *Cimmerian Boſphorus* is here meant; which is now called the *Streights of Caffa*. It is bounded by the *Taurica Cherſoneſus* to the Weſt, *Sarmatia Aſiatica* to the Eaſt, the *Palus Mæotis* to the North, and the *Euxine Sea* to the South. The neighbouring Countries compoſed the Kingdom of *Boſphorus*, the Conqueſt of which *Mithridates* had projected. See of the Country of the *Cimmerians*, above, p. 193, Note 71, of this Volume.

40 *Colchis* is the Country ſo famous in Fable for *Jaſon*'s Expedition, who ſtole the Golden Fleece. It bordered on the *Palus Mæotis* and *Iberia*; and is now one of the Provinces aſcribed to *Mingrelia*. We have ſpoken of it, in the preceding Volumes.

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Infraction of the Peace which *Sylla* had ſworn to obſerve. But the King had choſen ſome perfidious *Greeks* for his Ambaſſadors, who, far from perſuading the *Prætor* to Peace, encouraged him to War. *Murena* inſiſted on ſeeing the Treaty ſigned by *Sylla*, though he knew it could not be produced, becauſe never put in Writing; the two Generals having been ſatisfied with their mutual Faith; and *Mithridates* therefore ſent a Deputation to *Rome* to *Sylla*, who was then in the heighth of his Proſperity.

App. in Mithridat.

§. XXVII. The *Roman* Senate ſeemed willing to do the King Juſtice, and *Sylla* ſhewed an Inclination to keep his Honour. A Senator was ſent back with the *Aſiatick* Ambaſſadors, with the Orders of the Republick to *Murena*. But the *Prætor* had, as ſoon as the Spring returned, paſſed the River [41] *Halys*, and pillaged the fineſt Provinces of *Mithridates*'s Kingdom, without Reſiſtance. He had already penetrated with his Troops, loaded with Spoils, as far as to *Galatia*; when *Callidius* the Envoy from the Senate, ſignified to him, by Word of Mouth, in the Preſence of a great Number of People, a Command not to do any Act of Violence againſt a King, who was a Friend and Ally of the *Roman* People. Nevertheleſs, *Callidius* took the *Prætor* aſide, and after ſome private Converſation with him, *Murena* appeared more ardent than ever in continuing the War. But *Mithridates* was not deceived, by Orders publickly given and privately revoked. He ſuſpected Double-dealing in the *Romans*, and reſolved to oppoſe them with all his Forces. And thus much at leaſt he had gained by his late Proceedings, that he had entirely ſecured himſelf from the Reproach of being the Author of the Rupture. He made great Marches towards the City of [42] *Gordium*, ravaged all the Country about it, and poſted himſelf near the Enemy, with only a River between them. Then a Battle began with a Skirmiſh with Darts thrown from each ſide of the River; in which the *Aſiaticks* had all the Advantage. This encouraged them to paſs the River, and fall upon the *Romans* with all the Vigour that Rage and Numbers could inſpire. *Murena* gave way, and in his Retreat, after he had loſt a great many Men, poſted himſelf on an Eminence, where he had like to have been ſurrounded. Then deſpairing of being able to reſiſt the Enemy in ſo bad a Poſt, he immediately marched away, croſſed Rocks deemed impaſſable, and brought his ſhattered Troops, with which he had been ſhamefully beaten out of the Field, into *Phrygia*.

Liv. Epit. L. 86. c. 18.

Mithridates returned the Gods Thanks for this firſt Victory, after the Manner of his Country. He firſt carried Wood with his own Hand to the top of a Mountain, there to build a Pile; and then his Soldiers brought more Wood to it, till it was raiſed to a great heighth. Round this larger Pyramid, was raiſed a lower Pile, on which were placed Tables of Wood; and a great Entertainment was ſerved upon them. When the Feaſt was ended, and great Quantities of Wine, Milk, Honey, and perfumed Liquors, had been poured upon the top of the higheſt Pile, Fire was ſet to both, and they, and the Tables, were all conſumed. The Fire was ſo great, that it was ſeen 130 Miles round; and the Air was ſo much heated, that no one could come to the Place for ſeveral Days after it. This Ceremony had been brought to *Pontus* from *Perſia*, for *Mithridates* came originally from thence [43].

Ibid.

Ibid.

§. XXVIII. After this Rout of *Murena*, *Mithridates* gained great Advantages, recovered all the Cities the *Romans* had taken from him, and forced *Ariobarzanes* to be content with a ſmall Part of his Kingdom of *Cappadocia*. In ſhort, the News of his Succeſſes was brought to *Rome*, and ſtruck Terror there; and *Sylla* who then reigned, did not think proper to engage his Republick in a new War, in a diſtant Country. Tho', he had himſelf left *Murena* in that Command, and had perhaps privately adviſed him to make this fruitleſs Attempt, he now ſent *Gabinius* to him, to order him in good earneſt to put an end to the Troubles, and reconcile *Mithridates* and *Ariobarzanes*; and *Murena* met with more Succeſs in his Negociation of Peace, than he had done in his military Expedition. He managed the two Kings ſo artfully, that he prevailed on *Ariobarzanes*, to give up for the preſent at leaſt, a Part of the Kingdom which had been taken from him, and on *Mithridates* to give his Son, of four Years old, for an Hoſtage that he would deliver up the reſt. Thus was Peace concluded be-

41 The ancient Geographers mention two Rivers of this Name; one in *Lydia*, which *Herodotus* mentions; the other, which is here meant, riſes in *Galatia*, waters ſeveral Cities in that Country and *Paphlagonia*, and falls into the *Euxine* Sea. *Gyllius* pretends, That the People of the Eaſt, commonly call the latter *Caſilirmar*, or *The red River*.

42 *Xenophon* places this City in *Great Phrygia*. It has been made known by *The Gordian Knot*, which *Alexander the Great* cut there.

43 See above; p. 318. Note 53.

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tween *Rome* and the two Kings; and *Mithridates* had all the Advantage of this ſucceſsful Negociation. He teſtified his Joy at it, by making a Feaſt after the *Perſian* Manner, to which *Murena* and *Ariobarzanes* were invited; and *Gabinius* only excuſed himſelf. In order to enliven the Feaſt, the King of *Pontus* offered Prizes to the greateſt Eaters, and Drinkers, and to thoſe who entertained the Gueſts with the moſt agreeable Buffooneries. Thus ended the ſecond War with *Mithridates*, which did more Honour to him, than to the *Romans*, his Aggreſſors. Nevertheleſs *Murena* had a *Triumph* [44] when he returned to *Rome*; not ſo much for having conquered *Aſia*, as for having ſettled it in Peace.

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Then *Mithridates* took Advantage of the ſhort Reſt the *Romans* gave him, marched againſt the *Aſiatick Scythians*, near *The Cimmerian Boſphorus*, who had withdrawn themſelves from his Obedience, during his Wars with *Sylla*, brought them to their Duty, and the better to ſecure their Fidelity for the future, made *Machares*, one of his Sons, their King. So that he voluntarily did for the *Boſphorans* what he refuſed to the *Colchians*, who perſiſted in their Revolt; and he in the next place attempted to reduce them. But in order to come into *Colchis*, he muſt croſs a Country poſſeſſed by the *Achæans* (who at their return from the Siege of *Troy*, had been driven thither by a Tempeſt, and there ſettled) and theſe tranſplanted *Greeks* made a very vigorous Reſiſtance. The King's Army was almoſt entirely cut off, partly by Ambuſcades, partly in pitched Battles, and partly by the Rigour of the Cold. Upon this *Mithridates* returned to his Dominions; and ſent Ambaſſadors to *Rome* to get the Peace ratified which he made with her. *Ariobarzanes* likewiſe ſent others, to complain of the King's Delays in reſtoring him his Cities; and *Sylla* gave Judgment in favour of the latter, and all *Cappadocia* was reſtored to him. It may well be imagined, that it was with Reluctance, and in pure Regard to the *Dictator*, that *Mithridates* reſtored a Prey which he had kept ſo long; and therefore when *Sylla* was dead, the Fear of the Republick no longer reſtrained him. He then, in his turn, became the Author of a new War with *Rome*; but with Caution, and in a borrowed Name. *App. in Mithridat.*

He underhand ſtirred up *Tigranes*, King of *Armenia*, his Son-in-Law, to march into *Cappadocia*, and ſeize the Dominions of the weak *Ariobarzanes*, who, had it not been for the Protection of the *Romans*, would have been the Sport of his Neighbours. The King of *Armenia* was brave and enterprizing. He appeared in *Cappadocia*, and his Preſence was ſufficient to terrify the new King, and make him ſurrender up his Throne. *Tigranes* ſeated himſelf on it, and then returned into *Armenia*, where he was founding a new City, which he called *Tigranocerta* [45], on the Banks of the River *Nymphæus* [46]. The Walls were built, and nothing wanting but Inhabitants to people it, and Huſbandmen to cultivate the Lands about it, which bordered on [47] *Aſſyria*. He therefore brought from *Cappadocia*, above 300000 Men, whom he carried into the fartheſt Parts of *Armenia*, and planted in the new City, and its Territory. All theſe Steps were ſo many Attempts againſt the Dominion of *Rome* in the *Levant*; and *Mithridates* was ſuſpected of being at the bottom of them. But this was not a proper Time to break with him. A more formidable Enemy threatened the Republick, nearer Home; which was the brave *Sertorius*, the *Prætor* of *Spain*, whoſe Proceedings ſince his Proſcription and Flight have been poſtponed for this Place.

§. XXIX. Upon the firſt Advantages *Sylla* had gained in *Italy*, *Sertorius* plainly ſaw that his Party was declining; and as the People had juridically appointed him to be *Prætor* in *Spain*, he retired thither, without waiting for the Revolution which threatened *Rome*. This great Officer had it then in his view, to continue the War in his Government, and there ſupport the Faction of *Marius* and *Cinna*, which he foreſaw would be ruined in *Italy*. And at length, notwithſtanding the Storms he met with at home, and the Oppoſition the Barbarians made to his Paſſage, he arrived in *Spain*. His Followers were not numerous; but he had entertained Hopes, that as ſoon as he ſhould be ſettled in his Government, all the proſcribed, and all that were diſſatisfied *Plut. in Sertorio.*

44 There is a braſs Medal extant which ſeems to allude to *Murena's Triumph*. The Reverſe is a winged Victory crowning a Trophy.

45 *Jovius* conjectures that this City which *Appian* calls *Tigranopetra* ſtood in that Part of *Armenia* where *Sultania* now ſtands. But moſt Authors think its Situation agrees beſt with that of *Biblis*, a ſtrong Place in the ſame Country.

46 This River riſes in *Meſopotamia*, runs as far as to *Armenia*, and then falls into the *Tygris*. The *Syrians* and *Arabians* call it *Baſilinpha*.

47 *Aſſyria Propria* now called *Adiabene*, contained that Province of the old *Aſſyrian* Empire, which lies between *Diarbeck* and *Perſia*. *Ninive*, now *Moſul*, was formerly its Capital.

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with the *Dictator*, would flee to him for Refuge, and increaſe both his Court, and his Army. And he was not deceived in this Expectation. He, in ſome time, got ſo many *Romans* of very great Diſtinction about him, that he formed a Senate of them, whoſe Authority he ſet up in Competition with that of the Senate at *Rome*. Then he ſignalized the beginning of his Adminiſtration in *Spain*, with eminent Marks of Beneficence, Good-Nature, and Liberality; and by theſe Means gained the Hearts of all the People. The *Spaniards* placed great Confidence in a *Prætor*, who was ſo very different from thoſe who had hitherto governed them. They were charmed with the Diſintereſtedneſs of the new General; and his Forces ſoon became conſiderable. Beſides the *Prætorian* Army of *Romans* which he had received from his Predeceſſor, all *Spain*, which was either ſubject, or tributary, or *Allies*, to the *Roman* People, was ready to obey him; and he attached them to the *Plebeian* Party, and drew them on inſenſibly to take Part in the Diviſions of the Republick. Thus was *Spain* moſt unfortunately drawn into a Faction, which ſhe was not at all concerned in Intereſt to embrace, and thereby became the Seat of the Civil War, which Ambition had begun in *Rome*.

Nevertheleſs the *Prætor* was apprehenſive, that his Authority would be oppoſed, before he had well ſettled himſelf in his Government. *Sylla* was then *Dictator*, and it was to be preſumed, that he would not ſuffer a proſcribed Perſon to reign in *Spain*, and rob the Republick of one of the fineſt Parts of its Dominions. Beſides, he had received Information, That the *Dictator* was ſending a great Army to *Spain*, under *Caius Annius*; whoſe Arrival would divide the *Spaniards* into two Factions. The *Prætor* therefore ſent *Livius Salinator* with a Body of 6000 Men, to guard the *Pyrenees*, and oppoſe the Paſſage of *Sylla*'s Troops. But *Salinator* carried with him one *Calpurnius*, who proved a perfidious Friend. The Traitor aſſaſſinated his Commander, took upon himſelf the Command of the Troops, delivered them up to *Annius*, and brought him into the Heart of *Spain*. Then *Sertorius* was ſoon deſtitute of Troops; and *Annius* prevailed. The Army of the latter daily increaſed; and that of the former leſſened. *Sertorius* therefore gave way to the ſtrongeſt, and retired to [48] *New Carthage*, in order to ſeek for better Succeſs in another Country. He embarked with his Troops on board a Fleet haſtily got together, ſailed for *Africa*, and landed on the Coaſt of the [49] *Mauruſſians*. Theſe Barbarians fell ſuddenly on his Men, as they were getting freſh Water, and forced him to put out to Sea again. Such was the beginning of the Diſtreſſes, which *Sylla* was ſo fortunate as to have brought on the moſt formidable Rival that could diſpute the Glory of Arms with him.

§. XXX. Then *Sertorius* joined ſome *Cilician* Pyrates, which were cruizing in the *Mediterranean*, and had come as far as to the Coaſts of *Africa*, and *Spain*; and prevailed on them to follow him, in hopes of Booty. With this Fleet he attempted to make Deſcents in ſeveral Places, and at laſt ſucceeded in the Iſland of *Pythecuſa* [50]. After he had beaten the Garriſon *Annius* left there, he enriched himſelf with their Spoils, and this little Advantage brought *Annius* in Perſon upon him. He appeared off *Pithecuſa*, with a Fleet which had 5000 Soldiers on board; and *Sertorius* with his Squadron of light Barks, accepted of a Battle; in which he ſuffered leſs from the Enemy's Arms, than from the Violence of the Winds. A ſudden Storm ſo ſhattered his ſlight Veſſels, that he was forced to return to the Coaſt, though with Danger, and there ſtand the Agitations of a tempeſtuous Sea for ten Days. As ſoon as the Storm was over, he paſſed the *Streights of Gades* with his ſhattered Fleet, and landed near the Mouth of the *Bætis* [51]. There, being now weary of living in a continual Hurry, and tired out with ſo many Fatigues, both by Sea and Land, he was wholly intent on procuring ſome Repoſe. *We are mad*, ſaid he, *to be perpetually purſuing, at the Hazard of our Lives, a mere Phantom of Glory, which eſcapes us, the Moment we think ourſelves ready to ſeize it; when at the ſame Time, all Parts of the World offer us Retreats where we may ſpend our Lives in Peace, and have no Battles to fight but with the Paſ-*

48 See Vol. 3. p. 24. Note 56.

49 The Antients give the Name of *Mauruſſi* indifferently, to the People of the three *Mauritania's*, and thoſe of the Kingdom of *Tripoli*. See the preceding Volumes.

50 *Diodorus Siculus* ſpeaks of three Iſlands which he calls *Pythecuſæ*, near *Africa*. But we muſt not confound them with that in the *Tyrrhenean* Sea, which was ſo called by the *Greeks*, and now bears the Name of *Iſchia*.

51 The *Bætis* is that River of *Andaluſia*, to which the *Arabians* gave its preſent Name, *The Guadalquivir*.

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ſions that diſturb our own Breaſts. And he was confirmed in theſe Reflections, by the Accounts he heard, of the Happineſs of the Inhabitants of the *Atlantick* Iſlands. Some Maſters of Barks were lately arrived from thence, and told him wonderful Things of them. *In theſe fortunate* [52] *Iſlands*, ſaid they, *the Earth produces all Sorts of Food without Culture. Agreeable Breezes temper the Heat of the Climate, throughout the whole Summer Seaſon. It never rains there. A ſweet Dew makes the Fields fruitful, and covers the Meadows with great variety of Flowers.* This Deſcription charmed *Sertorius*, and induced him to try to ſpend his Days in theſe new *Elyſian Fields*. He communicated his Deſign to the Officers of his Fleet; but the *Cilician* Pyrates whom he had joined, were not inclined to fix in this Seat of Pleaſure, to enjoy the Quiet of it. They ſeparated from *Sertorius* as an idle Man, who only wanted a ſafe Retreat, and would deprive them of the Opportunity to enrich themſelves. They knew little of the true Character of their Leader. His preſent Scheme was only the Effect of a few uneaſy Hours. An Hero of his turbulent Spirit could only entertain feint Deſires of a quiet and retired Life. He immediately carried the Troops and Ships he had left, into the Service of the *Mauruſſians*, who wanted to ſhake off the Dominion of [53] *Aſcalis*, their Sovereign. There, he found an Army of *Romans* under the Command of *Paccianus*, ſent by *Sylla*, to the King's Aſſiſtance; and he immediately fell on the *Roman* General, and beat him; and then turning his Arms againſt *Aſcalis*, forced him to take Refuge in [54] *Tingis*. After this, being Maſter of the Field, he ſubdued the whole Country, ſettled it in Peace, and gained nothing by his Conqueſt more than the Preſents which the People voluntarily made him.

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§. XXXI. However, his Reputation ſoon flew croſs the Seas. The *Luſitanians* were informed of his Succeſs, and ſent an Embaſſy to deſire him to come and take upon him the Command of their Armies, *Annius* and his *Romans* then threatening them with a new War. This was raiſing him to the heighth of his Deſires, by putting him at the Head of a warlike Nation, to act againſt the *Romans* of the Faction he oppoſed. He therefore inſtantly embarked his 2600 Men, which had followed him in his Flight, and which, by way of Diſtinction, he called *his Romans*; and with them 700 *Africans*, who were reſolved to ſhare his Fortune with him; and ſet ſail in the Night, to avoid fighting at Sea. But happening to fall in with the *Roman* Fleet which *Cotta* commanded, he forced his way through the Enemy's Ships, and at length arrived at the Place of *Rendezvous*, Mount *Ballera*, which the *Luſitanians* had ſeized. There he aſſumed the Batoon, and became in a manner King of *Luſitania*; and no Man was indeed more worthy to govern a State, or command an Army. He had no Vices, or ſcarce Paſſions. In him, the People had no Reaſon to fear Arrogance, or Contempt, or Avarice, or Incontinence, or Luxury, or immoderate Anger. He was mild in puniſhing, and liberal in rewarding. And with regard to War, none of the moſt famous Generals of Antiquity, not even *Pyrrhus*, or *Philopæmenes*, underſtood better, either how to form a general Plan for a Campaign, or regularly fight a ſingle Battle. He did not confine himſelf to one uniform Method in ranging his *Cohorts*, and diſpoſing his Squadrons; but varied it as Circumſtances varied, and always conſidered the Time, and Place, and the Character of his Enemy. Though he liked the Order of Battle eſtabliſhed among the *Romans*, he only uſed it when he thought it convenient. He would not ſervilely adhere to it, on all Occaſions, but changed it when he thought proper; and by that Means, often broke the

52 We are ſtill at a Loſs to find out what the Ancients meant by this *Atlantic* Iſland, or Iſland of *Atlantis*, which *Plato* particularly deſcribes in a very pompous Manner, though he intermixes ſome fabulous Circumſtances in his Deſcription, in his *Timæus*, and *Critias*. The great extent he ſuppoſes it to have had, has inclined ſome to believe, particularly *Ortelius* and *Sanſon*, that he meant *Armenia*. But no one before Mr. *Rusbeck*, ever imagined that *Plato*, when he ſpoke of *Atlantis* had *Scandinavia* in his view, which comprehends the Kingdom of *Norway* and *Sweden*. Nevertheleſs this Modern, in love with the Colds and Froſts of his native Country, finds all the Charms of this renowned Iſland, in theſe northern Countries. To convince others of this, he urges 102 Arguments in his Work entituled *Atlantica*; and turns whatever is moſt ſpecious in Learning to the Advantage of his Scheme. He ſays, He finds in the Ruins and Neighbourhood of *Upſal* the ſame Situation and Dimenſions that *Plato* gives to the Capital of *Atlantis*. But *Father Kircher* ſeems to have gueſſed better, when he ſays, The *Canaries* and *Aſores*, are a Part of that fortunate Country, which *Plutarch* calls *The Iſland of the Happy*. It is there, according to him, that *Homer* places *His Elyſian Fields*, and not in *Bætica*, as moſt learned Men agree with *Strabo*.

53 *Plutarch* adds, That the *Cilician* Pyrates ſailed to *Africa*, at the ſame Time, and declared for the dethroned King.

54 Now *Tangier*. See above, p. 198. Note 3. Col. 2.

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Meaſures of the Generals that oppoſed him. In mountainous Countries, he choſe rather to carry on War with Detachments, than ſubmit to the Forms of pitched Battles; and his Maſter-piece was the Art of haraſſing the Enemy, laying Ambuſcades for them, ſurprizing them in narrow Paſſes, and in ſhort, avoiding them in a Body, and fighting them by Piece-meal. In a Word, He was very good at Stratagem, as well as very brave.

With theſe Qualifications of Mind and Heart, *Sertorius*, at the Head of a ſmall Army of eight or ten thouſand Men at moſt, undertook to take from the *Romans*, their Provinces which lay next to *Luſitania*; and as ſoon as he appeared in the Field, every Thing gave way before him, and many Cities ſurrendered to him, upon the firſt Summons. *Titus Didius*, the *Roman* Governor of *Bætica*, was the firſt Champion that appeared to ſtop the Progreſs of the new General, and gave him Battle between the Mountains. But that weak General loſt 2000 Men, and afterwards appeared no more; and then *Sylla*, who ſtill reigned, thought it neceſſary not to neglect the new War which one of his proſcribed was beginning in *Spain* with ſuch ſurprizing Succeſs. Knowing the Merit of *Sertorius*, he looked on him as another *Hannibal*; was apprehenſive, that he might ſoon ſee him paſs the *Pyrenees* and *Alpes*, and overrun *Italy* with *Spaniſh* and *Maruſian* Troops, trained to War by himſelf; and reſolved if poſſible to ſtop this Torrent in its Beginning. To this end, he pitched on one of the moſt able, of his Generals, and one of thoſe who were moſt devoted to him, to oppoſe the *Luſitanian* Chief, and prevailed on *Metellus* to go to *Spain*. He was an old Officer of great Reputation, but Age had abated his Strength, and his Fire. Nevertheleſs he obeyed the *Dictator*; and his Character ſuffered by this Expedition. He entered the Liſts with a General in the full Vigour of Life, who haraſſed him with his new way of fighting. *Metellus* often appeared in the open Field, and bid his Enemy Defiance. All his Knowledge in the military Art conſiſted in underſtanding how to give battle in the uſual way, draw up his Soldiers fully armed in fine Order, and maintain his Ground. But *Sertorius* choſe a different Method. This was, to lay in Ambuſh on the top of Hills, fall down from thence on a ſudden and attack ſeparate Bodies, put them into Diſorder, and then inſtantly diſappear. As he well underſtood how to ſteal Marches from the Enemy, take Poſts from them, and give them no Reſt, Day or Night, this was his Employment for a whole Campaign.

§. XXXII. The firſt Step *Metellus* took, was to ſend for *L. Domitius*, then *Prætor* in *Hither Spain*, to his Aſſiſtance. But *Sertorius*, who was ſoon informed of the March of *Domitius*, inſtantly detached *Hirtuleius*, or as others, *Lucius Herculeius*, his *Quæſtor*; and the latter fought *Domitius* on the Banks of the [55] *Anas*, and defeated him. The next recourſe of *Metellus* was to [56] *Manilius* then *Prætor* in *Narbonne-Gaul*, whom, he informed, That the Army he had and one General, were not ſufficient to reſiſt the Enemy he was to contend with, and That his Lieutenant-General *Thorius* had lately been beaten, and deſired his Aſſiſtance. *Manilius* left *Gaul*, paſſed the *Pyrenees*, and came to [57] *Ilerda*. Then the *Hirtuleius* before-mentioned marched to meet him, fought a bloody Battle with him, beat and routed him, and forced him to retire to a neighbouring City, after he had loſt his Lieutenant-General. Theſe Advantages raiſed the Fame of *Sertorius*; all who were diſſatisfied with *Sylla*'s Government, eſpecially ſuch of the proſcribed Perſons as were able to eſcape his Fury, fled to *Sertorius*'s Camp, from all Parts of the World; and though the *Luſitanians* had honoured him with a ſovereign Power, he ſtill remembered that he was a *Roman*, and governed the State committed to his Care, like a Republican. Out of the great Number of illuſtrious *Roman Citizens*, who had fled to him for Refuge, he choſe 300, to whom he gave the Name and Office of Senators; and out of them he choſe his *Quæſtors*, *Military Tribunes*, and other Officers for his Armies. So that he erected *Luſitania* into a new Republick almoſt entirely conſiſting of *Romans*, which ſet itſelf in Competition with that of *Rome*, and endeavoured to rival it. Such was the Eſtabliſhment *Sertorius* made in favour of his Party; and *Sylla* was not able to deſtroy it in his Time. He might indeed have ſent *Pompey*, who was younger than *Metellus*, to oppoſe the *Luſitanian* Chief.

55 See Vol. 3. p. 47. Note 109.

56 *Plutarch* in his *Life of Sertorius*, puts one *Aulus Lollius* inſtead of *Lucius Manilius*.

57 Old *Ilerda*, now called *Lerida* by the *Spaniards*, was one of the chief Cities of *The Tarragonian Province*. It ſtood in *Catalonia*, on the Banks of the *Segre*, which riſes at the Foot of the *Pyrenees*, near the Frontiers of *France*, and falls into the *Ebro* near *Mequinença*, in the Neighbourhood of *Arragon*.

Chief.

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Chief. But he either feared *Pompey*, or out of Jealouſy, choſe to let him continue unimployed, after his *Triumph*. When *Sylla* was dead, the Republick, in this very Year 676, appointed *Pompey* to go to *Spain*, in Quality of *Pro-Conſul*, at the Motion of *Lucius Marcius Philippus*, the Senator. Some who envied him complained, that ſo great Diſtinction was ſhewn to a young Man, before he had paſſed through the ſuperior Offices; and ſaid, it was too much, to ſend him to act the Part of a *Conſul* in ſo large a Province. But *Philippus* anſwered, *That he would perform the Buſineſs he went about, better than both the* Conſuls *together*. This was charging *Junius Brutus* and *Mem. Æmilius* with want of Ability; and indeed their Adminiſtration was peaceful, but inglorious. *Italy* had not for a long Time enjoyed ſo much Tranquillity.

§. XXXIII. Learning then flouriſhed at *Rome*, and *Cicero* was returned from *Athens*, much improved. He had there been taught by the *Greeks*, to excel their own *Demoſthenes*. Nevertheleſs, his great Fund of Learning gave him at firſt little or no weight. He was thought a Man buried in Literature, who was more proper to lie concealed in a Study, than to appear on the publick Stage of Life. But as the Oracle of *Apollo*, which he had conſulted at *Delphi* had anſwered, *That the ſureſt Way for him to obtain the Fortune at which he aſpired, was not to govern himſelf by vulgar Maxims*; he was not at all diſcouraged by the Opinion the World entertained of him. He undertook the Defence of many accuſed Perſons, and by his Eloquence and his Probity, gained himſelf both many Friends and many Admirers. Nevertheleſs he had his Rivals in Oratory. *Hortenſius* had for ſome Time gained the Aſcendant in this Art, and *Julius Cæſar*, though but twenty two Years of Age, began to ſhine at the Bar. After the latter had dedicated his Youth to Arms, and acquired the Reputation of being brave, he turned his Thoughts to Eloquence. He was ambitious; and tried all Ways that could lead him to high Stations. In order to get himſelf Reputation as an Orator, as well as by the Sword, he accuſed *Cn. Cornelius Dolabella*, a Man of Diſtinction, formerly honoured with a [58] *Conſulate*, and a *Triumph*; and wanted to have got him condemned, for oppreſſing his Province of *Macedon*. But *Cæſar* was oppoſed by *Quintus Hortenſius*, and *Caius Aurelius Cotta*, and the two famous Orators prevailed againſt him; not ſo much by the Beauty of their Oratory, as by the Favour of the Judges. *Cæſar* excelled his Rivals, both in the Purity and Elegance of his Stile, and the Solidity of his Reaſoning; and it was ſaid of him, that he would have been one of the moſt excellent Orators of his Age, if he had not been, to the great Misfortune of the Republick, one of her moſt illuſtrious Warriors. After this Cauſe [59], by which he made himſelf ſome Enemies, *Cæſar* left *Rome*, and embarked for *Rhodes* [60]. But his Ship was [61] taken by Pyrates in his Paſſage; and in this State of Captivity he diſcovered ſuch extraordinary Courage and Reſolution, as ſurprized the Barbarians, who had him in their Cuſtody. He always treated them with an high Hand, made them ſubject to his Command, and threatened to have them hanged up, if they diſturbed him in his Sleep. He was imperious even in Chains, and ſcorned to purchaſe his Liberty at the low Price which the Pyrates ſet upon it. He paid them double what [62] they aſked. In ſhort, he already ſhewed himſelf to be not only a great Man, but worthy to conquer the World.

58 He was made *Conſul* with *Marcus Tullius Decula*, in the Year 672, by Order of *Sylla* the *Dictator*.

59 *Plutarch* ſays, That *Cæſar* afterwards accuſed *Caius Antonius* of Oppreſſion, at the Tribunal of *Marcus Terentius Varro Lucullus*; and That the accuſed, when ready to be condemned, appealed from the Authority of the *Prætor*, to that of *The Tribunes of the People*. But this does not agree with *Cicero's* Account. He expreſly ſays, *Orat. in Tog. Candid.* That *Lucullus* was *Prætor* at *Rome* when the Deputies of *Achaia* brought him their Complaints againſt *Caius Antonius*, who had in his *Quæſorſhip*, grievouſly oppreſſed the People, with very heavy Exactions. Beſides, it is certain, that *Lucullus* was not ſent to *Macedon* till after his *Conſulate*, which was in the Year 680.

60 *Cæſar* perfected himſelf in Eloquence, during his abode in *Rhodes*, in the School of the famous *Apollonius*, one of the greateſt Rhetoricians of his Time.

61 *Plutarch* here contradicts *Suetonius*. He pretends that *Cæſar* was taken by the Pyrates, near the Iſland of *Pharmacuſa*, in his return from *Bithynia*, where he had reſided ſome Time, at the Court of King *Nicomedes*.

62 They demanded twenty * *Talents*, or 20000 *French Crowns*. He gave them to underſtand, that Men of his Conſequence did not ſet ſo little a Value upon themſelves, and promiſed them * fifty. Then he ſent ſome of his Domeſticks to ſeveral neighbouring Cities to raiſe the Sum agreed on; and the Inhabitants of *Miletum* raiſed it by a Tax upon themſelves. During the forty Days he ſpent among theſe Robbers, he chiefly applied himſelf to the Study of Poetry and Eloquence. He made Verſes and Speeches, which he repeated before the Pyrates. But theſe ſavage People knew nothing of the Graces of the Mind, or the Beauties or Force of Language; and therefore gave him little or no Attention, unleſs forced to it. From whence he took Occaſion to reproach them with their Ignorance and Barbarity with ſuch an Air of Authority as kept them in Awe.

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Year of ROME DCLXXVII.
CN. OCTAVIUS NEPOS, & C. SCRIBONIUS LIBO, Conſuls.

§. XXXIV. Whilſt *Julius Cæſar* was improving his Mind in *Aſia*, and *Pompey* croſſing *Gaul* in order to make War in *Spain*, the Republick choſe for her new *Conſuls*, *Cn. Octavius Nepos*, and *C. Scribonius Libo*, who had nothing to do in the Capital, but to defend the Regulations *Sylla* had made, againſt the Attempts of *The Tribunes of the People*. He had, in his *Dictatorſhip*, reduced their Power, almoſt to nothing; but immediately after his Death, their Ambition revived, and was now grown more active. At the Head of this College, which was formerly ſo powerful, and now ſo much reduced, was one *Cneius Sicinius*; who, though a Reprobate in Life; found Means to pleaſe the Multitude. His chief Talent was Buffoonery; the Art of Mimicking and turning into Ridicule, the moſt proper Geſtures and moſt ſerious Diſcourſes of the greateſt Orators. And as a Mountebank on *The Tribune of Harangues*, was capable of raiſing great Diſturbances among the People; *Sicinius* ſummoned the two *Conſuls* to appear in the *Comitium*, to give an Account why they deprived the *Tribunes* of their ancient Prerogatives. The *Conſuls* appeared accordingly, at the Day appointed, but in a very different Manner. *Octavius* who had a Flux upon him, ſate down on the *Roſtra*, wrapped up in Linen, and covered with Plaiſters, and kept a profound Silence. His Collegue *Curio* ſpoke, and with all the Dignity of a *Conſul*, and all the Force of a great Orator. He ſhewed, that the late Seditions had all owed their riſe to the Licentiouſneſs, in which the *Tribunes* had been indulged; deſcribed, in a very affecting Manner, the domeſtick Broils of *Rome*, down to the Times of the *Marius's* and the *Cinna's*; obſerved, how much Blood it coſt the Republick, to purge herſelf of thoſe ſeditious Perſons, who were continually involving her afreſh in new Misfortunes; and added, *Have we not Wars enough to carry on Abroad, without reviving our Diſſentions at Home? What does* Sertorius *in* Spain, *but ſupport the Remains of a Faction, which was raiſed by the Fury of the* Tribunes?

Whilſt *Curio* was ſpeaking, *Sicinius* had recourſe to his uſual Mimicries. He imitated his Geſtures, and made many wry Faces to divert the Attention of the People; but it was all in vain. Reaſon prevailed over the Fondneſs the Populace generally have for Buffooneries; the *Tribunes* continued humbled; and *Curio* had all the Honour of an Action, in which he had Reaſon to fear ill Succeſs. However, the facetious *Tribune* had indeed the Pleaſure of venting his Spleen at the *Conſul Octavius*, and ſaid to him, with a Sneer: *You are exceedingly obliged to your Collegue*, Octavius: *Had he not thrown himſelf about as uſual, the Flies would have eaten you up here.* The *Conſul* was offended at the Jeſt; but *Sicinius* ſpared Nobody except *Craſſus*, whom he never dared to uſe ill. He ſaid, *He was formidable in himſelf, formidable for his Riches, and formidable for the great Train that always attended him.* In ſhort, *Sicinius* was ſo very witty, that before his *Tribuneſhip* expired, he was aſſaſſinated; The Republick delivered from a dangerous *Citizen*; and *Curio* ſuſpected, of being the Author of his Death. At the ſame Time, *Cicero* ventured upon a publick Office. He ſtood for the *Quæſtorſhip*, and obtained it by the Suffrages of the aſſembled *Tribes*. He had, according to the Advice of the Oracle, followed his own Genius, and by Eloquence and Learning had now brought himſelf into the way, of arriving at the higheſt Stations.

Pædianus in Divinationem. Plut. in Craſſo. Quintil. L. 11.

Cic. in Bruto. c. 60. Ed. Verburg.

§. XXXV. In the mean time, *Pompey* paſſed the *Pyrenees*, after he had ſpent the Winter in *Narbonne-Gaul*, and ſurmounted the Obſtacles which ſome *Gallic* Nations threw in his way. As ſoon as he appeared on the Frontiers of *Hither Spain*, he made a great Change in the Minds of the People. *Sertorius* had hitherto been the only Idol the *Spaniards* had adored. But *Pompey's* Approach drew off many Cities which were yet wavering, and ſuſpended the Surrender of thoſe, who had been terrified with the Name of *Sertorius*. On the other hand, *Perperna* had carried into *Spain* the Remains of the Army which the late *Lepidus* had commanded in *Sardinia*. *Perperna* was of a noble Family, which was much reſpected, though not rich; and though he was of the ſame Party as *Sertorius*, he intended not to receive Orders from one who was his inferior in Birth. He reſolved to make War with the Enemies of *Sertorius*, ſeparately and independently; but *Pompey's* Arrival broke all his Meaſures. In ſpight of all he could do, the 53 *Cohorts* he had brought from *Sardinia* ſurrendered to *Sertorius*, and he was forced to act as a Subaltern, under an Officer of a much greater Character than himſelf. In ſhort, *Sertorius* was not only revered by his Soldiers as an invincible General, but as a Man inſpired at leaſt, if not as a God. By an Artifice not much unlike that which his Maſter *Marius* had uſed, he procured himſelf great Veneration from the ſuperſtitious *Luſitanians*, as the Favourite and Confident of Heaven.

Plut. in Pomp. & in Sertorio.

One

One *Spanus*, a *Luſitanian*, happened, as he was croſſing the Fields, to meet a Doe which had juſt dropped a female Fawn, took up the Fawn, and brought it to *Sertorius*, who encamped in the Neighbourhood. The General accepted the Preſent with Pleaſure; brought up the Fawn in his Tent; made it ſo tame, that it never left him, even in the midſt of a Battle; and made uſe of the Fidelity of the Creature to impoſe on the Credulity of his Troops. He made them believe, that *Diana* had ſent him this Companion, to reveal to him future Things, and the moſt ſecret Deſigns of the Enemy. He often aſcribed to the Inſpirations of the Doe, the Intelligence he received from his Scouts, and the Informations he had from his Spies; and ſometimes marched out of his Camp all on a ſudden, at others continued very ſeaſonably in it, without any appearance of Concern. He ſaid, his Doe informed him, ſometimes to prevent, and ſometimes to avoid the Enemy; and after any good Succeſs he took care to careſs her, and crown her with Flowers. By this means he gained ſo much the Eſteem of his Soldiers, that ſeveral of them reſolved to live and die with him; and proteſted they would never abandon him living or dead. Such was the Rival in Glory, whom *Pompey* came in queſt of, beyond the *Alpes* and the *Pyrenees*; and they were now going to enter the Liſts, actuated as much by a Love of Fame, as by the different Intereſts of the Parties whoſe Cauſe they eſpouſed.

Year of *ROME* DCLXXVII.

Cn. Octavius Nepos, & C. Scribonius Libo, Conſuls.

§. XXXVI. It muſt be owned, that when *Pompey* arrived, *Metellus* was cruelly harraſſed with the continual Attempts *Sertorius* had made upon him. He had lately ſent him a Challenge, and invited him to put an End to the War, by a ſingle Combat. *Metellus*, being an old General, declined the Challenge, in his Soldiers Preſence; and this had given them a Contempt for him. He therefore reſolved to recover the Diſgrace by ſome ſignal Action; and in hopes of ſurprizing *Lacobriga* [63], a conſiderable City of the *Turduli*, turned his Arms that Way. There being but one Well within the City, he concluded that he could by his Circumvallation, cut off from the Inhabitants the Springs that were in the Suburbs, and expected to have made himſelf Maſter of it in two Days. But *Sertorius* ſoon ſupplied the Wants of the beſieged City. He, at a great Expence, ſent the *Lacobrigians* 6000 Skins full of Water, which enabled them to hold out the Siege ſo long, that at length the Beſiegers themſelves wanted Proviſions; and then *Sertorins* intercepted their Convoys, beat the Guards, and forced *Metellus* to raiſe the Siege amidſt the Shouts of the *Spaniards*.

By theſe repeated Advantages, and his ſoft and inſinuating Behaviour, *Sertorius* had formed *Luſitania* into a Republick, like that of *Rome*, in order to Rival it. The *Luſitanians* had laid aſide their own Habits, and dreſſed themſelves after the *Roman* manner. Their Soldiers were taught the ſame Diſcipline as the *Legionaries*, and their Children began to learn the Uſe of Letters, together with a civilized Behaviour, and all Exerciſes of Body and Mind. To this end, *Sertorius* had aſſembled the young Nobility of the Country at *Oſca* [64]; provided excellent Maſters for them, whom he hired and kept at his own Expence; and their Parents were delighted with a General, who ſhewed as much Concern for their Children, as the Conduct of their Troops. The *Roman* himſelf examined theſe Children who were dreſſed in *Prætextæ* edged with Purple; would often enquire what Progreſs they had made; and rewarded thoſe who had ſucceeded beſt, with hanging about their Necks, ſome of thoſe *Bullæ Aureæ*, which were, at *Rome*, the Ornaments and the Diſtinction of Children of an high Birth. The Politician well knew, that all theſe young Nobility which were together in one Place, were in effect ſo many Hoſtages to him for the Fidelity of their Parents; and in this Situation *Pompey* found him. He had in a few Years baniſhed Barbariſm from *Luſitania*, and made it formidable to *Rome* it ſelf. He governed, but did not reign, there; and had now two Armies under his Command; one of *Romans*, which had been brought by *Perperna*; and the other of *Luſitanians*, who had been diſciplined by himſelf, and were not inferior in Valour, to the Conquerors of the World.

Pompey, on the other hand, brought with him into *Spain* an high Character, founded on many glorious Exploits; and his very Surname of *The Great*, was a ſtrong Prejudice in his Favour. He was alſo in the Flower of his Age, at moſt not above

Plut. in Sertorio; & App.

63 The ancient *Lacobriga* is thought to have ſtood, where now ſtands *Lagos*, a little City of *Spain*, near the *Bay of Cadiz*. It is ſubject to the King of *Portugal*, and belongs to the Kingdom of *Algarves*.

64 The City of *Oſca*, now *Hueſca*, ſtood in the Country of the *Ilergetæ*, a People of *Tarragonian Spain*. It now belongs to the Kingdom of *Arragon*.

Year of ROME DCLXXVII. Cn. Octavius Nepos, & C. Scribonius Libo, Conſuls.

thirty; had been honoured by the Senate with the Title of *Pro-Conſul*; was equal in Power to *Metellus*; and his Army and that of *Metellus* were to act ſeparately, and independently. In ſhort, all the Forces of the *Roman* Republick ſeemed ready to ſwallow up thoſe of a weak State, confined within narrow Limits, in the extreme Parts of *Spain*. But *Sertorius*, who was its Support, was alone ſufficient, to keep the Ballance even between *Rome* and *Luſitania*. This appeared in the firſt Enterprize *Pompey* undertook. *Lauron* [65], a conſiderable City in *Hither Spain*, ſituated on the Banks of the *Turia*, was beſieged by *Sertorius*, who intended to enter the Province that was moſt devoted to the Republick, that Way; and *Pompey* began the Campaign, by drawing near it, flattering himſelf that he ſhould be able to raiſe the Siege, to the Shame of the *Luſitanian* General. But he formed his Judgment of *Sertorius* by the Officers he had fought with in *Italy*, and *Africa*, and did not yet know him. He advanced quite up to the Lines the Beſiegers had drawn round the Place; thought to have ſurrounded the Enemy; and ordered the Garriſon of *Lauron* to be told, that he would ſoon give a good Account of the Beſiegers. Whereas *Sertorius*, who knew of theſe Bravadoes, laughed at them, and ſaid, *This Scholar of* Sylla's *is young in the Art of War, and does not yet ſee ſo far as he ought to do.* In ſhort, he had left in his Camp a Reinforcement of 6000, who came in their Turns to ſurround *Pompey*'s Army; and then, all that the young General, tho' experienced in other Things, could do, was to retire with his Troops, and encamp at ſome diſtance from the Enemy.

Front. Strat. L. 1. c. 5.

§. XXXVII. Nor was this the only Mortification *Sertorius* gave his Rival, during the Siege. *Pompey* had only two Fields within reach of his Camp, from whence he could get any Forrage: One was near, the other at a diſtance; and *Sertorius* firſt mowed the neareſt, which obliged *Pompey* to have recourſe to that at the greateſt diſtance; and then formed an Ambuſcade for his Foragers. He ſent three Detachments from his Army, one of *Spaaiards*, who were very nimble and ſkilful in throwing Darts, another of *Romans*, who were more heavily armed, and the third of Horſe; with Orders to conceal themſelves in the neighbouring Foreſt. *Pompey*'s Forragers arrived, and gathered their Forrage without Moleſtation, but when they were ready to load their Carts, the *Spaniards* marched ſuddenly out of the Foreſt, and threw a Shower of Darts on them, which put them in Diſorder. Upon this, they rallied, and fell on the firſt Aggreſſors; and then, to their great Surprize, ſaw another Body of Infantry marching out of the Ambuſh, and ready to fight a pitched Battle. This obliged them to turn their Backs, and make the beſt of their Way to the Camp; and then *Sertorius*'s Horſe appeared to intercept them in their March, fell upon their Guard, and drove them before them. *Pompey*, informed of this, ſent a *Legion* to their Relief; and the *Legion* was ſurrounded and cut in pieces. And at laſt, *Pompey* himſelf marched out with all his Army. But *Sertorius*, who had foreſeen all, appeared drawn up in Battalia on the Sides of the Hills, behind which he had hid himſelf during the former Battles and *Pompey* had nothing to do but retire to his Camp, extremely mortified at having loſt 10000 Men, and the Glory of the Field, without coming to a general Battle.

The Siege of *Lauron* was therefore continued, and the Attacks carried on with more confidence than ever; till at length, *Pompey* was forced to be content to ſee the City taken which he could not relieve. *Sertorius* made himſelf Maſter of it, and gave it up to his Soldiers to be plundered; but forbad them to make any Attempt againſt the Lives of the Inhabitants, or the Honour of the Sex. Nevertheleſs a brutal *Roman*, of a *Cohort* that were ſcandalous for their Debaucheries, offered Violence to a Woman; and the generous *Spaniard* tore out the Eyes of the Wretch who would have diſhonoured her. When this came to the General's Knowledge, who heard it with Abhorrence, he immediately puniſhed it, by breaking the whole *Cohort*, tho' a *Roman* one, and declared he would not ſuffer any ſuch ſcandalous Debauchees to continue in his Service. He was himſelf one of the moſt frugal, and moſt continent of Men. He had from his Youth abſtained from all Pleaſures; and accuſtomed himſelf to lay in the Fields on the Ground, to ſuffer Hunger and Thirſt, and to bear the Inconveniencies of the Air in all Seaſons. *Pompey* himſelf was now convinced, that *Sertorius* was an Adverſary worthy of him; and ſaw how nearly he was concerned in Honour, not to appear inferior to his

65 This City ſtood in the Kingdom of *Valencia*. Moſt Geographers make it the ſame Place as *Liria* which ſtands on the Banks of the *Guadalaviar*.

Rival,

Rival, that the *Patrician* Party might not ſink under the *Plebeian*. All theſe firſt Battles had turned to his Diſadvantage. But nevertheleſs he flattered himſelf, that the Superiority *Sertorius* had gained over him, was wholly owing to his being better acquainted with the Country, and Manners of the People; and hoped, in the next Campaign, to repair his Loſſes. However, the Seaſon being now far advanced, both he and *Metellus* retired to the Foot of the *Pyrenees* to ſpend the Winter there; and for fear of a Surprize, would not put their Soldiers into different Quarters, but made them ſuffer all the Rigour of the Seaſon in Tents. Such Dread were they in, of the Stratagems of *Sertorius!*

Year of *ROME* DCLXXVII. CN. OCTAVIUS NEPOS, & C. SCRIBONIUS LIBO, Conſuls.

In the ſame Year, the Authority of the Republick ſuffered in *Macedon*, by the *Thracians*, a reſtleſs and warlike Nation. *Dolabella* had kept them a little in order, when he was *Pro-Conſul* in *Macedon*; but *Appius Claudius* his Succeſſor ſpoiled all, by being too precipitately zealous to extend his Conqueſts. He forced his Way into *Sarmatia*, and there died of the Misfortunes and Fatigues that he ſuffered from the Air of the Country, and the Hoſtilities of the Barbarians. But his Death was little lamented at *Rome*; the Minds of the People being wholly intent on the Succeſs of the new War between *Sertorius* and *Pompey*. Upon this the Fate of the whole Republick depended, and every Man's Affections were engaged on one Side or the other. It was this that was to determine, whether the Government of *Rome* ſhould continue Ariſtocratical, the ſupreme Power being lodged with the Senate; or become a Democracy, under the Dominion of the People, and their *Tribunes*. *Sertorius* had the Wiſhes of the Multitude, *Pompey*, of the Nobility and *Patricians*. Each Party pretended an equal Love for their Country, and both continued to be Republicans, notwithſtanding their Enmity. Theſe were the Diſpoſitions and Inclinations of the People, when the *Comitia* were held in *The Field of Mars* to chooſe new *Conſuls*.

§. XXXVIII. The Republick had now had ſome Reſpite, ſince the *Dictatorſhip* of *Sylla*; but as ſoon as *L. Octavius* and *Caius* [66] *Aurelius Cotta* took Poſſeſſion of the *Conſulate*, new Troubles aroſe, and diſturbed almoſt all the Parts of the World, where *Rome* was Miſtreſs. The City it ſelf was not ſecure from all theſe Storms. The Seas had long been infeſted with Pyrates, to which the firſt Wars of the *Romans* with *Mithridates*, had given occaſion. Whilſt *Sylla* was engaged in making War by Land in *Greece* and *Aſia*, the Inhabitants of the Iſlands in the *Mediterranean*, reſolved to ſcour the Seas, built little light Ships, and became numerous enough to be able to attack Merchant Ships, and Tranſports. They, at firſt, confined their Pyracies to the Sea which reaches from *Crete* to the Coaſts of *Achaia*; and cruiſed, for the moſt part, off the *Maliac* [67] *Gulph*. For that Reaſon this *Road* was called *The Golden Sea*, on account of the immenſe Riches they took there; where they ſeized all the Eaſtern and Weſtern Ships without Diſtinction, whether loaded with Merchandizes, or Proviſions, either for *Sylla*'s Army, or that of *Mithridates*. Till at length, Gain and Impunity increaſed their Numbers to ſuch a degree, that they formed themſelves into a kind of Republick, preſcribed Laws for themſelves, and built Forts and Caſtles in deſert Iſlands, whither they carried the Booty they took at Sea and on the Coaſts, to be divided according to Agreement. Afterwards, they ſettled themſelves in a Place not ſo eaſy of Acceſs as Iſlands, where there was no Difficulty in landing; which was [68] *Cilicia*, a pretty large Country on the Continent of *Aſia*, and ſo full of ſteep Hills and Rocks, that it was always difficult to get at it; and from thence, theſe Pyrates, of whatever Country, were all called *Cilicians*. After *Sylla*'s Departure, *Murena* gave them chaſe; but Hydra-like, as faſt as any were cut off, others ſtarted up in their Room. After they had loſt the Lands they poſſeſſed, and had no Habitations but their Ships, no Trade to live by but Rapine; moſt of the Cities of *Aſia* opened their Ports to them, and profited by the Merchandizes which they ſold at very low Prices. [69] *Sida* in particular built Ships for them, and made her Advantage of their Rapines without Danger. In ſhort,

Year of *ROME* DCLXXVIII. L. OCTAVIUS, & C. AURELIUS COTTA, Conſuls.

App. L. 1. de Bell. Civ.

66 *Caius Aurelius Cotta* was according to *Cicero*, one of the greateſt Orators of his Time. No one pretended to contend with him for Correctneſs and Purity of Style. He propoſed to imitate the famous *Marcus Antonius*. But he fell far ſhort of his Pattern, in Force and Energy of Thought.

67 *Malia*, a City of *Phthiotis* near Mount *Oeta* and *Thermopylæ*, gave Name to the neighbouring Gulph which waſhes the Coaſts of *Theſſaly*, *Locris*, and *Eubœa*. It is now called *the Gulph of Zeiton* and *the Gulph of Negropont*.

68 *Cilicia Montana* was the weſtern Part of that Province which bordered on Mount *Taurus*. See Vol. 4. p. 88. Note 13.

69 *Sida*, a City of *Pamphylia* was originally a Colony of the Inhabitants of *Cuma* in *Ionia*. Afterwards it

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ſhort, they extended their Courſes ſo much beyond the *Eaſtern* Sea, that their Fury was felt, as far as the *Streights of Gades*; and the *Ciciliani* were become the Terror of all the Seas, and all the Coaſts.

Rome herſelf began to feel the ill Effects of ſuch an Interruption of Commerce, and of the Difficulties of paſſing the Seas. Firſt, Corn and the choice Products of the Eaſt and South, grew ſcarce in the Capital of the World; and in a few Months, a kind of Famine was felt there. The Corn-Fleets that came from *Sicily* to *Oſtia*, had ſo conſtantly fallen into the Hands of the Pyrates, that no Squadron now durſt paſs the *Streights*. In a republican State, where the People have a Share in the Government, nothing is ſo much to be feared, as a Scarcity of Proviſions, which ſoon improves their Murmurs into Seditions: And now, the Commons complained of the little Care the *Conſuls* and Senate had taken to procure Plenty in the City, and wholly imputed their Want of Corn to the Change *Sylla* had made in the Government. *If our* Tribunes, ſaid they, *had ſtill enjoyed their ancient Privileges, we ſhould not have ſeen the* Roman *People oppreſſed with Want, through the Indolence or Malice of* Patrician *Magiſtrates. It is the Reſtraint laid on the Authority of our Protectors, that has produced this Want of Proviſions.* The Multitude are uſually affected only with the preſent Grievance, without ſearching far after the Cauſe of it; and in the preſent Inſtance, they made great Clamours, gathered together in Crowds, and tho' the Hiſtorians ſay nothing of it, we cannot but infer that the Tumult was great, from the Speech which the *Conſul Aurelius Cotta* made to the aſſembled People. This Piece has eſcaped the Ravages of Time, and the Subſtance of it is as follows.

Salluſt. in Fragmentis. *Romans*, ſaid the *Conſul*, *I have ſuffered many Dangers at Home, and undergone many Calamities Abroad, ſince I have had a Part in the publick Adminiſtration; and yet I cannot reproach my ſelf, with any want of Affection for my Country, or of Neglect in the Diſcharge of my Employments. Nevertheleſs, not only old Age, which is heavy enough of* *Ibid.* *it ſelf, is now come upon me, and doubles the Weight of my Burden; but I am not even allowed the Comfort in this decline of Life, of hoping to die with Honour. For, if I am the Parricide of a People, to whom I ought to be a Father, What Torments have I not me-* *Ibid.* *rited when alive, what Puniſhments after Death? My Crimes deſerve more, than any Thing we are told even of the infernal Regions. You have known me,* Romans, *from my Childhood; and are ſenſible, that I have refuſed my Protection, my Advice, and my Bounty, to none that have wanted them. My Houſe has always been open to the unfortunate,* *Ibid.* *my Purſe to the indigent. And when I ſuffered with the Publick, and was in great Diſtreſs, it pleaſed you,* Romans, *to reſtore me to my Country, and promote me to the greateſt Honours. Favours, for which if I could return many Lives, it would ſcarce be a* *Ibid.* *ſufficient Acknowledgment! But the Time of my Advancement happens to be, when Affairs are moſt embroiled at Home and Abroad. Your Generals in* Spain *call for Pay, Men, Arms, and Proviſions, as unable to go on without them.* Mithridates *ſo overflows with Wealth, as to be able to keep Armies ſtanding in* Aſia *and* Cilicia. Macedon *is full* *Ibid.* *of Enemies. Whilſt at the ſame Time, the Tributes are very ſparingly, if at all paid, both in* Italy *and the* Provinces; *and your Fleet is leſs than formerly. And if theſe Cala-* *Ibid.* *mities have been occaſioned by my Negligence, or Fraud, I am ready to ſubmit to whatever Puniſhment you pleaſe. If my Death will be any Eaſe to the Publick, I am far* *Ibid.* *from declining it. As our Anceſtors formerly did in difficult Wars, ſo I now* devote *my ſelf, to be a Sacrifice for the Good of my Country; and intreat you to be circumſpect in the Choice of my Succeſſor. For what good Man will readily accept ſuch Honours, if he* *Ibid.* *muſt, either be anſwerable for common Calamities, and for the Peace, and War, which others have made or carried on, or elſe ſuffer a diſhonourable Death? Only as to me,* *Ibid.* Romans, *let it be remembred, that I die not for any Crime, but freely give up my Life, in Gratitude for the greateſt Favours. And I adjure you, for your own Sakes, and by* *Ibid.* *the Glory of your Anceſtrrs, that you would bear Adverſities with Patience, and conſider* *Ibid.* *the publick Good. Great Care, and great Labours, attend thoſe who have the Adminiſtration in their Hands; and tho' you do not deny this, yet you want to enjoy all the*

it became one of the moſt conſiderable Cities of this Province. It had a Port which was a Staple for the *Cilician* Pyrates. *Le Noir* ſays it is ſtill in being, and called *Chryſonda*. *Thevet* will have it, That it ſtood where *Candalor* now ſtands. Some have thought that the City here ſpoken of, is *Sidena* in *Lycia*; but they did not conſider, That, according to *Appian*, that Province conſtantly refuſed to give any Retreat to theſe Robbers; whilſt *Syria*, *Cyprus*, *Pontus*, and *Pamphylia*, opened moſt of their Ports to them.

Benefits

Benefits of Peace, at a Time when both Country and Provinces are infeſted with War, both by Sea and Land.

This Speech had its deſired Effect, and the *devotement* of the *Conſul* which was conditional, was never put in Execution. *Cicero*, then *Quæſtor* in *Sicily*, prevailed 70 on the *Municipia*, and Societies of Merchants in his Province, to venture their Corn at Sea; and *Rome* was a little relieved. Nevertheleſs, in order to appeaſe the People, *Aurelius Cotta* gave up one Point in favour of the *Tribunes*. By *Sylla*'s Law, none that had been choſen *Tribunes of the People* could be promoted to the ſuperior Offices; but notwithſtanding all the Oppoſition that the Advocates for it could make, this was now annulled. By this means, the College gradually recovered their Credit; and tho' it was ſo much the Intereſt of the Senate to keep them depreſſed, the Cowardice of the old *Conſul*, in ſome meaſure reinſtated them, or at leaſt raiſed their Hopes. And the Sequel of the Hiſtory will ſufficiently ſhew, how prejudicial their Power was to the republican Government, as ſoon as they had gradually recovered their former Grandeur. It will be allowed, that *Sylla* had Reaſon to reduce them; and that *Cotta* acted very weakly, when he put them in a Way of recovering themſelves.

Year of *ROME* DCLXXVIII.
L. Octavius, & C. Aurelius Cotta, Conſuls.
Plut. in Cicerone.

§. XXXIX. What the *Conſul* had ſaid of the bad State of Affairs in *Spain*, and of the Preparations *Mithridates* was making to renew the War in *Aſia*, was not barely the exaggeration of an Orator. *Sertorius* had gained the Aſcendant over *Pompey* in the laſt Campaign; and when the fine Seaſon was returned, *Metellus* marched firſt to attack the Enemy. But *Sertorius* was not in haſte to meet him. He thought his *Quæſtor Hirtuleius*, a Man of experienced Abilities in Action, ſtrong enough to make Head againſt him. *Hirtuleius* was brave, and the Body he commanded was at leaſt equal to the *Pro-Conſul*'s Army. With great Confidence therefore he came firſt, bid *Metellus* defiance, and very early in the Morning drew up his Army in Battalia, in the Plain; and had *Metellus* hearkened to his *Legionaries*, he would inſtantly have marched out of his Camp. But he choſe to let the Enemy wait for him, and fatigue themſelves with the great Heat. Beſides, he gave himſelf Time to obſerve the Order of the Enemy's *Legions* from his Ramparts, and to make his own take a Meal. When he had obſerved that *Hirtuleius* had placed his beſt Troops in his Center, and that his Wings were thin, *Metellus* therefore choſe a contrary Diſpoſition. He placed his beſt Troops in his Wings, which he advanced nearer to the Enemy, and poſted his main Body, in which were his weakeſt *Cohorts*, at ſome diſtance behind them. By this means, he made the chief Strength of the Enemy of no uſe, and ſcreened thoſe of his own Troops, on whom he could leaſt depend, from the Dangers of the Battle.

Frontin. Strat. L. 1. & 2. c. 3.

This wiſe Diſpoſition could ſcarce fail of Succeſs. The firſt onſet was vigorous; but *Hirtuleius*'s harraſſed Troops could not hold out long againſt the freſh Forces of *Metellus*. The two Wings of the latter, which were two ſaliant Bodies, overpowered thoſe of the Enemy, and ſurrounded their main Body. The two Generals, expoſed themſelves in the Battle, with equal boldneſs. One had his Habit cut in ſeveral Places, the other was wounded in the Arm: And when *Hirtuleius* found that he bled, he fled for Refuge to *Luſitania*, after a Loſs of 20000 Men. In the mean time, a *Spaniard* prevented him, in bringing firſt the News of his Defeat to *Sertorius*, and *Sertorius* killed the Meſſenger with his own Hands; not ſo much out of Concern at his Loſs, as for fear the ill News ſhould be too haſtily ſpread among his Troops, before he had prepared them for it. Then he immediately formed a Scheme for revenging the Diſgrace brought on *Hirtuleius*, and for recovering the Aſcendant, which his *Quæſtor* had made him looſe. He gloried in repairing the Faults of his Subalterns, and appearing the only invincible Man of his Party; and with theſe Views, advanced to the Banks of the *Sucro* 71, a River in the *Tarragonian Province*. *Pompey* was encamped by himſelf in that Neighbourhood, fully expecting *Sertorius* to come and attack him; and each General was very deſirous of coming to a Battle with the other. *Sertorius* promiſed himſelf a great Advantage in fighting *Pompey* ſeparately; and *Pompey* thought it

App. Bell. Civ. L. 1. Plut. in Pomp. & Sertor.

70 The new *Quæſtor* diſcharged the Commiſſion he had from the Senate with ſuch Care, that the *Sicilians* complained, that he would reduce them to Want, and carry away all the Proviſions out of their Iſland, to ſupply the Capital with Plenty. But he ſoon made himſelf known and dear to thoſe People, by his Diſintereſtedneſs, ſweetneſs of Temper, Equity, and engaging Behaviour. They were charmed to find in him a Father and a Protector, and afterwards became his moſt zealous Advocates. This *Cicero* himſelf tells us in his *Oration for Plancus*.

71 The *Sucro*, which the *Spaniards* now call the *Xucar*, riſes near *Cuença*, and falls into the *Mediterranean*, at a little diſtance from *Gandia*.

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would be more for his Honour, to conquer *Sertorius* without the Aſſiſtance of *Metellus*. Theſe mutual Deſires and Expectations made them both in haſte to engage; and all Things were got ready to come to a Battle before *Metellus* arrived.

§. XL. There was a very large Plain on the Banks of the *Sucro*, and there *Sertorius* drew up his Army in Battalia, in the Evening. The crafty General choſe to fight in the decline of the Day, becauſe he thought *Pompey* utterly unacquainted with the Country, whilſt he himſelf knew all the Roads of it; and therefore, if the Enemy ſhould have the Advantage, he could eaſily make his Retreat by favour of the Night, being well acquainted with all the Turnings and narrow Paſſes at the Foot of the Mountains. Then *Pompey*, who was too much in haſte to engage, to defer it till the next Day, drew up his *Legions* likewiſe in the Plain; poſted *Afranius* his Lieutenant General, in his left Wing; and commanded the Right himſelf. By this Means, *Pompey* himſelf engaged with *Perperna* who commanded the Right of the Enemy, and *Sertorius* with *Afranius*; which was contrary to the Intentions of the *Luſitanian* General. The latter would willingly have oppoſed *Pompey* himſelf; but his Troops were formed, before he could gueſs, what Poſt that General would take, and he could not now alter his Diſpoſitions. However, the Attack was begun with equal Valour on both Sides. *Pompey* was too hard for *Perperna*, broke the Wing he commanded, and it would have been routed, if *Sertorius* had not had timely notice of it. But he came with a Reinforcement, rallied the Fugitives, brought them back to the Battle, and gained as much Advantage over *Pompey*, as he had done over *Perperna*. *Pompey* fled, was purſued, and perſonally attacked. An *African* of a gigantick Stature had his Sword lifted up againſt him, and the *Roman* avoided the Blow, by cutting off his Hand at the Wriſt. At the ſame time, he retreated fighting, and was wounded with an Arrow in the Thigh. However, his Men carried him off, leaving his Horſe, which was finely accoutred, in the Hands of thoſe that purſued him; and while they were diſputing about the Horſe, the General had time to eſcape.

At the ſame time, *Afranius*, on the other Hand, had all the Advantage over the Wing *Sertorius* had left. He broke it, put it to Flight, and purſued it ſo warmly, that he entered the Enemy's Camp with the Fugitives. Then his Troops, contrary to their General's Orders, fell to plundering; and this gave *Sertorius* Time to come up; and he made a great Slaughter of them, recovered his Camp, and ſpent the Night in it. But after all, *Pompey*'s Honour ſuffered more than his Party in this Action. The Advantages and Diſadvantages on both Sides were pretty equal, as was the Number of the Slain. As to Generals, if *Pompey* was ſuperior to *Perperna*, ſo was *Sertorius* to him; and therefore this able General reſolved to fight a ſecond Battle the next Day, and took proper Steps to make it deciſive. But *Pompey*'s Collegue happened unfortunately to draw near with his Army which had vanquiſhed *Hirtuleius*; and then *Sertorius* was not raſh enough to attack them, after they were joined. However, when he dropped his Deſign, he ſaid, *That had it not been for that old Woman* (meaning *Metellus*) *he would have chaſtiſed the young Scholar* (Pompey) *ſo well, that he would have forced him to have returned to School.*

Plut. in Sertorio.

§. XLI. In this laſt Battle, *Sertorius* loſt his Doe. The little Animal was not able to follow her Maſter in the Hurry of it, and ſhe ſtrayed. *Sertorius* appeared very uneaſy at it, for three Days together, and pretended that he durſt not undertake any Thing againſt the Enemy, as long as he ſhould be deprived of the Aſſiſtance of *Diana*, and the Intelligence ſhe gave him by the Hinde. Whereas the crafty General was in reality, afraid of the Arrival of *Metellus*. However, ſome of his Soldiers, who were rambling in the neighbouring Foreſts in the Night, knew the favourite Beaſt by her whiteneſs, and retook her. The General was well pleaſed with the News, and ordered them to keep it ſecret, and not let her looſe, till he ſhould be ſitting on his Tribunal to adminiſter Juſtice, and giving Audience to his Officers and aſſembled *Legionaries*. This Order was punctually obeyed; and when *Sertorius* was ſitting on *The Tribune*, as uſual, on a ſudden the Doe makes her way through the Crowd, ran up to him, and after many Bounds and Careſſes to her Maſter, laid [72] her Head between his Legs. All the Aſſembly made a ſhout at this Sight; thought the ſudden Appearance of the Animal a Miracle; and as this much increaſed the Confidence of the Soldiers in a General, whom

72 *Plutarch* ſays, That the Hind kiſſed *Sertorius*'s right Hand; and That the General had taught her this Civility, by often giving her Meat out of that Hand.

they thought inſpired by the Gods, they earneſtly demanded a Battle, and by their Geſtures diſcoverd their Impatience to engage. But old *Metellus*, tho' he was ſtrongeſt, and *Pompey* was for accepting the Challenge, did not [73] think proper to hazard a Battle, in a critical Juncture, which through the Enthuſiaſm of the Enemy's Troops, might prove fatal to him; and the younger General giving way to the older, it was not fought. *Sertorius* therefore diſmiſſed his Troops, after he had appointed them where to meet again; and himſelf retired alone, without a Guard, more like a Hunter than a General. To croſs Mountains, and Foreſts, and narrow Paſſes, was both his Pleaſure and his Study. By this means, he became acquainted with the Roads of the Country, and obſerved in what Places he might engage the Enemy to advantage, and which were proper for a Retreat, in caſe of need.

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When *Metellus* joined *Pompey*, the latter met him, and in reſpect to his ſuperior Age, ordered his *Lictors* to lower their *Faſces* in his Preſence. But *Metellus* would not ſuffer it, or aſſume any Diſtinction whilſt they were together, except only that of giving the Word to the two united Camps. Nevertheleſs *Pompey* conſtantly followed the Advice of his Elder, with all the Docility of a Diſciple; and thereby not only did Honour to himſelf, but likewiſe kept up a perfect Harmony between the two Armies. They marched through different Roads, to the new Poſt where *Sertorius* was entrenched; found his numerous Troops divided into two Bodies, one commanded by *Perperna*, the other by himſelf; and there their Forraging gave occaſion to a new [74] Battle. *Sertorius* engaged with *Pompey*, and *Metellus* with *Perperna*; and the Engagement was ſo furious and obſtinate, that it laſted from nine in the Morning, till the Stars appeared. *Pompey* was beaten, and loſt *Memmius* his [75] *Quæſtor*, and with him 6000 *Legionaries*. *Perperna*, on the other hand, made but a feint Reſiſtance againſt *Metellus*, was repulſed, loſt 5000 of his Men, and was like to have been entirely defeated. Then *Sertorius* appeared, and recovered his Affairs. *Perperna* with his Aſſiſtance repulſed *Metellus* in his turn, and behaved himſelf ſo bravely, that he came up to the old General, as if he intended to engage him in ſingle Combat. But *Metellus*, who was never ſo brave, as when in the greateſt Danger, ſeemed to forget his Age, and to riſe above himſelf. With his Voice and Geſtures, and brave Example, he rallied his repulſed Troops about him; and as ſoon they ſaw him wounded, ſome of them carried him out of the Battle, whilſt the reſt of his faithful Soldiers, received the Arrows of the Enemy on their Bucklers, to ſecure him; and in ſhort, he reached his Camp with only a ſlight Wound, but aſhamed of having loſt the Field of Battle.

However, *Sertorius* did not look on this Action as a compleat Victory; and therefore appeared in the Field, in the Evening of the next Day, and prepared to force *Metellus*'s Camp, which was at ſome diſtance from that of *Pompey*. The artful General's Scheme was, either to take *Metellus* and his Camp by Aſſault, or if *Pompey* came to his Aſſiſtance, to retire with ſome of his Troops to *Calaguris* [76] a neighbouring City, and amuſe the Enemy with [77] beſieging it; and it ſucceeded to his Wiſhes. He found

73 According to *Plutarch*, *Sertorius*'s Army, and that of *Pompey*, appeared the next Day, in order of Battle, by Day-break; and this ſecond Battle was actually begun, when *Metellus* appeared in the Plain, at the Head of his Troops. Then *Sertorius*, who was afraid of being ſurrounded, did not wait for the new Army, but ſounded a Retreat; and in that inſtant his Troops diſappeared, in order to unite again under their General's Standards, in a little Time.

74 *Sertorius* made it his chief Buſineſs to prevent any Proviſions being brought to the Troops of the Republick either by Sea or Land. This reduced them to great Want, and forced them for a Subſiſtence, to make a general Forrage in the Plains of *Saguntum*, were the Battle was fought.

75 *Plutarch* in his *Life of Sertorius* makes *Memmius* a Lieutenant General in *Pompey*'s Army. He was deemed one of the greateſt Officers of his Time.

76 The ancient Geographers ſpeak of two Cities of *Calaguris*, in *Hither*, or *Tarragonian*, *Spain*. The firſt called *Julia Naſcica*, ſtood in the extreme Parts of *Old Caſtille*, on the Banks of the *Ebro*. It is now called *Calahorra*. According to *Pliny*, it was firſt a *Municipium*, and afterwards a *Roman Colony*. This Author, and the Medals of this City which are yet in being, agree in this Fact. The ſecond, which *Pliny* calls *Fibularia* or *Fibularenſis*, was but about four Leagues diſtant from *Oſca*. It is now buried in its Ruins. It ſeems to have ſtood, where now ſtands *Loharre*, a little City in the Kingdom of *Arragon*, near the River which the *Spaniards* call *Rio Gallego*. But to which of theſe Cities *Sertorius* retreated, the Hiſtorians have not told us. It ſeems natural to think, that they muſt mean the latter, which was near *Oſca*, where this General uſually reſided. Beſides, the City in queſtion ſtood on the ridge of a Mountain; and this Situation agrees very well with that of *Loharre*. Add to this, that ſome modern Geographers have aſcribed to one of theſe Cities what belonged to the other. *Marca*, and after him *Cellarius*, have acknowledged the Miſtake.

77 Not that he deſigned to ſhut himſelf up in the City, or ſtand a Siege there; but only to deceive *Pompey* and *Metellus*. And accordingly, whilſt the two

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found an Oppportunity to retire with his Troops croſs Mountains and Foreſts into *Luſitania.*

§. XLII. And now, the Fame of *Sertorius*, and his Exploits, was far ſpread into all the Parts of the known World. It was every where reported, That a Man who was proſcribed by *Sylla*, and baniſhed *Rome*, had raiſed himſelf an Empire in a Corner of *Spain*; That without aſſuming the Title of a Sovereign, he had, by his civil and military Virtues, gained himſelf a Superiority equal to that of Kings; and That in his little Dominions, he maintained his Ground, againſt two of the greateſt Generals *Rome* had. Much was ſaid, of the Senate of 300 *Romans* which he had eſtabliſhed, and of the prodigious Concourſe of Malecontents, who came from *Rome* to increaſe his Court, and Armies; and theſe Reports were divulged in *Africa*, and *Aſia*, eſpecially by the proſcribed, whom the Perſecution had diſperſed. There happened to be two of them in *Aſia*, at the Court of *Mithridates*, *L. Magius*, and *L. Fannius*, both Incendiaries, formerly Adherents to *Marius* and *Cinna*; and theſe Traitors to their Country, thinking it in their Power to revive the King's old Reſentments againſt *Rome*, reſolved to animate him to try a third War with the Republick: which is a Branch of the *Roman* Story that deſerves to be repreſented in a clear and juſt Light.

App. in Mithridat.

The laſt Peace *Mithridates* had made with *Rome*, had neither appeaſed his Reſentments, nor ſet Bounds to his Ambition. As ſoon as *Sylla* was dead, he had again driven *Ariobarzanes* from his Throne, and made his Son-in-Law *Tigranes* invade *Cappadocia*. He therefore expected that the *Romans* would ſooner or later fall upon him, and kept himſelf in a Readineſs to withſtand their Attacks. Beſides, he was continually lamenting the Conqueſt of almoſt all *Aſia*, which he had loſt; and his Ambition prompted him to make himſelf Maſter of the Kingdoms, near his own, and particularly *Bithynia*. *Nicomedes*[78] had long been King there, and had married the Siſter of *Mithridates*, by whom he had two Children now alive. Nevertheleſs, when he died, he had left his Kingdom to the *Romans* by *Will*; and *M. Julius Silanus*, the *Prætor* in the *Pergamian* State, was now buſy in reducing *Bithynia* to the State of a *Province*, ſubject to the Republick. This taking Poſſeſſion of a new extent of Country, was a very grievous Sight to *Mithridates*, and rouzed his Covetouſneſs. His Jealouſy made him ſeek all Means to drive from his Neighbourhood a troubleſome Republick, which either by Conqueſt, or Donation, was by degrees getting Poſſeſſion of all the Countries in *Aſia* that bordered on his Dominions: And when he was full of theſe Thoughts, *L. Magius* and *L. Fannius*, came and made him a Propoſal, which was very agreeable to his own Inclinations.

The Roman *Republick*, ſaid the two proſcribed, *is no longer at* Rome. *It is ſettled in* Luſitania, *with* Sertorius; *who gives Law there, at the Head of a Senate; which is more venerable and more powerful, than the* Conſcript Fathers *in the Capital, who were all mean Slaves to* Sylla, *whoſe Spirit ſurvives him there. You cannot but deſire to have* Cappadocia, Bithynia, Gallo-Greece, *the Kingdom of* Pergamus, *and in ſhort, all the Coaſts of* Aſia, *under your Dominion. And indeed who ſo worthy to govern them as the brave* Mithridates? *Addreſs yourſelf then to the* Luſitanian *Chief, and his Senate. He has more Power and Authority than the contemptible Remains of the* Roman *Republick, that continues in* Italy. *If you would obtain your Deſires, your recourſe muſt be to* Luſitania. Rome *is now but a Shadow of that great Body, which heretofore was ſo formidable. But if you offer* Sertorius, *advantageous Terms, and make an Alliance with him,* two Generals were forming a Camp round the Place, he eſcaped with his Troops croſs Mountains and Foreſts into *Luſitania*; and got Time enough to raiſe a ſufficient Number of new Recruits, to enable him to keep the Field. All the *Spaniſh* Cities that were in his Intereſt, ſent him Succours of Men and Proviſions in great haſte; and he ſoon appeared again at the Head of ſo formidable an Army, that *Pompey* and *Metellus* did not think fit to run the Hazard of a ſecond Battle. But they could not avoid the continual Attacks of *Sertorius*, who fell upon them from all Quarters, without giving them Time to recover themſelves. He drove them from Poſt to Poſt, ſometimes by open Force, ſometimes by the Ambuſcades he laid for them, and ſometimes by ſurprizing them ſuddenly with ſtolen Marches; ſo that they could find no Place of Safety for a Retreat. Beſides, it was difficult for the *Roman* Army to find a Subſiſtence long. *Sertorius* ſeemed to be every where, either laying the Countries waſte, or interrupting Convoys, or ſeizing Magazines. So that the two *Roman* Generals were forced to ſeparate, and put their Troops in different Winter-quarters.

78 The *Nicomedes* here ſpoken of, was *the fourth* of the Name, and the laſt King of *Bithynia*. He was the Son of *Nicomedes Philopater* the *third* of the Name, who died about the Year of *Rome* 664; reigned about 16 Years; and, according to ſome Hiſtorians, left no Children behind him. But the Letter of *Mithridates* to *Arſaces* King of *Parthia*, related by *Salluſt*, ſuppoſes that he had a natural Son that ſurvived him. See above, p. 9. Note 23.

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he will readily give you the Property of the Kingdoms and Provinces you deſire; and he is able to maintain his Grant by force of Arms.

This was exceeding agreeable to *Mithridates*; and he immediately ordered Ambaſſadors to *Luſitania*, and appointed *Magius* and *Fannius* to conduct them. The Ambaſſadors ſet ſail, and coaſted along *Italy*, with the two proſcribed Perſons their Conductors, unknown to the *Roman* Senate; and as ſoon as the News came to *Rome*, *Magius* and *Fannius* were declared Enemies to the Republick. But they had then reached *Spain*, and in a few Days drew great Advantages from their Negotiation with *Sertorius*. The Ambaſſadors of *Pontus* repreſented to him, That their Maſter made a great Difference between the *Romans* ſettled in *Luſitania*, and thoſe in *Italy*; That he acknowledged no other *Roman* Republick, but that over which *Sertorius* preſided; That he was under a Neceſſity of declaring War with the *Romans*, but would fight only with thoſe of *Italy*; and laſtly, That as the old Capital was their common Enemy, their Maſter was earneſtly deſirous of joining Intereſts with a General whoſe Fame had reached to the Ends of the World. *Sertorius* ſpake modeſtly of his Exploits, and enlarged only on the Propoſals the Ambaſſadors had to offer; which partly conſiſted of Promiſes in favour of *Sertorius*, and partly of Demands for the Advantage of *Mithridates*. The King offered *Sertorius* 3000 *Talents* in Specie, and forty Galleys compleatly fitted out; upon Condition, that *Sertorius* and his Senate would reſign up to him, *Cappadocia*, *Bithynia*, and *The Roman Province* in *Aſia*, that is, the ancient Kingdom of *Pergamus*.

§. XLIII. And here, we cannot too much admire the Conſtancy and Firmneſs of *Sertorius*. He appeared greater in this glorious Negotiation than at the Head of Armies. A Man of a meaner Genius, and leſs elevated Mind, would have been enſnared with the Glitter of theſe Promiſes; and would have ſacrificed the true Intereſts of his Country, to his own private Advantage. It would have coſt him nothing, to have granted *Mithridates* every Thing he deſired; and yet this uncertain Grant would have procured him great Sums and a conſiderable Armament. Beſides, what Hazard could he run, in granting what it was of little Importance to him to take, from an ungrateful Republick which was become his Enemy? But *Sertorius* did not think in the vulgar Way. Though proſcribed, he remembered that he was a *Roman*; and gave the Ambaſſadors this Anſwer. *I readily give up to* Mithridates *our Rights to* Cappadocia *and* Bithynia. *The King of* Pontus *has long inſiſted, that thoſe two States belong to him, by Right of Conqueſt.* Without doubt *Sertorius* was ignorant, or at leaſt pretended to be ſo, that *Bithynia* had been bequeathed to the Republick by *Nicomedes*, who was lately dead. *But as to* The Aſiatick Province, *it is an old Poſſeſſion of the* Romans. Fimbria *recovered it from* Mithridates, *and the Name of that Conqueror is dear to me. Beſides, ſuffer not, Ye Gods, that any Regard to my private Intereſt, ſhould induce me to rob my Country of her Dominions!* Rome *is ſtill* Rome *to me. Our Diviſions ſhall never make me forget the Duties of my Birth, and the Obligations of a* Citizen. Sylla *was a Tyrant; but nevertheleſs the Republick is my Mother; and though I am purſuing the Remains of the Tyrant's Faction, I will not loſe Sight of* Rome. *Perhaps, in a little Time, ſhe may receive me in her Arms, with more Honour than ever. Or if not, how ſhameful would it be in me, to prefer aggrandizing myſelf to doing Juſtice, and to the Regard I owe to all true* Romans? *Can I find no way of reſcuing them from Slavery, but by weakening them? Let not* Mithridates *then expect, that the* Roman *Senate in* Luſitania, *will give him* The Aſiatick Province. *But if he will be content with* Cappadocia *and* Bithynia, *advance us* 3000 Talents, *and keep* 40 *Galleys in our Service at his Expence; we will enter into an Alliance with him, and his Intereſts ſhall be ours.*

Yet after all, it is not very eaſy to determine, whether there was not as much Policy as Greatneſs of Mind, in this Proceeding. He knew that many true Republicans both in *Rome* and *Luſitania* were now heartily in his Intereſt; and theſe would all have left him, if he had appeared too ready to hearken to the Propoſals of the Barbarian King, in Prejudice to the publick Good. However, whether his Refuſal proceeded from Policy or Magnanimity, he at leaſt gained great Honour by it, without any Loſs. Mithridates *admired his Reſolution*, and ſaid to his Friends, *This* Luſitanian *Chief aſſumes as much Loftineſs and State, as if he were Maſter of* Rome. But nevertheleſs he ratified the Treaty, which was drawn up in theſe Words. *We inveſt* Mithridates *with the Kingdoms of* Cappadocia *and* Bithynia, *in the ſame extent as they were enjoyed by* Ariobarzanes *and* Nicomedes; *and we will aſſign him a* Roman *General, who ſhall give him*

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Poſſeſſion of them. On the other hand, The King of Pontus *ſhall pay us here* 3000 Talents, *and equip forty Galleys, which ſhall be ſubject to our Command.* And the Conventions were faithfully executed on both Sides. *Sertorius* ſent *M. Varius* to the King of *Pontus* to command his Troops, and appointed *Magius* and *Fannius* for his Lieutenant-Generals; and then, *Mithridates* made as formidable Preparations as ever were made in the *Levant*, in order to carry on a War with the *Roman* Republick at *Rome*, under the Authority of the *Roman* Republick in *Luſitania*. Beſides his old Army, the King of *Pontus* ſent for Troops from *Chalybia*[79], *Little Armenia*, *Scythia*, and *Tauris*; and Forces were raiſed for him among the *Baſtarni*[80], and the *Thracians*. Theſe Auxiliaries only amounted to 140000 Foot, 16000 Horſe, and 120 Chariots armed with Scythes. And his Fleet was as conſiderable as his Army. He got together no leſs than 400 *Triremes*, and they built not for Show only as formerly, but for Action. This unfortunate Prince not foreſeeing, either that the Protection he had ſought for would immediately fail him, or what Misfortunes would attend him after that Loſs, flattered himſelf with great Expectations from *Sertorius*, and hoped that theſe Armaments, with his Aſſiſtance, would prove invincible.

§. XLIV. Whilſt *Rome* in *Italy* was making War with *Rome* in *Spain*, and preparing againſt *Aſia*, *P. Servilius*, with the Title of *Pro-Conſul*, endeavoured to purge the Seas and Coaſts of the Pyrates that infeſted it. Their chief Refuge, as has been obſerved, was *Cilicia*; and he purſued them thither. He paſſed the Rocks that covered their Retreats, made a rough War with them, and took from them the Cities, where they lodged the Booties they had taken at Sea. *Iſaure*[81], their Capital, coſt him a great deal of Labour; but by turning the River which ſupplied the Inhabitants with Water, he gained his Point. When they were oppreſſed with Thirſt, they ſurrendered; and the Demolition of their City was not their only Puniſhment. He reduced them all to Slavery; carried them to *Rome*, whither he went to *triumph*; and wherever he came, the People ran in Crowds to ſee thoſe in Chains, who had formerly been ſo formidable at Sea. At *Rome*, the Sight of theſe Wretches, and of the Spoils he had taken from them, gave a Luſtre to his *Triumph*; and he took the Appellation of *Iſauricus*, in Memory of having avenged the Cauſe of *Europe*, *Aſia*, and *Africa*, by the taking of *Iſaure*. But nevertheleſs, his Conqueſt was of too little Conſequence, to make *Rome* amends for the Damages ſhe ſuffered by *Sertorius* in *Spain*. The Senate were much affected with the Letters *Pompey* wrote. He intreated them, to ſend him ſome freſh Troops, and a great Sum of Money to pay his Soldiers, who were ready to deſert; and in ſhort, told them, that if they were not ſent him, he ſhould be forced to return to *Italy* with his Army. At the ſame Time, they were, to their greater Mortification, told by the Friends of *Sertorius*, That he would be in *Italy* before *Pompey*, and effectually humble the *Patrician* Faction.

79 *Chalybia* is a Country of *Aſia Minor*, which reaches South and North, from the fartheſt Part of *Little Armenia* to the Kingdom of *Trebizonde*. Nevertheleſs, from the different Accounts which the ancient Geographers have given us of this Country, we have reaſon to imagine, that the *Chalybians* were diſperſed in the neighbouring Countries. *Strabo* places them in *Paphlagonia*, *Mela* near this Province, following the Courſe of the Rivers *Halys* and *Thermodoon*. According to him, they poſſeſſed the Cities of *Sinope* and *Amiſa*. *Solinus* carries them as far as to *Aſiatick Scythia*. *Stephen of Byzantium* places them near *Pontus* in *Aſia*. This Country was called *Chalybia*, according to this laſt Geographer, becauſe it abounded with *Iron*-Mines.

80 The *Baſtarni*, or *Baſterni*, were, according to the Geographers, the People that inhabited that Part of *European Sarmatia*, which contains *Black Ruſſia*, *Podolia*, and *Volhinia*. Nevertheleſs this Name more peculiarly belonged to the People that inhabited the *Ukrain*, towards the Mouth of the *Boriſthenes*. *Dionyſius Periegetes* finds *Baſtarni* in the northern Countries near the *Danube*. And *Tacitus* doubts, whether they ought not to be placed among the *German* Nations, rather than thoſe of *Sarmatia*.

81 *Iſaure*, afterwards called *Iſauropolis*, and now *Saura*, was the Capital of *Iſauria*, a Country of *Aſia Minor*, ſituated partly along Mount *Taurus*, and partly in the Mountains between *Cilicia*, *Lycaonia*, and *Pamphylia*. This City, in *Pliny*'s Time, had loſt much of its ancient Splendor. To which we may add, That *Servilius* reduced not only *Iſaure* under the Dominion of the Republick, but alſo many other Cities of *Cilicia*. To him is given the Honour of having been the firſt *Roman*, that marched over Mount *Taurus*, at the Head of a numerous Army; and in his Expedition he razed the Cities of *Phaſelis*, *Olympus*, and *Coricus*, which were Retreats for the Pyrates. The firſt ſtood on the Confines of *Lycia* and *Pamphylia*. Its Inhabitants, who were for the moſt Part great Pyrates made uſe of a ſort of Brigantine, which from them was called *Phaſelus*. We have ſpoken of it Vol. 2. The *Phaſelites* were ſo poor, according to the Ancients, that they ſacrificed nothing but Salt-fiſh to their Gods. Hence the Proverb *Sacrificium Phaſelitarum, Sacrificium ſine fumo*, to ſignify, a mean Preſent, a vile Offering, or a ſordid Thrift. The City *Olympus* ſtood on the Sea-coaſt of *Cilicia*. The Geographers mention two other Cities of this Name, one in *Lycia*, farther off from the Sea, the other in *Pamphylia*. *Coricus* was a Sea-port in *Cilicia*, and is now called *Curco*, or *Coruch*.

These Fears were a little appeased by the good News that was brought from *Macedon* and *Africa*. Advice came, that the *Pro-Consul*, *C. Scribonius*, had gained great Victories, and subdued a very large Country, in the farthest Parts of *Dalmatia*. His Expedition had been successful, though his Troops had mutinied [82]. And the News from *Cyrenaica* was of more Importance. The Kingdom which one *Ptolemy* surnamed *Appion*, who died some Years past, had by *Will* bequeathed to the Republick, and which she had afterwards declared free, had lately submitted to the *Roman* Dominion, and was now reduced to the State of *a Province*.

§. XLV. But though the Dominions of the Republick were increased by the Addition of these two great Countries, one in *Asia*, the other in *Africa*, during the *Consulate* of *L. Octavius* and *Aurelius Cotta*; yet *Rome* could not, upon the whole, think this a fortunate Year. *Sertorius* had allayed the good Success of it, by the Advantages he had gained in *Spain*, and the Treaty he had entered into, with *Mithridates*. But it was hoped, his good Fortune would change under the new *Consuls* which the Republick promoted; who were *M. Aurelius Cotta*, and *L. Licinius Lucullus*. The latter was a Man of high Extraction, prudent Conduct, and approved Valour. He had been *Sylla*'s *Quæstor* in *Asia*, when he made War with *Mithridates*, and his Lieutenant-General in his Wars in *Italy*, and was now by the usual Steps promoted to the *Consulate*. His greatest Passion was to return to the *Levant*, there to command in chief, and begin the Hostilities with the King of *Pontus*, which the Republick could no longer defer. He knew the Country, and the Enemy he was to engage with; and was not at all terrified at the vast Preparations of *Mithridates*. But the Senate at first opposed his Desires. They assigned only *Italy* and *Cisalpine Gaul* to the new *Consuls*, and the latter fell to him. The brave General was uneasy at being charged with a Commission which would bring him no Glory; and he both discovered the Design of the Senate, in not nominating either of the *Consuls* for the War in *Asia*, and, in a masterly Manner, prevented it. *Pompey*, who was weary of making War in *Spain*, with a Success not answerable to his Expectations, had told the *Conscript Fathers* in his Letter, that if they did not send him Reinforcements he would return into *Italy*; and he being the Idol of the Senate, they waited for his Arrival, to send him immediately into *Asia*, to oppose *Mithridates*. *Lucullus* therefore immediately sent *Pompey* two *Legions*, and the Sums he desired; this kept *Pompey* in *Spain*, and left the Way open for him to obtain the Command of an Army in the *Levant*; and to compleat his Good-Fortune, *Octavius*, who commanded in *Cilicia*, was just dead. It was absolutely necessary to appoint another in his room, in so critical a Time, when there was Reason to fear that the King of *Pontus* would enter *Bithynia*; and *Lucullus*, who was very ambitious of it, took the following Method to obtain it. What will not a Man do, to succeed in a Project, wherein he thinks his Honour concerned!

Year of *ROME* DCLXXIX.
L. Licinius Lucullus, & M. Aurelius Cotta, Consuls.
Plut. in Lucullo.

P. Cethegus, and *Quinctius*, two of the *Tribunes of the People*, had usurped more Authority in *Rome* than the Laws of *Sylla* allowed them. *Quinctius* had taken upon him to disannul *Sylla*'s Acts, and thereby involve the Republick in fresh Dissensions; and least domestick Troubles should frustrate his Expectations, *Lucullus* appeased him by wise Remonstrances, and settled Peace in *Rome*, before he presented his Petition for the Province of *Cilicia*. But *Lucullus* had affronted *Cethegus*, and he was become his Enemy. He was indeed a professed Debauchee, and his Love of Pleasure had lost him a few Friends, who were Men of Prudence, and Enemies to Disorder; but his Office of *Tribune*, his Seat in the Senate, and the Acquaintance he had contracted, even by means of his Debauchery, gave him very great Weight; and it was of mighty Importance to *Lucullus* to be reconciled to him. The Difficulty was how to compass

Idem ibid.

82 *C. Scribonius Curio*, *Consul* in the Year 677, succeeded *Appius Clodius Pulcher*, in the Government of *Macedon*. *Appius* had formed a Design to subdue several Nations of *Thrace* near Mount *Rhodope*; but as *Orosius*, *Eutropius*, *Sextus Rufus*, and *Obsequens*, inform us, he died, worn out with Fatigues, and the Mortification he suffered by the ill Success of his Expedition against the Nations of *Mœsia*. *Scribonius* his Successor, penetrated into *Dardania*, and made the *Mœsians* dread the Arms of the Republick. And his Severity to a rebellious *Legion* that refused to obey him, made the rest shew as great Regard to the Laws of military Discipline. This *Legion* mutinied near *Dyrrachium*. Being terrified with the Expectation of the Dangers they had formed to themselves in a barren Country among Barbarians, they refused to follow *Scribonius*. In order to suppress the Mutiny, the General first drew up, in the middle of a Plain, the four *Legions* which had not joined in the Mutiny; and then disarmed the Criminals, and brought them out before his Troops, wearing only a *Tunick*. In this mortifying Condition he employed them in the meanest Offices; and, notwithstanding their Intreaties and Repentance, he broke the *Legion*, and incorporated the Soldiers of it among the other four.

Year of ROME DCLXXIX. L. Licinius Lucullus, & M. Aurelius Cotta, Conſuls.

this Reconciliation with a Man, whom he had provoked, and now never viſited; and in order to this, he demeaned himſelf ſo far, as to make court to one of his Miſtreſſes, to whom *Cethegus* was moſt paſſionately devoted. *Precia* had more Wit than Beauty; and though lovely in her Perſon, was more admired for the Charms of her Converſation. She was not a publick Proſtitute, taken from a State of Slavery, but a *Roman*; and entertained only ſuch Lovers, as could raiſe the Fortune of her real Friends. She was become a great Manager in Intrigues of State; and imperiouſly required thoſe whom ſhe captivated, to employ all their Intereſt as ſhe directed. *Lucullus* therefore appeared among her Admirers, and for ſome Time ſighed at her Feet. Till at length he obtained a Promiſe from her, that *Cethegus* ſhould be his Advocate with the Senate and People; and got himſelf nominated General of the Troops that were to be ſent to *Cilicia*, by the Management of this Woman of Pleaſure. His Collegue alſo made his Application to the *Conſcript Fathers*; and obtained the Command of the Fleet that was ready to ſail, to guard *Bithynia* and the *Propontis* againſt the Invaſion threatened by *Mithridates*.

Cic. Verr. 4. *Vell. Paterc. Florus* L. 3. c. 7. *Epit. Liv.*

§. XLVI. But before *Cotta* ſet out on his Eaſtern Expedition, he had the Credit to eſtabliſh a Commiſſion which was new in the Republick, and occaſioned by the Ravages of the Pyrates. In order to ſtop their Fury, *Rome* thought proper to appoint at his Motion, a Commander-General over all the Coaſts of the *Mediterranean* to which her Authority extended. This was giving one Man a larger Government than had ever been heard of ſince the Foundation of *Rome*; and *Cethegus* procured it for *M. Antonius* [83], (the Father of the famous *Mark Anthony*) who was one of his Companions in Debauchery, and whoſe chief Merit was his Profuſeneſs. He fitted out a conſiderable Fleet, and carried more Chains aboard, than Swords, or Axes, or Javelins; expecting no doubt, that the Pyrates would come of their own accord, and put on his Fetters. But he found that warlike Men accuſtomed to Sea-fights, are much to be dreaded by Men of Pleaſure. He began his Expedition, with raiſing Contributions, on the Iſlands and maritime Provinces ſubject to the Republick; and finiſhed it, with the Loſs both of his Fleet, and his Life. He was attacked by the Pyrates off the Iſland of *Crete*, ſaw the greateſt Part of his Ships boarded and taken, his Soldiers hanged to their Maſts with the Chains he had prepared for the Enemy; and this Sight grieved him ſo much, that a ſudden [84] Diſtemper carried him off, in a few Days.

Aſcon. Pædian.

§. XLVII. After *Antonius* was gone in queſt of the Pyrates, and *Aurelius Cotta*, who knew little of the Art of War, and had as little Courage, to make War in the Seas of *Pontus*; *Lucullus*, who was a great Soldier, and ought to have been in Action at the ſame time, was forced to delay his Departure. His Collegue had carried only Land Forces with him; and at laſt he could embark only one *Legion* of new Levies. But he was to find four others in the *Levant*, all old Soldiers [85], and uſed to the Air

83 *Plutarch* tells us, That *Marcus Antonius* was the Son of the famous Orator of that Name who was killed by Order of *Marius*; and ſays of him, That he had little Share in the Government, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf by no memorable Action. But adds, That his obliging Behaviour and ſtrict Probity, gained him the Hearts of all People. We may judge of his Liberality by this ſingle Act, which is related by that Author. *Antonius* was not rich, neither was his Fortune ſufficient to gratify his great Inclination to give. The only Thing that enabled him to ſupport his Dignity, was the prudent Oeconomy of his Wife; and her chief Care was to keep the beneficent Temper of her Husband within due Bounds. One Day a Friend came to his Houſe, to borrow a Sum of Money which he wanted, but *Antonius* had none; and being aſhamed not to be able to relieve a Man who depended on his Generoſity, he ordered one of his Slaves to bring him a Silver Baſon full of Water. The Slave obeyed; *Antonius* pretending to ſhave himſelf, ſent the Slave to his Work; and then gave the Baſon to his Friend, with leave to ſell it for his own uſe. His Wife ſoon miſſed the Plate; made a great Noiſe about the ſuppoſed Theft; and declared ſhe would have all her Slaves *put to the Queſtion*. *Antonius*, who knew their Innocence, honeſtly confeſſed the Fact; and with his Intreaties pacified his Wife *Julia*, who had the Character of one of the moſt virtuous Ladies of her Age. Nor was ſhe leſs conſiderable for her high Birth than her Virtue, ſince ſhe was of the Family of the *Cæſars*. After ſhe was left a Widow by *Antonius*, ſhe married *Publius Cornelius Lentulus Sura*, the famous Partizan of *Catiline*, who gave the Republick ſo many Alarms, and whom we ſhall hereafter ſee die, by the Hands of an Executioner. But it muſt be owned, That this Character of *Antonius*, does not very well agree with that which *Velleius*, *Pædianus*, and *Cicero*, have given us of him. They repreſent him as a Man, who was an Enemy to Reſtraint, and given up to the moſt ſhameful Debaucheries; and who reduced himſelf to extream Want by his wild Profuſeneſs. It is not eaſy to reconcile ſo looſe a Life with that ſtrict Probity which *Plutarch* gives him.

84 It is ſuppoſed, that this ſad Event gave riſe to the Surname of *Creticus*, or *The Cretan*, which *Plutarch* gives him.

85 Theſe old Soldiers who ſerved under *Lucullus* were the ſame that had aſſaſſinated *Lucius Valerius Flaccus* their General, at the Inſtigation of *Fimbria*; who likewiſe, in his Turn, experienced their Perfidiouſneſs,

Air of the Country. When *Aurelius* arrived, *Mithridates* was in Motion with thoſe mighty Armies, which he had aſſembled, from all the northern Parts of *Aſia*. In order to procure Succeſs to his Arms by Acts of Religion, he had offered up to *Jupiter*, after the *Perſian* Manner, one of the coſtly Sacrifices before deſcribed; and then made it his next Buſineſs to ſecure *Cappadocia*, which had been taken from *Ariobarzanes* by the King of *Armenia*. To this End, he ſtrengthened its Cities with great Garriſons, and ſent *Diophantus* thither with an Army, to keep *Lucullus* from thence; ſuppoſing that upon his landing, he would begin the Campaign with reconquering that Country. But the King's chief Deſign was to enter *Bithynia*, and take from the *Romans* this fine Kingdom, which the *Will* of *Nicomedes* had put into their Poſſeſſion. To this end he marched thither at the Head of 162000 Men, and keeping by the Sea-ſide, prepared to croſs *Paphlagonia*; whilſt his Fleet coaſted along by him to ſupply this mighty Army with Proviſions, and the Admiral bought Corn at every Port by which he paſſed, tho' the Troops were already provided.

Year of *ROME* DCLXXIX. L. Licinius Lucullus, & M. Aurelius Cotta, Conſuls.

Liv. Epit. L. 93. c. 18.

The firſt Oppoſition the royal Fleet and Army met with, was at the City of [86] *Heraclea*, which was in Alliance with the *Roman* Republick, or ſubject to it. Tho' the *Heracleans* were impatient under the *Roman* Yoke, the Inſolence of their Garriſons, and the Avarice of their *Publicans* having alienated their Affections, from *Rome*; and tho' they were well pleaſed to ſee at their Gates the Troops of a King, who was an Enemy to their Tyrants; yet they at firſt diſſembled their Joy, and refuſed to admit him within their Gates. But upon their being deſired, to carry their Proviſions at leaſt to the Camp and Fleet, where they ſhould be paid the value of them, two of their Magiſtrates went on board the Admiral, and were doubtleſs at their own Conſent, and by private Agreement, there detained. At the ſame time, the Receivers of the publick Money which *Rome* ſent annually to *Heraclea* arrived there; and the People were ſo exaſperated at the Sight of theſe *Publicans*, that they put them to Death, and opened their Gates to *Mithridates*. From thence, the King of *Pontus* proceeded to the Cities of *Paphlagonia*, and with as much eaſe made himſelf Maſter of all thoſe which he found in his way. The *Paphlagonians* had long been ſubject to the *Romans*; and did not imagine, that they were changing their Maſters, when they ſurrendered to the King of *Pontus*. *Varius*, whom *Sertorius* had ſent into *Aſia*, in quality of *Pro-Conſul*, always firſt entered thoſe Cities which were ſubject to *Rome*; the People ſeeing his *Lictors*, revered his Authority; and he, in the Name of the Republick ſettled in *Luſitania*, prepared the way for the Reception of *Mithridates*. By this means, the greateſt Enemy of the *Roman* Name, opened himſelf an eaſy Paſſage into *Bithynia*, in nine Days; and as ſoon as he entered it, the cowardly *Conſul Aurelius Cotta* abandoned this fine Kingdom to the Plunder of the Barbarians, and fled to *Chalcedon*.

Memnon apud Euſeb.

Before he penetrated far into *Bithynia*, *Mithridates* aſſembled his Troops, and addreſſed himſelf to them thus. *Patience when provoked oftens turns into Fury. The King of* Pontus *has long enough been the Deriſion of the proud Senate that reſides at* Rome. *I made a Peace with* Sylla, *and the publick Faith ought to have ſecured the Continuance of it, without any Writing. But an ambitious* Prætor *broke it, under Pretence, that it had not been confirmed, either by the Suffrages of the People, or the Authority of the Senate. Yet ſtill I perſiſted in it, and earneſtly demanded, That the Republick would ra-*

App. in Mithrid.

diouſneſs, when they abandoned him, to follow *Sylla's* Standards. After their being diſperſed in *Aſia*, and ſoftened by the Pleaſures of the Country, they indulged themſelves in all Exceſſes that can be committed by a Company of Villains, when reſtrained, neither by any reſpect to Authority, or fear of Puniſhment. But *Lucullus*, by his affable Behaviour, brought theſe untractable Men, who had for ſeveral Years thrown off the Yoke of Obedience, to ſubmit to military Diſcipline. He made four *Legions* of them, which when joined with the firſt lately raiſed in *Italy*, made an Army of 30000 Foot, and 16000 Horſe, according to *Appian*. *Plutarch* makes the Horſe no more than 2500.

86 *Heraclea* furnamed *Pontica* to diſtinguiſh it from two other Cities of the ſame Name, ſtood on the Coaſt of the *Euxine* Sea, 120 Miles, or 40 Leagues to the Eaſt of *The Thracian Boſphorus*, and three Quarters of a League from the River *Lycus*. *Strabo* and *Pauſanias* ſay, That it was built by a Colony of *Megarians*, who joined with ſome of the Inhabitants of *Tanagra* in *Bœotia*, in laying the Foundations of the new Colony. Near it was the Cave of *Acheruſia*, through which the Fabuliſts ſuppoſe that *Hercules* deſcended to the infernal Regions to take away *Cerberus*; from whence, ſay they, the neighbouring City was called *Heraclea*. It arrived in Proceſs of Time to a great Degree of Power; and became one of the moſt conſiderable Cities in *Bithynia*, under the Tyrants who uſurped the Government of it. *Mithridates* got it by Uſurpation; but after his Death, it was ſubject to the *Roman* Republick, and had the Title of a *Colony*. *Strabo* ſays it was ſtrengthened with a Port, to which were brought all the Riches of the Eaſt. It is now but a ſmall City which *Le Noir* and *Caſtaldus* call *Benderachi*. *Memnon* has given a long Account of *Heraclea*, in a Fragment which *Photius* has preſerved in his *Bibliotheca*.

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tify the Conventions I had made with her. But her affected Delays, and continual Procraſtinations, made me ſenſible, that, under the Appearance of Peace, Rome *only ſought for a convenient Opportunity to declare War with me to Advantage. And now, I have found the happy Minute, when I ſhall revenge my ſelf on the* Romans, *by the* Romans *themſelves; and reſcue my ſelf out of Oppreſſion, by the Aſſiſtance of my Oppreſſors. In a Republick of ſo great extent, all are not equally inclined to Oppreſſion. The Faction that oppoſed* Sylla, *has produced a Man of an upright Heart, of a Conſtancy not to be ſubdued by Baniſhments and Proſcriptions, and of a Valour much ſuperior to that of any of the* Patricians. Sertorius, *whoſe Heroiſm is boaſted of, as that of another* Romulus, *has opened an* Aſylum *in* Luſitania, *where the beſt Part of the* Romans *are ſettled, and revive the Virtues of their firſt Founders; to them I have had recourſe, and from them I have received the Inveſtiture of* Bithynia. *The illuſtrious* Pro-Conſul *who conducts us, and* Magius *and* Fannius *his two Lieutenant Generals, are the moſt valuable Preſent we could receive, and the ſtrongeſt Pledge of the Faithfulneſs of* Sertorius *and his Senate. Let us then, under ſuch favourable* Auſpices, *penetrate into the Kingdom we have ſo juſtly acquired. If we muſt fight to reduce it, Remember, Soldiers, my Valour, and your own former Exploits. It is a* Roman Pro-Conſul *that commands you, and* Mithridates *ſeconds him.* In all this War, the King gave the Preference to *Varius*, and made his Diadem ſtoop to the *Faſces*.

§. XLVIII. The Neighbourhood of *Mithridates*, and his Progreſs in *Bithynia* revived the Diſcontents of all the Nations of *Aſia*, which lived under the *Roman* Dominion. The Tyranny of the *Prætors*, and the Avarice of the *Publicans* gave them a hatred to a Government which impoveriſhed them by its Oppreſſions. The *Pergamian Province* eſpecially was inclined to revolt, and the *Roman* Magiſtrates were not able to keep it in Subjection. But there happened to be a young *Roman* upon the Spot, who prevented the Miſchiefs that might have followed from the Cowardice and Indolence of the Governours. This was the famous *Julius Cæſar*. We have before obſerved, that he had retired to *Rhodes*, after he had been taken by the Pyrates. There he ſpent his Time in Tranquillity, in the Study of the *Greek* Literature, and cultivated the fine Genius which Nature had endowed him with. Upon the firſt News of the Motion of the *Aſiaticks*, he, without any Commiſſion, raiſed Troops among the *Allies* of *Rome*; took the Pyrates in his Way who had taken him, and [87] hanged them; came to *Pergamus*, drove an Officer *Mithridates* had ſent thither, out of the Country, and ſettled it again in Peace. This was, as it were, the firſt Eſſay of this great Man, who tho' only 24 Years of Age, already ſurpaſſed the oldeſt Generals in Prudence and Bravery. Agreeably to what *Sylla*, who was a good judge of Merit, had foretold of him, when a Child, *That in him were many* Marii.

Epit. Liv. L. 93. c. 22.

§. XLIX. In the mean time, *Lucullus* had left the Ports of *Italy*, and was advancing towards the Eaſt, to join his Collegue. Their Commiſſion was to oppoſe *Mithridates* and *Varius*, and to act in Concert, one by Land, and the other at Sea. And as it often happens, that Jealouſy or Emulation will inſpire even Cowards with Bravery, the ſame *Aurelius Cotta*, who had in a cowardly manner abandoned *Bithynia*, and fled for Refuge to *Chalcedon*, reſolved, as ſoon as he ſaw *Lucullus* approaching, to attack *Mithridates* himſelf; that his Collegue might have no ſhare in the Action, or conſequently in the Honour of the Victory. To this end, he divided his Troops into two Bodies. The Land Forces he commanded himſelf, and his Ships attacked the *Aſiatick* Fleet under the Command of *Nudus*, whom he created Vice-Admiral [88]: But the Raſhneſs of both

[87] According to *Plutarch*, when *Cæſar* was releaſed by the Pyrates after 40 Days Captivity, he armed ſome Ships which were in the Port of *Miletus*, and put out to Sea, reſolving to attack the Fleet of the Pyrates. He met it near the Iſland of *Pharmacuſa*, and fought it with ſuch Vigour, that moſt of theſe Robbers were forced to ſurrender at Diſcretion, and delivered up to him not only the 50000 Crowns he had paid for his Ranſom, but likewiſe almoſt all their Riches, the Fruits of their Robberies. With this conſiderable Booty, he carried them himſelf to the Priſons in *Pergamus*. From thence he went in ſearch of the *Prætor Marcus Junius*, to whom only it belonged to judge ſuch Priſoners. But he was a ſelfiſh Man, who propoſed to ſell the Malefactors to the beſt Bidder, in order to raiſe a great Sum of Money, for himſelf. *Cæſar* ſaw through his Deſign, and without waiting for his Deciſion, returned to *Pergamus*; and before *Junius* had Time to notify his Orders, he crucified all the Pyrates that were in the Priſons, and thereby verified what he had ſaid jocoſely to them when he was a Captive among them, *That he would hang them all up*. A little Time after, he raiſed Troops; went into *Aſia*; drove one of *Mithridates*'s chief Officers before him, as *Suetonius* reports; and kept a great many Cities in the Intereſt of *Rome*, which were inclined to Revolt.

[88] *Appian* here diſagrees with *Plutarch*. He ſays that

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both was ſoon puniſhed. The *Conſul*, after he had loſt 4000 Men in the Battle, was forced to retire within the Walls of *Chalcedon*, and the Vice-Admiral had great difficulty to get his ſhattered Fleet into that Port, after the Enemy had taken or ſunk 60 of his Ships. The victorious Army and Fleet immediately inveſted the City, and blocked up the Port; and when the latter had broken the Chain before the Harbour, they took all the Ships they found there at Anchor. In the mean time, *Lucullus* made great Marches, at the Head of 30000 Foot, and 2500 Horſe; and his Officers adviſed him, to leave *Cotta* in his Aſylum, to ſuffer the juſt Puniſhment of his Temerity. They thought it moſt proper, in the preſent State of Affairs, to turn ſuddenly towards *Pontus*, and ſeize that Kingdom, which was ſtripped of its Forces, and its chief Strength, by the Abſence of the King. But *Lucullus* acted upon higher Principles. *As inexcuſable as* Cotta's *Fault may be*, ſaid he, *I muſt relieve him. It would be more agreeable to me, to draw a* Roman Conſul *out of Difficulties, than to conquer all the Enemy's Country* [89]. This ſaid, he drew near *Chalcedon*; and we are told, that in his March, *Varius*, who took upon himſelf the Quality of *Pro-Conſul* in *Mithridates*'s Army, met him. When they were juſt ready to engage, there fell a very bright Flame, as big as a Tun, between the two Armies, and the Surprize, as we are informed, parted them. However, the *Roman Conſul* came and poſted himſelf on an Eminence, from whence he ſaw *Mithridates*'s Camp; and it is acknowledged, that the firſt Sight of this formidable Army, much alarmed him. But he comforted himſelf with Hopes, that ſuch a Multitude of Mouths would ſoon conſume all their Proviſions. Upon examining his Priſoners, he computed by the Quantity of Corn [90] which *Mithridates* ordered to be diſtributed to each Soldier, that his Magazines would be exhauſted in three Days; and therefore the prudent *Conſul* kept himſelf unactive, or at moſt, only employed himſelf in getting Proviſions from the neighbouring Countries; and the Event ſhewed how well he had judged.

§. L. On the third Day, *Mithridates* decamped, and from beſieging *Chalcedon* went and beſieged *Cyzicus* [91], a City on the Coaſts of the *Propontis*, near the Mouth of the *Æſapus* [92]. In order to ſurprize this Place, he began his March in the Night, and came and poſted himſelf on Mount *Adraſtia* [93], which was over againſt it. *Lucullus* followed cloſe after him, and kept him in ſight, without hazarding a Battle, though his Soldiers deſired it; and now, the *Conſul* was in great joy. He plainly foreſaw, that an Army which was now near 300000 Men, and had ſecured no Proviſions on the Spot, but were wholly ſupplied from their Ships, would ſoon periſh with Hunger in a barren Country. Then he ſtrongly entrenched himſelf, and tho' with great Difficulty, reſtrained his impatient Troops from fighting, not ſo much for fear of the Number of the Enemy, as on account of the advantageous Situation of *Mithridates*. He was poſted on an inacceſſible Mountain. Nevertheleſs, an Opportunity ſoon offered to diſlodge him. *Magius*, one

that *Aurelius Cotta* kept himſelf ſhut up in *Chalcedon*, whilſt the Vice-Admiral *Nudus* commanded the Land Forces; and *Nudus* and ſeveral other Officers were, according to him, ſo warmly purſued by the Troops of *Mithridates* to the very Gates of the City, that they could no otherwiſe eſcape Death, than by getting themſelves drawn up with Cords to the top of the Ramparts. The Centinel to ſecure the Gate againſt the victorious Enemy, had let down the Port-Cullis. So that the vanquiſhed had no Hopes of Safety. The greateſt Part of them were maſſacred without Mercy at the Foot of the Walls, and almoſt in ſight of the *Roman* Garriſon, whoſe Aſſiſtance, amidſt this horrible Butchery, they in vain implored.

89 On the other hand, *Archelaus*, who had left *Mithridates* and went over to the *Romans*, endeavoured to prevail on *Lucullus*, to march to *Pontus*. *At your approach*, ſaid he, *all the Cities will open their Gates, and the People ſubmit to your Will. Delay not then to reap the Advantage which Fortune offers you.* Mithridates, *who is buſy elſewhere, ſeems to have abandoned his Kingdom to be conquered by you. It is him that I ſeek*, replied *Lucullus*. *I am not the Hunter, and there is no occaſion for running hard to the* Form, *in order to hunt the Hare.*

90 From this Account of *Plutarch* it is concluded, That in the Army of the King of *Pontus*, the Purveyors gave each Soldier as much Corn as was neceſſary for a ſtated Time.

91 *Cyzicus* was deemed one of the ancient Cities of *Aſia Minor*. The Hiſtorians ſay it was built, 70 Years after the Foundation of *Rome*. It ſtood on the Coaſt of the *Propontis*, in an Iſland of *Little Myſia*, which *Alexander the Great* joined to the Continent by two Bridges. This City had two cloſe Ports, which could hold 200 Sail of Ships. It is now only a Village called *Cizico*, according to *Thevet*. But *Cerradus* calls it *Spiga*, and the neighbouring Promontory *Capo di Spiga*.

92 The *Æſapus*, which *Pliny* and *Ptolomy* call *Æſepus*, riſes in Mount *Ida*, runs North, and falls into the *Propontis*. The modern Geographers commonly call it *Spiga*.

93 The Plain which was overlooked by the Mountain, on which *Lucullus*'s Army encamped, was called *Adraſtia*, from *Adraſtus* the Son of *Merops*; who had built a City in that Neighbourhood, and a Temple in Honour to *Nemeſis*, the Goddeſs of Vengeance.

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of *Varius*'s Lieutenant Generals, had heard a falſe Piece of News, that *Sertorius* was dead. Upon this, he concluded that he had loſt his chief Support; and having a Decree of Proſcription out againſt him which was not recalled, he reſolved, if poſſible, to make his Peace with *Rome*, and in order thereto, to betray the Party he had embraced. He wrote to *Lucullus*, That he ſerved in the Camp of *Mithridates* with regret; and That if he might have his Pardon, he would do his Country ſome ſignal Service. *Lucullus* embraced the Offer, and *Magius* acted his Part very effectually, at the King's Court. Being in the King's Confidence, he prevailed on him to leave his preſent Poſt; tho' Mount *Adraſtia* was ſurounded on all Sides with Canals, by means of which, *Mithridates* was readily ſupplied with Corn for his numerous Army. *I have been informed*, ſaid he, *that a conſiderable Part of the Enemy's* Legions *will deſert, and come over to you. They are the Troops which were formerly commanded by* Fimbria, *who was of the ſame Party as* Sertorius. *Let us then facilitate their Deſertion, by drawing nearer to them. What does it ſignify where we encamp, ſince the Victory is ſure, wherever we are poſted.* *Mithridates* took the Bait, left the Mountain, and came down into the Plain. Then *Lucullus* aſſembled his Troops, and, with an Air of Triumph, addreſſed them thus.

Epit. Liv. L. 94. c. 4. *The greateſt Trial of a General's Patience is, when the Reproaches of an Enemy, or the Perſuaſions of his own Men, tempt him to recede from right Counſels. But he ought ſteddily to adhere to them, in ſpight of both.* *Ibid. c. 6.* *You will now ſee, how much better I have provided for you, than you would have done for your ſelves. Had I ſuffered you to fight, we ſhould either have been beaten, or had a drawn Battle; or if crowned with Succeſs, muſt have bought it very dear. Whereas now, I can with Confidence promiſe you a certain Victory, without the Loſs of any Blood.* *Ibid.* *Ibid.*

This ſaid, he immediately took Poſſeſſion of the Mountain *Mithridates* had left; and ſoon found the Advantage of the Change. Whilſt he had Proviſions brought him in great Plenty by the Lake *Daſcylites* [94], and the Channels that ran from it; the Enemy were grievouſly oppreſſed with Want, in a dry Plain. *Mithridates* was enraged at the Perfidiouſneſs of *Magius*; but he was now out of his reach. In the mean time, the autumnal Storms began to make the Seas more dangerous; and the Convoys were with difficulty brought to the Camp of the *Aſiaticks*. Nevertheleſs, *Mithridates* could not attack *Lucullus* in his Camp, and force his Way through it. The *Roman* General had made it inacceſſible. The King therefore reſolved to beſiege *Cyzicus*, tho' a ſtrong Place; its Garriſon having ſuffered much in the Battle of *Chalcedon*, in which 3000 *Cyzicans* had loſt their Lives. But nevertheleſs, the reſt of its brave Inhabitants were reſolved to continue conſtant and faithful to the *Romans*, to the laſt Extremity. However, tho' it was difficult to draw a perfect Circumvallation round *Cyzicus*, which ſtood on a Peninſula of the *Propontis*, which was joined to the Continent by two Necks of Land; yet all the Avenues were ſo cloſely ſhut up, that the beſieged could not learn that *Lucullus* was near enough to relieve them. Indeed, they ſaw from their Ramparts another Camp beſides that of *Mithridates*; but the Beſiegers told them, it was an Army of *Medes* and *Armenians*, brought by *Tygranes* againſt them. The King's vaſt Army took up a great Space in the Plains, and his 400 Ships defended the Approaches of the little Gulphs the Sea formed round the City. And as it was eaſy for *Mithridates* with ſuch Numbers of Men to raiſe prodigious Works round the City, he built a double range of Walls along the Port, to hinder the Barks from going out; and on the Land-ſide, erected *Cavaliers*, which he fortified with *Towers* as high as the Ramparts. The moſt formidable of all his Machines was the *Helepolis* [95], invented by *Niconidas* a *Theſſalian*, which was 100 Cubits high. On this Maſs of Timber, which reſembled a little Town, ſtood a Tower, filled with *Catapultæ*, which threw great Numbers of Arrows on the Ramparts, and into the Heart of the City, at the ſame time; and on the Tower was fixed a Draw-Bridge, which let down on the Parapet.

In the mean time, before he began the Attack, the King of *Pontus* ordered the Priſoners he had taken from the *Cyzicans* before *Chalcedon*, to be ſhewn to the beſieged.

94 The Lake *Daſcylites* was ſo called, according to *Strabo*, becauſe it was near *Daſcylium*, now *Diaſquilo*, a City on the Coaſts of the Sea of *Marmora*. This City belonged partly to the *Cyzicans*, and partly to the *Byzantini*.

95 The *Helepolis* among the Ancients was one of thoſe moveable *wooden Towers*, which ran upon Wheels, that they might be brought forwards or backwards, as there was occaſion. See what we have ſaid of theſe Machines, Vol. 1. p. 566, 567, Note 19, 22; and Vol. 2. p. 190, Notes 22, 23, 24.

This Sight greatly affected their Countrymen. But nevertheleſs, *Piſiſtratus* who commanded in the City, exhorted them to have Patience, and reſolved to ſtand all the Efforts of the Beſiegers. Then, *Mithridates* ordered ſome of his Galleys which carried a Tower like that of an *Helepolis*, to come forwards into the Gulph next the Port; and when its Draw-Bridge was let down, it reſted on the Battlements of the City. Four Men only of all thoſe in the Tower, had Courage enough to march out of it; and the *Cyzicans* were at firſt affrighted with the Machine, and the Boldneſs of thoſe four reſolute Men. But they ſoon recovered their Spirits, and threw ſo much Fire and combuſtible Matter on the Tower, and the Ships, that they forced them to retire, to avoid being burnt. At the ſame time, tho' the *Rams* battered the Walls, and the *Moveable Towers* were advanced beyond the Ditch, yet the beſieged made extraordinary Efforts to repulſe theſe Attacks. They ſometimes beat the *Rams* in pieces, by throwing down Stones of a prodigious Weight upon them; ſometimes broke their Blows with Sacks of Wool let down from the Ramparts; and put out the burning Darts and Arrows thrown at them, by covering them with Cloaths dipped in Water and Vinegar. In a Word, they repulſed the Enemy in all Places, and forced them to return to their *Towers*. Nevertheleſs, the King's Troops made a Breach in the Walls, by Fire; but the Heat of it was ſo great, that they could not paſs through their Breach when made, before the *Cyzicans* had Time enough to build a new Wall behind it.

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App. in Mithrid.

Plut. in Lucullo.

§. LI. The next Day, a more furious Attack than the former was expected; but, then a South-Wind did the Beſiegers more Injury, than all the Reſiſtance of the beſieged. It was ſo violent, that it overturned their wooden *Towers* and Machines; and this ſuppoſed Prodigy happened on the Day which was celebrated in *Cyzicus*, as the Feſtival of *Proſerpine*, the Patroneſs and Protectreſs of their City. It was cuſtomary on that Day, to ſacrifice a black Cow to the Goddeſs of Hell; and as none was to be had in a beſieged City, the People made the Figure of one [96] in Paſte, to ſupply the Place of the true Victim, which was grazing in the neighbouring Meadows. To which the fabulous *Greeks* add, That the devoted black Cow left her Paſture of her own accord, ſwam croſs an Arm of the Sea under the Enemy's Ships, and came and offered her ſelf to the Axes of the Sacrificers; and That this Storm which did *Mithridates* ſo much Damage, was foretold at *Ilion* [97], long before it came. And this at leaſt we may certainly infer from thence, That the Accident was of great Conſequence, ſince it gave riſe to ſo many Fictions [98].

However, *Mithridates* purſued the Siege with Vigour, and was not affrighted at the pretended Miracle. He made a Cauſe-way all along Mount [99] *Dindimus*, which overlooked the City, and ſtrengthened it with Towers, which were ſheltered from the high Winds by the Mountain. Then the Miners began to Sap that Part of the Wall, which faced the Necks of Land, and made a great Progreſs. The beſieged likewiſe went to work under Ground, to make themſelves a Way to the Enemy's Camp; and ſucceeded ſo well, that ſtarting up out of the Earth on a ſudden, they had like to have ſurprized the King himſelf in his Tent. But in the mean while, the Walls of the City which the Workmen had entirely undermined, and left ſupported only by their Props, being juſt ready to tumble, it was now Time for *Lucullus* to relieve its faithful Inhabitants. And before he made any Attempt, he thought of this Expedient to

96 This ſuperſtitious Practice was derived from a very old Law, which allowed the offering up artificial Victims, where natural ones were wanting. According to *Porphyry*, *Pythagoras* did ſo, when he ſacrificed an Ox made in Paſte. *Empedocles* his Diſciple, after he had been crowned at *The Olympic Games*, made an Animal of this ſort, of Myrrh, Incenſe, and all ſorts of Aromaticks, and diſtributed it among the Spectators. This Cuſtom was very old in *Egypt*, and continued in *Herodotus*'s Time. He tells us, That the *Egyptians* ſacrificed living Hogs to *Bacchus* and the *Moon*; and that when they could not get any, they offered up the Figure of the Animal in Paſte, inſtead of the Victim.

97 In order to give this natural Event the Appearance of ſomething wonderful, it was reported as Matter of Certainty, That *Minerva* had taken the beſieged under her Protection, and had for their Relief, let looſe all the Winds againſt the Machines of the King. In proof of this, ſeveral of the Inhabitants of *Ilion* were quoted, to whom the Goddeſs had appeared in a Dream, wearing a rent Veil, and almoſt exhauſted, as ſhe declared, with the Pains ſhe had been taking, to deſtroy theſe formidable military Works, which threatened the Inhabitants of *Cyzicus*. To which *Plutarch* adds, That the People of *Ilion* erected a Column, with an Inſcription, which preſerved the Memory of this pretended Miracle.

98 *Plutarch* alſo will have it, That *Proſerpine* was concerned in the Affair. He ſays, That ſhe appeared to one *Ariſtagoras*, and foretold to him, in ænigmatical Terms, the Storm that cauſed ſuch Diſorder among the Beſiegers.

99 The ancient Geographers mention two Mounts of this Name. One in *Myſia* near *Cyzicus*; the other in *Great Phrygia*, and conſecrated according to the Fabuliſts, by the Reſidence and Worſhip of *Cybele*.

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inform them of his Deſigns. He had a Soldier in his Army, who was a good Pilot, and a tolerable Swimmer; and he engaged him to ſwim croſs an Arm of the Sea, which was about ſeven Miles broad. In order to facilitate his Paſſage, he faſtened two Skins blown up like Bladders to two Lathes, and in the Folds of the Skins ſewed up a Letter for the Governour of *Cyzicus*. The Soldier ſo placed himſelf on this Float, that nothing appeared above Water but his Head covered with a Cap, and his Legs were his Rudder to guide him to his Port. The *Aſiaticks* ſaw the Machine ſmimming on the Water, but took it for a Sea Monſter; and the Soldier purſued his Way, delivered the Letter, and raiſed the Hopes and [100] Courage of thoſe who defended the Place.

But their Aſſurance was ſtill greater, when they ſaw a Reinforcement arrive in their City from the Camp of *Lucullus*. He had embarked a good Number of Soldiers on board one of thoſe great Veſſels which were uſed on the Lake *Daſcylites*; and by the Help of the Night, they came ſafe to *Cyzicus*. This made the beſieged bolder; and they drove the Beſiegers from the Foot of their Walls, whilſt their Miners repulſed thoſe of *Mithridates*. In ſhort, the Siege having now laſted longer than the King had reſolved, and Winter being begun, and with Severity, the *Aſiatick* Infantry ſuffered much, and their Cavalry more. Their thin and harraſſed Horſes were for the moſt part unſoled likewiſe, by travelling through rough Ways, and over the Flints of a ſtony Strand. And as Proviſions began to be but ſparingly diſtributed, *Mithridates* reſolved to empty his Camp of many uſeleſs Mouths, which increaſed the Scarcity. He ſent away for *Bithynia* almoſt all his Horſes, with the Beaſts of Burden, and thoſe Battalions which ſerved only for ſhow; and they marched through By-Roads. But *Lucullus*, who was ſoon informed of their March [101], immediately purſued them, came up with them, attacked them on the Banks of the *Rhyndacus* [102] a River of *Myſia* which falls into the *Propontis*, met with little Reſiſtance from them, made a terrible Slaughter of them, and took 15000 Priſoners of War, and 6000 Horſes fit for the Service, with a very great Number of Camels [103], and other Beaſts of Burden.

App. in Mithridat.

In the mean time, *Mithridates* continued his vain Attendance before *Cyzicus*; where the Cold increaſed, and the Attacks were very faintly carried on; and the King was the only Perſon who knew not how great the Famine was in his Army. The Soldiers lived almoſt entirely on human Fleſh. As ſoon as any died of Want, their Bodies were immediately devoured by their Companions. And to compleat their Misfortunes, the *Cyzicans* made a Sally, and burnt all their Machines. And now, after all theſe Calamities, he could hold out no longer. He went on board a Ship in the Night, and on a [104] ſudden diſappeared. His Army, under the Command of his Lieutenant Generals, marched [105] towards *Lampſacus*; but found it very difficult to paſs the *Granicus* [106], which was ſwelled, and overflowed. *Lucullus* came up with them there, and when he had once reached the miſerable Remains of this formidable Army, weakened by Famine, deprived of its General, and almoſt conſumed already, it was an eaſy Work to deſtroy them. A few [107] of them only eſcaped to *Lampſacus*, and among them *Varius*, the pretended *Pro-Conſul* whom *Sertorius* had ſent to *Aſia*. Thus was *Lucullus* victorious over an Army of near 300000 Men, more by Conduct than Feats of Arms; and when he came to *Cyzicus*, he was there received as their Deliverer. Extra-

Plut. in Lucullo.

Ibid.

100 *Archelaus* alſo who had then declared for the *Romans*, ſent one *Demonax* to the beſieged; who found Means to get into the Town, and gave them the Pleaſure of knowing that *Lucullus* was near, and would ſpeedily relieve them. The ſame Thing was likewiſe confirmed by a young *Cyzican*, who made his eſcape out of the Camp of *Mithridates*, where he had been a Priſoner.

101 The Snow fell in great Flakes, when *Lucullus* made ſix *Coborts* march in purſuit of *Mithridates*; and the Seaſon was ſo ſharp, that ſeveral of the *Roman* Soldiers could not follow their General in this Expedition.

102 The *Rhyndacus* which *Pliny* calls *Lycus*, riſes at the Foot of Mount *Olympus*, and falls into the *Propontis* pretty near *Cyzicus*. Some ſay, it is now called *The Lice*, others the *Lupidi*, or *Larthaco*.

103 *Plutarch* here reproaches *Salluſt* with having ſaid, That this was the firſt Time the *Romans* ſaw any Camels. They had ſeen them in their Wars with *Antiochus the Great*, in *Aſia Minor*.

104 Before his Departure, in order to give a Diverſion to *Lucullus*, he commanded *Ariſtonicus* his Admiral, to cruiſe with his Fleet on the Coaſts of *Greece*. But when the Admiral was juſt ready to ſet ſail, he was betrayed by his Men, who delivered him to the Enemy; and with him, the 6000 Pieces of Gold, which he had reſerved for this Expedition.

105 See Vol. 4. p. 96. Note 41.

106 The *Granicus*, famous for the Victory gained by *Alexander the Great* over the *Perſians*, riſes in Mount *Ida*, runs northward, and falls into the *Propontis*, between *Cyzicus* and *Lampſacus*. Moſt modern Geographers call it *Granico*; but *Le Noir* pretends, That the Name of it is *Lazzara*.

107 *Plutarch* ſays, That this ſecond Defeat coſt the Enemy 20000 Men who were killed upon the Spot, beſides a conſiderable Number of Priſoners.

ordinary Honours were paid him, and a Feſtival inſtituted in his Name. Nevertheleſs, he made but a very ſhort Stay in the City that adored him. He borrowed Ships enough on the Coaſts of *Aſia* to form a Fleet, and then proceeded to finiſh the Campaign with freſh Glory.

Year of *ROME* DCLXXIX.

L. LICINIUS LUCULLUS, & C. AURELIUS COTTA, Conſuls.

Front. Strat. L. 3. c. 13.

§. LII. He beſieged *Lampſacus*, which brought *Mithridates* before it with his Fleet; and as the King was ſtill ſtrongeſt at Sea, he found Means to get *Varius*, who always continued faithful to him, out of the beſieged City. Then he gave him the Command of a Fleet of 50 Ships, and appointed *Alexander of Paphlagonia*, and *Dionyſius the Eunuch*, to be his Lieutenant Generals, whilſt *Mithridates* himſelf carried the reſt of his Galleys to [108] *Nicomedia*. *Varius* kept out at Sea, and went in ſearch of *Lucullus*, who with the Fleet he had ſo haſtily aſſembled was making Conqueſts along the Coaſt. *Triarius*, one of the Commanders of the *Conſul*'s Squadron, had taken *Apamea* [109], *Barba*, [110] *Pruſa*, and *Nice* [111]; whilſt *Lucullus* himſelf was cruizing on the Coaſts of *Troas*, and was there informed, that *Varius* with 13 Galleys was ſteering for *Lemnos*. Upon this Intelligence, he immediately made all haſte after the Enemy, came up with them near a deſert Iſland, and in his firſt Attack made himſelf Maſter of ſome of the *Aſiatick* Galleys, and killed *Iſidorus* who commanded them. Nevertheleſs *Varius* got before him, and drew up his Squadron along the Rocks that lay about the Iſland. He turned his Sterns to the Shore, and preſented only the Prows towards *Lucullus*, who in vain endeavoured to reduce them, in ſo advantageous a Poſt. He could neither ſurround, nor ſink theſe Galleys, whoſe Prows only were within his reach. But at laſt, the Deſire of Conqueſt ſuggeſted an Expedient which had its Effect. He ordered ſome of his Mariners to go aſhore, and attack the Enemy's Ships behind; and then the Diſpute was very unequal. The Troops on the Shore attacked *Varius* in the Stern, whilſt *Lucullus* did the ſame in Prow. The Slaughter was conſiderable; and *Lucullus* ordered his Troops not to kill any *one-eyed* Perſon. Such was *Varius*, whom he deſired to make an Example of Terror; and he was taken alive with *Alexander*, and *Dionyſius*. The latter immediately poiſoned himſelf; *Alexander* was reſerved to adorn the Conqueror's *Triumph*; and *Varius* was exemplarily puniſhed.

Plut. in Lucullo. App. in Mithridat.

After all theſe Defeats by Sea and Land, *Mithridates* ſeemed to have nothing to do, but return to his own Dominions; and the Deſign of *Lucullus* was, to ſhut him up in *Nicomedia*. But the *Conſul* was ill ſerved by a negligent Officer, named *Bocconius*, who inſtead of purſuing the King, according to his Orders, continued ſome Days in *Samothrace*, and got himſelf initiated in the Myſteries of the *Dii Cabiri*. By this means *Mithridates* eſcaped; tho' the Seaſon was very tempeſtuous, and he was overtaken with a Storm, which put his Life in great Danger. Many of his [112] Ships were beaten to pieces, and the Shore covered with the Wrecks of his Fleet. The Ship that carried him was ſo much ſhattered, that he was forced to leave her, and entruſt himſelf with ſome Pyrates; who carried him in their Brigantines to *Heraclea*, a City in his own Dominions. Thus ended the firſt Campaign *Lucullus* made as Commander in Chief; and when he had given the Senate Advice of all his Victories, *Rome* immediately reſolved to continue him in his Poſt, in Quality of *Pro-Conſul*. Nor was this all. The Fleet of *Aurelius Cotta* having diſappeared, and the *Conſul* himſelf being dead, ſince the Battle of *Chalcedon*, the Republick thought it neceſſary to fit out another, and give the Command of that likewiſe to *Lucullus*. But he ſaved her the 3000 [113] *Talents*, which ſhe had appropriated to this new Armament. He undertook to keep the Seas, and make Head againſt *Mithridates*, with only the Ships of the *Allies* in the *Levant*.

Plut. in Lucullo.

108 *Nicomedia* is now called *Comidia*, and has given its Name to the neighbouring Gulph. See above p. 9. Note 20.

109 The Name of *Apamea* was common to ſeveral Cities in *Aſia*, as we have elſewhere obſerved. That here ſpoken of, ſtood on the Sea of *Marmora*, near the *The Gulph of Montagna*, 50 Miles Eaſt of *Cyzicus*. The *Greeks* now call it *Apami*. But it ſcarce deſerves the Name of a City.

110 *Pruſa*, an ancient City founded by *Pruſias*, is now known by the Name of *Burſa*. It was the Capital of the *Ottoman* Empire, before the *Turks* extended their Conqueſts in *Europe*. It now deſerves to be ranked among the Cities of *Bithynia*, if we conſider its Greatneſs, and the Advantage of its Situation. It is reckoned to ſtand a League and a half from the Sea of *Marmora*.

111 See above p. 9. Note 19, of this Volume.

112 *Plutarch* really believed, that *Diana* had raiſed this Storm againſt *Mithridates*'s Fleet, to puniſh him for the Sacrilege his Soldiers had committed at *Priapus*, a maritime City of *Myſia*. They had plundered the rich Temple of this Goddeſs there, and ſeized a Statue, which was held in great Veneration by the Inhabitants.

113 3000 *Talents*, in *French* Money, make nine Millions of *Livres*; [In *Engliſh*, 581250 l. *Sterl. Arbuth.*]

Year of ROME DCLXXIX.

L. Licinius Lucullus, & M. Aurelius Cotta, Consuls.

App. de Bell. Civ. L. i.

vant. This increaſed his Reputation; and the People had an entire Confidence in his Conduct.

§. LII. Thus *Lucullus* had now ruined the Friends of *Sertorius* in the Eaſt, where, by the Death of *Varius* and the Defeat of *Mithridates*, the *Patrician* Faction triumphed over the *Plebeian*. And it pleaſed Heaven, to equal the Misfortunes of *Sertorius* to thoſe of *Mithridates*, in the ſame Year. Early in the Spring, the Armies which *Metellus* and *Pompey* commanded in *Spain*, received a Supply of Money and two new *Legions*, from *Rome*. With this Reinforcement they left the Foot of the *Pyrenees*, where they had ſpent the Winter, and came and encamped on the Banks of the *Ebro*. *Sertorius* immediately appeared on the Banks of that River, to diſpute the Paſſage of it with the Enemy; and *Perperna* accompanied him, notwithſtanding the Jealouſy he had of late entertained. The Winter they had ſpent together in *Luſitania*, had deſtroyed that good underſtanding, which they had hitherto kept up, at leaſt in appearance. *Sertorius* had given his Rival cauſe to complain, and *Perperna* no longer retained that Eſteem for his General, which ſuperior Merit had extorted from him. *Sertorius* was become quite another Man. He was no longer that frugal, continent, and obliging Hero, who was acceſſible at all Times, and ſo condeſcending to his Soldiers, as to make them even familiar with him. His Commerce with the *Luſitanian* Women had corrupted him. He now drank to great Exceſs, in his drunken Fits neglected his Duty as General; And as faſt as he ſunk into Diſcredit, he became wild and ſuſpicious. His Guards no longer conſiſted of *Romans*. They were a Reſtraint upon him. The very ſight of them was a Reproach to him, for having abandoned his former Virtue; and he therefore choſe *Celtiberians* to guard him. This Honour made the new *Prætorians* inſolent, and raiſed Murmurs and Diſcontents among the *Legionaries*; and the Conſequence of this was, that the General ſeverely puniſhed them. *Perperna* took Advantage of the Diſcredit of *Sertorius* among the Troops; and aimed at nothing leſs than ſeizing his Poſt, and raiſing himſelf to be ſupreme Governour in *Luſitania*.

Metellus and *Pompey* were not at firſt ſenſible of theſe Changes in the Conduct of *Sertorius*, and the Heart of *Perperna*. All they perceived was, That Diſcipline was much relaxed in the *Luſitanian* Camp; That *Sertorius* had loſt much of his Activity; and That his Orders were not executed with the ſame Ardour as formerly. *Perperna* had made all the Uſe he could of this Opportunity to ſink the Credit of his General. He had hurt him in the Opinions of the Senators of their Party; had irritated againſt him the *Roman* Soldiers, who received his Orders with Reluctance, and only faintly put them in Execution; and had found Means to make him odious to the Inhabitants of the conquered Cities. By his firſt Victories, *Sertorius* ſubdued all that vaſt Country which reaches from *Luſitania* to the *Ebro*; and *Perperna* had exaſperated theſe People againſt their Chief. In his military Excurſions, the dangerous Subaltern had every where raiſed very high Contributions, demanded exorbitant Taxes, and took care to aſſure them, That if he oppreſſed the *Spaniards*, it was only in Obedience to *Sertorius*. So that *Pompey*, after he had paſſed the *Ebro* without Oppoſition, found the Nations he paſſed through, both prejudiced againſt his Enemies, and prepoſſeſſed in his Favour. He retook many Cities, and made many Conqueſts. *Sertorius* was uneaſy at this Diminution of his Glory and Power; ſenſible that the Miſunderſtanding between him and his Soldiers, was the Cauſe of theſe Diſaſters; and therefore probably, on this Occaſion, took the following Method to re-eſtabliſh Concord between himſelf and his Troops. When he had aſſembled his Army, he ordered two Horſes to be brought before him, one lean and weak, the other fat and ſtrong. By the lean Horſe he placed a vigorous ſtrong Man, by the ſtrong one a Man little of Stature and of as little Strength; and then ordered each Soldier, to pull off the Tail of the Horſe that ſtood before him. The ſtrong Man exerted his Strength to the uttermoſt, to pull off the Tail of the weak Horſe, all at once; but in vain. The weak Soldier pulled the Tail of his Horſe Hair by Hair, and got it all off. From whence the General concluded, That Diviſions cauſe the Defeats of Armies, and Union makes them invincible.

Plut. in Sertorio.

§. LIII. But theſe wiſe Lectures did not ſcreen *Sertorius* from the Misfortunes he had drawn upon himſelf. *Pompey* and *Metellus* gained ſo great Advantages over him, that they merited from all *Spain* the ſame Regards which had at firſt been ſhewn to himſelf; and *Perperna* triumphed at the low State to which he had reduced his General, or rather his General had reduced himſelf Nevertheleſs his paſt Glory ſtill ſupported

ported him; for a great Reputation is not to be loſt all at once. The People at *Rome* having had no exact Account of the Diſgrace into which *Sertorius* was fallen, many Perſons of great Diſtinction there had already entered into Engagements with him by Letter; and had he continued to conquer but a little longer, the *Patrician* Party would have ſunk, and Democracy prevailed in the Republick. But, unfortunately for thoſe whoſe Hopes were founded on him, this great Commander, who was a ſecond *Hannibal* in Valour, was now, like the firſt, wholly enervated by Pleaſure; and *Luſitania* was to the one, what *Capua* had been to the other. The more *Pompey* and *Metellus* got the aſcendant, the more ſenſible of courſe was the Weakneſs of *Sertorius*; and every freſh Loſs fretted him, and tranſported him to Fury. Of this he gave a melancholy Proof to the *Spaniards*, whom he had formerly ſo much eſteemed, and who now deſerted him, and went over to *Pompey*. We have before obſerved, that he had taken on himſelf the Care of the Education of the young Nobility of their Country, whom he had aſſembled together in *Oſca*, where he had provided Maſters for them; And now, in one of his Fits of Rage, he ſent ſome of his Guards, to revenge his Quarrel with the Fathers, on their Children. They maſſacred the greateſt Part of them, and reduced the reſt to Slavery. This barbarous Act, created him almoſt as many Enemies as he had Officers in his Army; and *Perperna* did all he could, to work them up to Sedition. His ardent Deſire of commanding in chief, made him an Enemy to his Superior. He was continually inveighing againſt *Sertorius* and his Senate, both in publick and private; oſtentatiouſly boaſted of his Advantage, in Point of Birth, (his Family, tho' neither an ancient nor very illuſtrious one, being ſuperior to that of *Sertorius*, who was a Soldier of Fortune,); and at laſt entered into a Plot, againſt the Life of his General. Indeed he did not execute this criminal Deſign, till towards the end of the next Year; but to prevent Confuſion, we chooſe rather to follow the Series of Facts, than the order of Time; and will therefore relate the whole here.

Year of *ROME* DCLXXIX. L. Licinius Lucullus, & M. Aurelius Cotta, Conſuls.

Several of the young Nobility in the *Luſitanian* Army were attached to *Perperna*, not ſo much by Eſteem, as by the Contempt they had lately entertained for *Sertorius*. Among theſe young Officers, were one *M'. Antonius*, one *Auſidius*, one *Græcinus*, one *Q. Fabius* a Member of the *Luſitanian* Senate, one *Tarquitius*, and laſtly, one *Verſius*, and one *Mecænas*, Secretaries to *Sertorius*. All theſe entered into a Conſpiracy, to aſſaſſinate their General. *Perperna* had already attempted to kill him, by the Hands of a few Soldiers whom he had ſuborned; but the Conſpiracy had been diſcovered and puniſhed, though the Author of it was not known. This made it neceſſary to take new Meaſures, and uſe greater Precautions; and from henceforth the Secret of the Aſſaſſination was communicated only to Perſons of Diſtinction, who undertook to put it in execution. Nevertheleſs it had like to have been diſcovered, by the Imprudence of *Manius Antonius*. He was an infamous Debauchee; who being deſperately in Love with a young *Roman*, and jealous of the Careſſes ſhe received from *Auſidius*, another of the Conſpirators, diſcovered the whole Plot to his beloved Miſtreſs. She imparted it to *Auſidius*, who was very fearful of a Diſcovery; and he preſſed *Perperna* to fix the Time for the Execution without Delay, leſt ſuch indiſcreet Confidences ſhould betray them, and they ſhould fall Victims to the Man whom they intended to ſacrifice. *Perperna* approved of the Advice, and pitched on that very Day to aſſaſſinate their General; at an Entertainment, to which only himſelf and the Conſpirators ſhould be invited. But it was difficult to get *Sertorius* from Home, and engage him in a Party of Pleaſure. He was grown very reſerved and ſuſpicious, ſince he had altered his Conduct; and never appeared in publick, without his *Celtiberian* Guard. Artifice therefore was neceſſary, in order to put him in a good Humour; and *Perperna* pretended, that he had received a Letter from one of the Lieutenant-Generals in the *Luſitanian* Armies, importing, that *Metellus* and *Pompey* had been beaten, and entirely routed in *Further Spain*.

Oroſ. L. 5. c. ult. Plut. in Sertorio. App. de Bell. Civ. L. 1.

Upon this falſe News, *Sertorius*, in great Joy, readily came into the Propoſal of the perfidious *Perperna*, and promiſed to rejoice with him upon the new Victory. He came attended by a ſmall Number of Guards; and the higheſt Place was given him. He lay on the firſt Bed, between *Fabius* on his right, and *M. Antonius* on his left. On the ſecond lay *Tarquitius*, between the General's two Secretaries; and *Perperna*, as Maſter of the Houſe, placed himſelf on the third. They all knew that *Sertorius* had baniſhed all looſe and indecent Diſcourſe from his Table; and *Perperna*, tho' very

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debauched, preſerved that Decency in his own Houſe, which was due to the General, or rather the Sovereign, of a great Nation. But in the midſt of the Entertainment, the Conſpirators pretended to be warmed with Wine, and talked very looſely. *Sertorius*, either fearing the Conſequences of this unexpected Freedom, or looking on the Raſhneſs of his Subalterns, as a Contempt done to him, lay down on his Back, to ſhew his Diſapprobation of this Inſolence, and left off eating; and then *Perperna* gave the Signal for the Aſſaſſination. When ſomething was brought him to drink, he let fall the Bowl, and upon hearing this, *M'. Antonius* drew his Ponyard, and ſtabbed *Sertorius*. The wounded General endeavoured to raiſe himſelf, and lay his Hand upon his Sword; but they held him by the Arms, and the whole Company joined in diſpatching him. *Oſca*, a City which *Sertorius* loved, and where he choſe to indulge himſelf in Pleaſure, during the ſhort Intervals he could ſpare, from the Cares of War and Government, was the Scene where this tragical Act was committed; and at the ſame Time, *Sertorius*'s Guards were ſeized in the Room adjoining, by the Domeſticks of *Perperna* and ſome Soldiers that were devoted to him.

§. LV. As ſoon as *Sertorius* was dead, *Perperna* got himſelf proclaimed General, and Chief of the *Luſitanian* Nation. But what Compariſon was there between them? *Sertorius* was, without Contradiction, one of the greateſt Soldiers the Republick had ever bred. *Rome* was ſo fully convinced of it, that ſhe ſent againſt him two of the moſt famous Generals ſhe had, *Metellus* and *Pompey*. The former's Age and Experience would have made him formidable to any Body except *Sertorius*; the latter had been honoured with a *Triumph* in his Youth, and all *Italy*, *Sicily*, and *Africa*, ſounded his Fame. Nevertheleſs, the Glory of theſe two great Warriors, who were deemed Pillars of the Republick, was eclipſed in *Spain*. As long as *Sertorius* was himſelf, that is, continued ſober and continent, he had always been victorious; and even in his Diſgrace, the bare Remembrance of his former Valour kept many *Spaniſh* Nations in Obedience. But the News of his Death made a great change among them. *Perperna* was odious as a Man, and contemptible as a General. What Affection could People have for a Traytor, who had juſt aſſaſſinated his Friend? The Publick hated him, and this Hatred increaſed, when the *Will* of *Sertorius* came to be opened. He had left all his Eſtate to this very *Perperna*; and made his Aſſaſſin his ſole Legatee. Even the *Legionaries*, at the Head of whom *Perperna* had put himſelf, were not pleaſed to be under the Command of an Officer of no Note, after they had been conducted by an Hero; and their former Affection for *Sertorius* revived after his Death. They overlooked the Clouds which had over-caſt his Glory, in his latter Years, and remembered only his firſt Exploits; and they went over, in great Numbers, to *Pompey*. Upon a Promiſe of their Lives, they ſurrendered to him, and followed his Standards.

In the mean time, *Perperna* was not aſhamed to take Poſſeſſion of *Sertorius*'s Effects, to which he declared himſelf Heir. He ſeized them, and with them his Papers; and thereby diſcovered the Correſpondencies the late General kept at *Rome*, with ſome Men of great Diſtinction, who invited him to come into *Italy*, like a ſecond *Hannibal*. And when he had taken the Place and Character of his Predeceſſor, *Perperna* fancied himſelf able to make Advantage of his Intrigues and Views, and maintain himſelf in the like Glory. But the *Romans* in the Camps of the two *Pro-Conſuls* judged very differently of him. *Metellus* [114] would not vouchſafe to enter the Liſts with

114 After *Metellus* had vanquiſhed *Sertorius*, he thought of nothing but enjoying the Fruits of his Exploits, in Peace. He boaſted of having raiſed his Glory to the higheſt pitch, by the Defeat of the moſt formidable Enemy of the Republick. Nevertheleſs this Hero, who was ſo fruitful in Expedients, might poſſibly find means to recover his Loſſes. Tho' vanquiſhed, the *Romans* ſtill feared him, and *Metellus* himſelf trembled at his Name. At leaſt he gave the World reaſon to conclude as much, from his ſhameful recourſe to Treachery, to deliver him from his Anxieties about the Succeſs of a War, on which the Safety of *Rome* depended. *Plutarch* ſays, He offered 100 *Talents*, or 100000 *French Crowns*, and 20000 Acres of Land, to the Man who ſhould deliver up *Sertorius* to him, alive or dead; and if the Murderer was a proſcribed Perſon, he was likewiſe promiſed his Pardon, and the Reſtitution of all his Effects. *Metellus* alſo looked on his laſt Victory, as the moſt glorious and happy Day of his Life. He was intoxicated with this unexpected Succeſs, and made his Soldiers give him the Title of *Imperator*. He appeared in moſt of the Cities of *Spain*, with all the Pride of a Conqueror; was delighted to ſee the People crowd about him, as he paſſed, erect Altars, and offer Sacrifices to his Honour; and ſeemed to rank himſelf among the Gods, and to receive the Worſhip every City paid him, with great Pleaſure. In order to flatter his Pride, the Inhabitants put Crowns on his Head, and made ſumptuous Entertainments for him, at which he always appeared in the triumphal Robe. Whilſt he was eating, different Choirs of Children of both Sexes ſung Verſes alternately to his Praiſe, and celebrated his Exploits with Songs of Triumph; and in

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with the new *Luſitanian* Chief; but left *Pompey* to finiſh the Campaign, and deſtroy this weak Adverſary himſelf. He marched his Army into the inner Parts of *Spain*, and reconquered, and ſettled in Peace, the *Provinces* there. So that the finiſhing this War was the Work of *Pompey* alone; nobody ſhared the Succeſs with him. As ſoon as *Perperna* took the Reins of Government into his Hands, it was eaſy to foreſee, that his Ruin was near. The *Luſitanians* themſelves, who were the chief Part of his Army, deteſted his Villany, and deſpiſed his Orders. He endeavoured to ingratiate himſelf with them by flattering Speeches, opened the Priſons of *Oſca*, and ſet thoſe at Liberty whom *Sertorius* had confined in them, promiſed to govern with Mildneſs, and ſent back to the *Spaniſh* Cities the Hoſtages his Predeceſſor had demanded of them. But all was in vain. Nobody placed any Confidence in him. Some Acts of Cruelty and Perfidiouſneſs often eſcaped him, which ruined his Credit with all People. Three Men of Conſideration had withdrawn from *Rome* to him, and he upon a Suſpicion of Treachery, put them all to Death, with his own Brother's Son. But the *Luſitanian* Troops, notwithſtanding all theſe unjuſt Proceedings, were under a Neceſſity of continuing to follow his Standards, as their only Security againſt *Pompey*, who threatened them, and was advancing toward them, to finiſh the War by one deciſive Action. At length the two Armies encamped within reach of each other; and all *Spain* had their Eyes on *Perperna*'s firſt Attempt.

§. LVI. When the two Armies were in ſight, they naturally tried each other's Strength and Temper, by Skirmiſhes and ſlight Engagements; and when *Pompey* had conſidered his Enemy's firſt Motions, he deſpiſed him, and reſolved not to delay giving him the finiſhing Stroke. On the other hand, *Perperna* finding that his Troops ſtill retained ſome Regard for him, was afraid of leſſening it. So that both were equally deſirous of a Battle. The *Luſitanian* Army was divided into two Bodies, one under *Perperna*, the other under *Auſidius*, and both together, made a large Front. *Pompey*, on the other hand, made uſe of a common Stratagem againſt theſe unſkilful Generals, which he could not have impoſed on Commanders of any Ability or Experience. He brought only ten *Cohorts* of his numerous Army into the Plain; and hid the reſt of his *Legions* in the neighbouring Woods. At the ſight of this little Army, *Perperna* put himſelf in Motion; and the weak Body *Pompey* commanded widened in the Plain, and as it retired, drew after it the left Wing which *Auſidius* commanded. He purſued the ten *Cohorts*, who fought retreating, till they brought him by degrees, to the Place of the Ambuſcade. Then the reſt of the *Roman* Army appeared on a ſudden, flanked the Enemy both ways, made a terrible Slaughter of them, and entirely defeated them. *Auſidius* fled, and ſaved his Life by retiring to a Cottage in an unknown Village, where he ſpent the reſt of his Days. But *Perperna* was juſtly reſerved for a more exemplary Puniſhment. Being vanquiſhed, and reduced to Deſpair, he hid himſelf among the Buſhes of a Coppice. The *Roman* Cavalry ſurrounded him, ſeized him, and loaded him with Chains; and in this melancholy Condition, he was more inſulted by his own Soldiers, who were Priſoners with him, than by the Conqueror. *This*, ſaid they, *is our cowardly Chief, the Murderer and Succeſſor of* Sertorius, *and the Author of all our Misfortunes.*

When the Coward was brought to the Camp, he earneſtly deſired the Favour of being brought into *Pompey*'s Preſence; and pretended, that he had Secrets of Importance to communicate to him. But *Pompey* was too wiſe to admit him to an Audience, or to ſuffer him to diſcover the Secrets of thoſe Intrigues which *Sertorius* had carried on with many illuſtrious *Romans*. The bare Preſumption that he had been informed of theſe private Tranſactions would have increaſed his Enemies at *Rome*; whereas *Pompey*'s Aim was to be beloved by all Parties. He therefore would never treat with his Priſoner in Perſon; but forced him to ſend him the Letters [115] *Sertorius* had received

the midſt of this pompous Show, ſeveral moving Images of Victory appeared, and ſucceſſively placed Crowns on the Conqueror's Head. Indeed, *Metellus* reflected more Diſhonour on himſelf by this childiſh Vanity, than he had acquired Glory, by the Advantages he gained over *Sertorius*.

[115] According to *Plutarch*, *Perperna* had ſent *Pompey* all *Sertorius*'s Papers, in Hopes of obtaining his Pardon by it. The Conqueror might by them have made great Diſcoveries of thoſe who ſtill favoured the *Marian* Faction. But this Treachery did not ſave his Life. He was condemned to die, and immediately executed. Some of his Accomplices underwent the ſame Fate, and fell by the Axes of the *Lictors*; others retired to *Africa*, but were ſhot to death by the *Moors*. Some Authors have accuſed *Pompey* of the moſt monſtrous Ingratitude, in putting *Perperna* to death, who had done him ſignal Services in *Sicily*. But, the *Greek* Hiſtorian

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received from *Rome*, ſealed up in different Parcels; and when this was done, *Perperna* was immediately beheaded, by *Pompey*'s Order; and the General burnt all the Letters that had been ſent him, in the Preſence of all the Officers of his Army, without opening them. But whether his Motive to this was a Zeal for the publick Good, or a Fear of raiſing a new Storm in the Republick, or a Deſign to gain the Eſteem and Affections of the many *Romans* whom by this means he extricated out of great Difficulties, it is not eaſy to diſcover. If we judge of ſo ſingular an Action by his prevailing Qualities, we muſt infer, that his View was to promote the publick Good, and make himſelf Friends, at the ſame Time. He loved his Country; but was always intent on procuring himſelf Power in *Rome*, by prevailing on the People to pay him a willing Obedience. He was for gaining their Hearts by Inſinuation and Addreſs, rather than uſurping an haughty Tyranny by Force and Violence.

And now, the Death of *Perperna* put an End to the War, which had employed the chief Forces of the Republick almoſt ten Years. Indeed, the Storm ceaſed, immediately after the Death of *Sertorius*. *Rome* ingloriouſly triumphed at it, as ſhe had done at the Death of *Viriathes*: And *Pompey* gained but little Reputation by this Expedition, though it ended ſo ſucceſsfully. *Sertorius* acted the greateſt Part in all this War; and the Hiſtorians could not but do Juſtice to his Merit. Tho' a baniſhed Man, a Fugitive, and proſcribed, he found Means to advance himſelf to a Sovereignty, in a little Corner of *Europe*; and there maintained his Authority againſt a Republick, which was formidable to the whole World. He alſo made himſelf a conſiderable Party in the Capital itſelf; and raiſed up againſt *Rome*, the moſt powerful Monarch in *Aſia*. In a word, he totally [116] eclipſed the Glory of *Metellus* and *Pompey*; and ſeems to have wanted nothing to have out-ſhined all the Heroes of *Rome* that had gone before him, but a little more Caution in guarding himſelf againſt the Charms of Pleaſure, and the villainous Attempts of a perfidious Friend.

After *Perperna*'s Defeat, *Pompey* continued a great while in *Spain*, to reduce the rebellious Cities there, and ſettle them in Order and Subjection. *Oſca*, *Thermæ* [117], *Tutia* [118], and *Valentia* [119], readily ſurrendered to the Conqueror. *Uxama* and *Calaguris* only, perſiſted in the Revolt; and they were taken, and ſeverely puniſhed.

Hiſtorian obſerves, That his Death was neceſſary both for the Safety of his Country, and the Quiet of thoſe Families which he had reſolved to deſtroy, in order to eſcape Puniſhment himſelf; and adds, That *Pompey* raiſed himſelf above natural Sentiments, in order to promote the publick Good.

116 Beſides his great Qualities as an Hero, *Sertorius* was a good Son, and a generous Friend. He always loved his Mother tenderly. The News of her Death affected him ſo much, that he would have reſolved to give up his own Life, if thoſe about him had left him to his Deſpair. But after he had ſpent ſeven Days in Tears, laying on the Ground, and retired from all the World, he hearkened to the Repreſentations of his chief Officers and the Cries of his Soldiers, who earneſtly deſired his return to them.

117 Moſt modern Geographers make *Thermæ* or *Thermes* the ſame City which we have before-mentioned, p. 29, Note 76. of this Volume, under the Name of *Termantia*. They place it on the Banks of *The Duero* in *Old Caſtille*, not far from *Oſma*, and near the place where we now find the Chappel of *Noſtra Senora de Tiermes*, 9 Leagues weſt of *Segovia*, and 12 from old *Numantia*. Some have confounded it with the City of *Lerma*, on the Banks of the River *Areva*, now called the *Arlanza*.

118 We know nothing certain of the Situation of *Tutia*, more than that it belonged to *Tarragonian Spain*. *Florus* and *Plutarch* ſeem to be the only Hiſtorians that have preſerved the Name of this ancient City.

119 See above, p. 57. Note 113. of this Volume.

THE

THE Roman Hiſtory.

BOOK LIX.

§. I. POMPEY was yet buſy in finiſhing the War with *Sertorius* in *Spain*, and *Lucullus* in driving *Mithridates* before him in his Kingdom of *Pontus* in *Aſia*, when the Republick choſe new *Conſuls*; and ſeemed in her Choice to have Regard to the important Service *Lucullus* had done her in the *Levant*. She choſe his Brother, named *M. Terentius Varro Lucullejanus*, becauſe adopted into the *Terentian* Family by one *Terentius Varro*; and with him *C. Caſſius Varus*. When they entered upon their Office, Proviſions were ſtill dear at *Rome*, and the People murmured at it. The Seas had been for ſome Years ſo much infeſted with Pyrates, that neither the Merchant Ships, nor thoſe of the Republick, dared return to bring Corn from *Sicily*, or *Africa*. The new *Conſuls* therefore made a Law, from them called *The Terentian* and *The Caſſian*, which was at leaſt ſome Eaſe to the Diſtreſſes of the People. It enacted, That the publick Treaſury, low as it was, ſhould advance conſiderable Sums, to ſupply the preſſing Neceſſities of the Poor; and the Republick was at a very great Expence, for three Years together, in ſubſiſting an innumerable Multitude of indigent People. For Plenty was not reſtored in *Rome*, till *Pompey* cleared the Seas of the Robbers who interrupted all Commerce there, in a manner which ſhall be related in due Time.

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Cic. Verr. 5.

Want, when extreme and general, ſeldom fails of raiſing Commotions among the People; and now, as the Cities of *Italy* ſuffered, for Want of Proviſions, as well as the Capital, the Evil was more felt in this Country, which was the moſt populous in the World, than elſewhere it would have been. *Capua* was the chief City of a very fruitful Country, which nevertheleſs now wanted Aſſiſtance from others, *Campania* itſelf not being fruitful enough to ſupply the Wants of its numerous Inhabitants; and in that City began a Sedition, which ſoon grew up into a Civil War. Ever ſince the firſt Shocks that were given the Republick by the *Gracchi*, it ſeems to have been her Fate, to be continually agitated with new domeſtick Troubles. Scarce was the Rebellion by *Sertorius* in *Spain* at an end, when a new Storm aroſe in the Heart of *Italy*. A Burgher of *Capua*, named *Lentulus Batiatus*, kept a School of *Gladiators*, which turned greatly to account. His School conſiſted of Slaves, whom he bought at a great Expence, and fed very plentifully, for Shows in the Amphitheatre, and at the Funerals of rich Men. Theſe Champions were hired at a great Price of their Maſters, who brought them up for theſe Combats, in which they often periſhed. It may therefore well be imagined, that Men who deſpiſed Life, and were brought up in fighting and Blood, were not very ſubmiſſive to the Orders of their Maſters; who were forced to keep them cloſely ſhut up in Priſons, where they uſually ſpared them no Proviſions, that they might not loſe their Strength. But the preſent Scarcity made *Batiatus* more frugal than uſual, and he did not allow his *Gladiators* ſo plentifully as before. At leaſt, the Hiſtorians tell us, that his ill Uſage of them, made them break their Chains, and make their eſcape out of Priſon.

Plut. in Craſſo. Florus, L. 3. c. 20. *App. de Bell. Civ.* L. 1. *Oroſ.* L. 5. *Salluſt. in Fragmentis.*

At the Head of theſe Wretches, was one *Spartacus*, a *Thracian*, who from being an Highwayman, had turned Soldier in his own Country, and having been taken in War, and reduced to Slavery, had been made choice of for a

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Gladiator. The reſt were almoſt all *Gauls*, a bold People, and the braveſt and moſt active among them were *Crixus*, and *Oenomaus*. Two hundred of theſe Slaves entered into a Plot to break off their Chains, and run away from *Capua*; but only ſeventy eight had the good Fortune to eſcape, armed with Spits and Cleavers. The *Capuans* immediately ſent out ſome of their Militia, to intercept them in their Flight, and fight them. But the *Gladiators* fell furiouſly on the Burghers, beat them, ſeized their Arms, and retired to Mount *Veſuvius*: And theſe ſmall Beginnings raiſed a great Flame in the Republick. *Spartacus* had married a Slave of his own Country, whom he had delivered out of the Chains of their Maſter *Batiatus*; and ſhe was a Woman well qualified to impoſe on vulgar Minds. Having been initiated in the Myſteries of *Bacchus*, ſhe knew how to counterfeit Inſpiration, and ſet up for a Propheteſs. She foretold, that her Huſband ſhould come to a great Empire, and encouraged him to the greateſt Labours, in order to acquire it. *Rome* was alarmed at theſe riſing Seditions; and apprehenſive, that Mount *Veſuvius* would become an Aſylum, for all the Slaves in *Campania* that ſhould deſert their Maſters, and all the Malecontents with the Government. In order therefore to ſtifle the Flame in its Birth, ſhe immediately ſent away *Appius Claudius Pulcher*, the *Prætor*, with 3000 regular Troops. Mount *Veſuvius* was, for a conſiderable heighth, encumbered with uncultivated Vines, whoſe Shoots were very long and troubleſome, and there was only one Way through them, to the top of the Mountain. *Claudius* ſeized this Path, and carefully guarded it with his Soldiers; but the Induſtry of the *Gladiators* made his Attempt fruitleſs. They made themſelves a kind of Ladders of the Branches of the Vines, by that means got down into the Plain, fell upon *Claudius*'s Camp which they found ill guarded, ſeized it, plundered it, and made a *Roman Prætor* at the Head of 3000 Men flee before them.

§. II. Theſe ſucceſsful Beginnings, raiſed the Reputation of *Spartacus*; and the Shepherds joined him, and brought their Flocks with them. The ſtrongeſt of them he armed compleatly, the moſt active, lightly. Then many Priſons in which the Slaves were kept by Night, were broke open; and *Spartacus* ſoon had 10000 Men under his Command. They made themſelves Bucklers with Oſier, and covered them with Ox-hides; and with the Chains the Fugitives brought with them, they made Swords and Darts. And now, as faſt as *Spartacus* increaſed in Strength, the Alarm increaſed at *Rome*. It was thought neceſſary to levy Troops in all haſte, to form a little Army, and the Command of it was given to *Vatinius*, a new *Prætor*, with an extraordinary Commiſſion of General. *Vatinius* ſent *Furius* one of his Lieutenant Generals before him; and he advanced too faſt, and was routed. This new Victory elated the Rebels; and they now thought themſelves ſtrong enough to keep the Field, ſurprize Cities, and plunder them. [1] *Cora*, [2] *Nuceria*, and *Nola* fell a Prey to theſe Robbers. In a Country ſo fruitful in excellent Wines, the Cellars and Vaults, as may well be imagined, were not ſpared; every one of theſe Wretches vented his Rage againſt his Maſter, or his Old Enemies; and what they could not take away, the Fire conſumed. *Spartacus* was in great pain at the Sight of theſe horrible Devaſtations. Tho' a *Gladiator*, a Slave, and a *Thracian*, he had a Mind much ſuperior to his Condition. He was fierce, audacious, and enterprizing; but he had more Prudence than ſuch caſual Officers generally have, more good Nature than a Banditti, more Politeneſs than a Barbarian. And therefore he reſolved to march his Troops out of *Campania*, where they continually met with freſh Occaſions to ſhew their Hatred and Injuſtice.

After he had eſtabliſhed as much Order and Diſcipline among them as he could, he led them towards *Lucania*. From thence the *Roman Prætor* who commanded there, had ſent *Coſſinius*, one of his Lieutenant Generals, to cover the Province; and the Chief of the *Gladiators* now undertook, for the firſt Time, to make War in form. He had indeed a great Genius for military Command. His Abilities and Diſcernment were much above his Education. He concealed his March from the Enemy, and fell ſuddenly upon them with ſo much Addreſs, that he ſurprized *Coſſinius* when

1. *Cora* was a City of the *Volſci*, a People of old *Latium*. According to *Pliny the Naturaliſt*, it was built by *Dardanus*, above three Centuries before the Foundation of *Rome*. But the moſt common Opinion is, That the *Greeks* founded it, under the Conduct of *Coras*, who gave it his own Name.

2 Of the four Cities of this Name already mentioned, that here ſpoken of, is probably the ſame with that in Vol. 2. p. 283. Note 93. See alſo p. 227. Note 99. of that Volume.

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he was going into the Bath. The Detachment the latter commanded, fled; and the Lieutenant General followed his Troops. *Spartacus*, as ſoon as he had plundered his Baggage, purſued him with ſuch Vigour, that he came up with him, and killed him in Battle. Nor was the Leader of the *Gladiators* at a Loſs how to make a good uſe of his Victory. He made himſelf Maſter of [3] *Thurii* and [4] *Metapontus*, and cantoned his Troops in the Cities he had conquered. In the mean time, the *Prætor Vatinius* had ſome Difficulty to aſſemble Troops enough to engage an Enemy, that was become formidable by his Succeſs. Autumn was far advanced, and the Diſtempers that reigned in his Camp, made his Soldiers the leſs willing to march againſt a Body of vile Slaves, at the Hazard of being vanquiſhed by them. But at laſt they complied, and as ſoon as the *Prætor* found them inclined to go forward, he led them againſt *Spartacus*.

When the two Armies were in ſight, *Vatinius* found much leſs Intrepidity, and leſs Ardour for fighting in theſe Slaves, than formerly. Indeed *Crixus*, who was the ſecond in rank in *Spartacus*'s Army, was for a Battle immediately; but *Spartacus* himſelf was for poſtponing it. One was a *Gaul*, and more impatient; the other a *Thracian*, and more phlegmatick. And this Diviſion made the Rebels the more ſlow. *Vatinius* had Time to ſhut them up in their Camp, dig Trenches round them, and by that means cut off their Proviſions. So that *Spartacus* muſt have been loſt, if he had not by an ingenious Stratagem eſcaped the Snares of the Enemy. In the Night, he pitched Stakes without his Camp, to which he faſtened the Bodies of ſome of his Soldiers who were lately dead; and they, being in their uſual Habits, and with their Arms about them, appeared to be an advanced Guard. In the middle of his Camp, he at the ſame time lighted great Fires; and then marched away his Troops in Silence. The *Prætor* was ſo long deceived by this Artifice, that he was not ſenſible the Enemy were decamped, till they were got at a great diſtance. Then he purſued them, came up with them in a Plain where they were advantageouſly poſted, and there fought a Battle with them. But *Spartacus* was victorious, and *Vatinius* forced to flee. His *Lictors*, to eaſe themſelves in their Flight, threw away their *Axes* and *Faſces*; he was himſelf diſmounted, and his Horſe, with all the Marks of the *Prætorſhip*, fell into *Spartacus*'s Hands; with theſe, *Spartacus* adorned himſelf, and from henceforth always appeared in publick attended by a Guard of *Lictors*, who carried the *Roman Faſces* before him. *Front. Strat. L. 5. c. 5.*

At length, *Spartacus*'s Army left *Lucania*, croſſed [5] *Picenum* through Roads they were well acquainted with, and entered *Ciſalpine Gaul*. Then his Troops, including the 10000 *Crixus* commanded, amounted to 40000 Men. But it was not to be expected, that their General could have an abſolute Authority over Slaves tumultuouſly aſſembled, who ſtill retained their ſervile Inclinations, tho' they had broken their Fetters. The terrible Diſorders they committed in their Marches, and the Places of their Abode, are not to be expreſſed. Their Brutalities and Cruelties were horrible; and *Spartacus* himſelf was much offended at them. He plainly ſaw, that if they continued theſe Practices, he muſt at laſt ſink under the Power of *Rome*; and therefore propoſed nothing more than leading his Army to the Foot of the *Alpes*, diſbanding them there, and thereby giving both Officers and Soldiers an opportunity of going, ſome to *Thrace*, and others to *Gaul*, their native Countries. *It is Happineſs enough for theſe Wretches*, ſaid he, *to be delivered out of the ſevere Slavery, which they ſuffered in* Italy. But the Licentiouſneſs of the Soldiers, who were accuſtomed to Pillage, and lived at their Eaſe by their Rapines, broke the General's Meaſures.

§. III. The Republick wanted two ſuch *Conſuls* as would cure the Evils of *Italy*, and take care to advance the Work which *Lucullus* had ſo happily begun in the Eaſt. There were but two Wars to finiſh; one with *Spartacus*, the other with *Mithridates*; for that which the Republick had entered into with *Macedon*, was only Matter of Diverſion to her. And when the Republick had promoted *L.* [6] *Gellius Poplicola*, and *Cn.*

3 See Vol. 2. p. 307. Note 45.

4 See Vol. 2. p. 195. Note 34.

5 Old *Picenum* contained Part of the *Marquiſate of Ancona*, and *Further Abruzzo*. See the preceding Volumes.

6 *Val. Maximus* gives us an Inſtance of the Moderation of this *Conſul*, which does Honour to his Memory. The Vices of his Son were Matter of the greateſt Grief to him. He had almoſt convincing Proofs to believe, that the young Debauchee had formed a Deſign to aſſaſſinate him, and committed Inceſt with his Mother-in-Law. Nevertheleſs, he would not exerciſe the Power of puniſhing, which the *Roman* Law gave Parents over their Children. He ſuſpected

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Cn. Cornelius Lentulus[7]; they made it their chief Buſineſs to ſupply the Wants of *Lucullus* in *Aſia*, and raiſe two *Conſular* Armies, to oppoſe *Spartacus* and *Crixus*, who were ravaging *Italy*. *C. Anius* marched at the Head of a third Army, with the Title of General, to make head againſt the ſeveral Detachments of the Army of the Rebels. The Number of the Slaves was exceedingly increaſed; there were now reckoned to be 70000 Men under their Standards. There was indeed a Diviſion among them. *Crixus* had left *Spartacus*, and drawn off from him a Body of *Gauls* and *Germans*, whom he had brought into *Apulia*, and encamped near Mount *Garganus*; and the *Conſul Gellius* propoſed to attack him firſt. Tho' his Forces were ſo conſiderable, as to amount to near 30000 Men, he fell far ſhort of *Spartacus* in true Courage and Ability. He was more raſh and ready to give Battle, had leſs Preſence of Mind in Action, and was leſs cautious in ſeizing advantageous Poſts. *Gellius* with the *Pro-Conſul Anius*, came ſuddenly upon him, and did not give him Time to deliberate. The *Legionaries* immediately gave Battle, broke this contemptible Mob, put them into Confuſion, and made a terrible Slaughter. They left above 20000 of them, with their General, dead upon the Spot.

App. de Bell. Civ. L. 1. Plut. in Craſſo.

On the other hand, *Lentulus* marched in queſt of *Spartacus*, to the Extremity of *Ciſalpine Gaul*; and the *Gladiator*, whom Nature more than Art had inſtructed in Affairs of War, took many turnings, to fatigue his Enemies, in their purſuit. His Deſign was to gain the *Alpes*; but whilſt he was uſing all the Artifices he could with the *Conſul*, he received Advice, That *Gellius* and *Anius* had defeated *Crixus*, and That their victorious Armies were advancing in all haſte to join *Lentulus*. And then, he acted the Part of a great Commander. He faced about on the Troops that purſued him, gave *Lentulus* Battle before his Collegue joined him, routed his Army, and diſperſed it. Then, without any Delay, he marched after *Gellius*, came up with him, beat him, and put him to flight. Never was *Rome* more humbled, than by theſe two Diſgraces which ſhe ſuffered in her two *Conſuls*. A *Thracian*, a *Gladiator*, and a Slave, had effaced the Glory of the *Roman* Generals, and braved the Conquerors of the World. And the Steps *Spartacus* took after his two Victories made him ſtill more terrible to his Enemies. He would not give Quarter to any one of the *Roman* Soldiers which he had taken Priſoners. In Honour to *Crixus*, he ſacrificed them all round his funeral Pile, imagining that he ſhould thereby appeaſe his *Manes*, and wipe off the Shame of his Defeat. His Sentiments were great and elevated, as were all his Deſigns. He deliberated with himſelf, whether he ſhould take Advantage of the Conſternation *Rome* was in, and go and beſiege it. His Army conſiſted of 120000 Men, all fugitive Slaves; for he would admit no others to ſerve under him. He refuſed to receive Deſerters from the *Roman* Army, who were Free-men, leſt they ſhould aſſume a Superiority over the reſt. But after he had well conſidered it, he laid aſide the Scheme of inveſting *Rome*. He thought it more glittering than ſolid. It would have been extremely difficult for him to have procured Ammunition enough for his Camp; and great Preparations were neceſſary to provide the proper Machines for attacking Cities; whilſt his Troops neither knew, how to make *Balliſtæ*, nor how to play them. All they underſtood, was, to keep the Field, plunder Granaries, fight behind Trenches, and by fierceneſs and dint of Numbers gain Battles. He therefore returned into *Lucania*, poſted himſelf on the Mountains near *Thurii*, and erected Magazines in that City. His Troops ravaged all the Neighbourhood, and he gave the Merchants leave to come in Safety to purchaſe their Booties. But he forbad his Soldiers, to take Gold or Silver in Payment. He looked on theſe Metals as uſeleſs to a Man of his Profeſſion. But Iron and Copper he took by weight, in exchange, in order to make Arms with them.

§. IV. Whilſt *Italy* was thus a Prey to Banditti, and *Rome* loſt much Glory there, ſhe had nothing to comfort her, but the News ſhe received from the diſtant Provinces. *Mithridates* had, ſince his laſt Defeat, retired into his Kingdom of *Pontus*, where he thought himſelf inacceſſible. No *Roman* Army could ever yet penetrate into it. But

pected his own Suſpicions; left the Judgment of his Son to the Senate; and when they acquitted him, ſubſcribed the Sentence. So that he choſe rather to conſult the Safety of his Son whom he tenderly loved, than his own.

7 This *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus* took the Name of his adoptive Father, who was *Conſul* in the Year of *Rome* 656; and his Surname of *Clodianus* ſhews, that he had been adopted, from the *Cornelian* Family from which he deſcended, into the *Clodian*. *Cicero* ſays, he had Talents for ſpeaking in Publick, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf more than once, by his wiſe Counſels.

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Lucullus undertook to drive this proud Enemy by Force, even out of his Capital. The *Pro-Conſul* called his Officers to a Council of War, but conſulted chiefly with his Lieutenant General *Cotta*, who was his Confident, and with *Triarius* his Admiral: And it was reſolved, to croſs that vaſt extent of Country which divided *The Roman Province* from *Pontus*. *Lucullus* undertook to lead the main Body of the Army through *Bithynia* and *Galatia*; whilſt *Cotta* went to retake *Heraclea*. *Triarius*'s Orders were to cruize along the *Aſiatick* Coaſt, and there wait for the Remains of the King's Fleet, one Part of which had taken Refuge in *Crete*, and the other left the Ports of *Spain*, ſince the Death of *Sertorius*. *Mithridates* was then reſiding at [8] *Amiſos*, one of his maritime Cities, inſtead of his Capital; and the Remembrance of his late Loſſes, made him anxious for the future. The Report of the March of *Lucullus* towards them, was ſpread over all the Coaſts of the *Euxine* Sea; and upon his approach, the King ſent to engage all the neighbouring Kings in his Quarrel. His Son *Machares* was King of the *Boſphorans*, and as a Father, rather than as his Sovereign, he ordered him to come to his Aſſiſtance, and *Machares* ſent him Troops. But they were ſuch as proved but a weak Reinforcement againſt ſo terrible an Enemy as *Lucullus*.

Scythia was divided between two little Sovereigns, and *Mithridates* ſent Ambaſſadors to them, to his Son-in-Law *Tigranes* King of *Armenia*, and to *Arſaces* King of the *Parthians*, with Orders to make the ſame Repreſentations to them all. *The Ambition of the* Romans, ſaid they, *is inſatiable. Among other Nations intervals of Peace and War reciprocally ſucceed each other by mutual Conſent. But this imperious Republick will grant no Terms, except thoſe of a ſhameful Slavery. Theſe politick People attack only one Prince at a Time, whom they never leave till they have dethroned him; and while they are doing this, they artfully keep Meaſures with his Neighbours, and ſow Diſcord among thoſe that could aſſiſt him. But their fixed Reſolution is to deſtroy them likewiſe, in their Turn. This is at preſent the Caſe of* Mithridates. *And if you don't aſſiſt him with your Forces, your Ruin will ſoon follow his.* The King of the *Parthians* heard them with coldneſs, and thought the Danger at too great a diſtance, to make it neceſſary for him to engage in another's Quarrel. *Diocles*, whom *Mithridates* had ſent into *Scythia*, with great Sums for the little Sovereigns there, betrayed his Maſter, and went over to *Lucullus*. But *Tigranes*, at the Importunity of his Wife, renewed his old Alliance with his Father-in-Law, without ſending him any Succours. *App. in Mithridat.*

§. V. *Mithridates*, tho' leſs powerfully ſupported than he expected, did not loſe his Courage. He reſolved to oppoſe *Lucullus* in his March, and if poſſible, make him periſh by Famine. With this Deſign, he ſent away all the Horſe he could, to lay waſte the Country from *Bithynia* to *Pontus*; and *Lucullus* ſuffered by theſe Devaſtations. The *Roman* Army wanted Proviſions; and the *Pro-Conſul* was forced to make 30000 *Galatians* follow him, each Man carrying a Sack of Corn on his Shoulders. Theſe Proviſions laſted the *Romans* till they came into a fruitful Country, where the Scarcity was turned into a very great Plenty. An Ox was ſold for one *Denarius* [9], a Slave for four; Sheep, Goats, Stuffs and other Neceſſaries at a low Price. *Lucullus* ſtill advanced, and took all the Places on this ſide the [10] *Thermodoon*, by Capitulation. His Soldiers complained of their General's Indulgence to the vanquiſhed, which deprived them of the Spoils of ſo many Cities, with the Booty of which they might have enriched themſelves; and we ſhall hereafter ſee them carry their Murmurs againſt him to much greater lengths. *Ibid.*

His Officers likewiſe were little leſs diſſatisfied with his Conduct than the Soldiers. He had inveſted the three ſtrongeſt Places in the Kingdom of *Pontus*, *viz. Amiſos*, [11] *Eupatoria*,

8 *Strabo* ranks *Amiſos* in *Pontus* among the moſt conſiderable Cities of *Aſia Minor*; and ſays, upon the Authority of *Theopompus*, That it had been founded by a Colony of the Inhabitants of *Miletum*, and That the *Athenians* afterwards enlarged it. It was long independent; and governed by its own Laws, till it became ſubject to the Kings of *Pontus*; and *Pliny the Naturaliſt* tells us, That after the Defeat of *Mithridates*, it recovered its ancient Liberty, under the Protection of *Rome*. *Arrian* places it on the Coaſts of the *Euxine* Sea.

9 See the preceding Volumes.

10 The *Thermodoon*, a River in *Cappadocia*, is now called *Permon*. It falls into the *Euxine* Sea. The Poets feign, that the neighbouring Country was formerly inhabited by *Amazons*.

11 This Name was common to two Cities in *Pontus*; one ſtood in the middle of a great Plain, near the Conflux of the *Iris* and the *Lycus*. According to *Strabo*, *Pompey* afterwards repeopled it, enlarged it, added to its Territory, and called it *Magnopolis*. The other had been built by *Mithridates*, according to *Appian*, near *Amiſos*, on the Sea-Coaſt; and this Monarch often made it his Place of Reſidence. *Pliny* tells us, That after the Reduction of the Kingdom of *Pontus*, it was called *Pompeiopolis*. The Orientals now call

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Eupatoria, and [12] *Themiſcyra*, all at once; by which means, the *Roman* Forces were divided, and the Sieges protracted. At *Amiſos*, all Things were at a ſtand; and tho' the Attacks at the two other Places were a little more warmly carried on, they were ineffectual. As faſt as the *Romans* advanced by Sapp, the beſieged countermined them; drove Bears and other wild Beaſts into their Mines, which fell on the Workmen, and tore them to pieces; and ſometimes threw ſwarms of Bees againſt the Pioneers, who were ſtung by them. During theſe Delays, *Mithridates* reſided in the Plains of [13] *Cabira*, ſent Convoys and Reinforcements from thence to *Amiſos*, made the Garriſon ſtrong enough to make Sallies to advantage, and aſſembled an Army large enough, to oppoſe that of *Lucullus*. In ſhort, the Negligence of the *Pro-Conſul* was thought no longer ſupportable; and the Soldiers complained of it, in all the three Camps. *Why*, ſaid they, *does* Lucullus *by his Delays, give* Mithridates *Time to arm, and defend himſelf?* So that it was now become neceſſary, for the General to explain himſelf, and diſcover the Myſtery of his Conduct. *Is it poſſible*, ſaid he to his Officers, *that Men of your Abilities ſhould not yet penetrate into my Deſigns? I am amuſing* Mithridates *with ſlight Advantages, only in order to hinder his eſcaping out of our Hands. What we have moſt to fear is, that, if we drive him out of his own Dominions, he will flee to his Son-in-Law* Tigranes *for Refuge, and prevail on that powerful Monarch, to take up Arms againſt* Rome. *He at preſent wavers between his Father-in-Law, and us; and he will prove a formidable Enemy if we draw him upon us. As he has conquered the* Parthians, *and is Maſter of* Syria *and* Paleſtine, *if he falls upon us, all the moſt eaſtern Nations will join him. Let us therefore go on to amuſe* Mithridates *with vain Hopes of being able to equal us in Strength himſelf, and not force him to throw himſelf into the Arms of a Neighbour and Ally. If we do not, he will be full of Preſumption, and do us leſs Injury here, than if he has recourſe to the Compaſſion of other Princes.*

Plut. in Lucullo.

§. VI. But this was too wiſe and politick a Scheme, not to be above the reach of ſuperficial Minds. By all he could ſay, *Lucullus* could not convince his *Legionaries*, that he was not indolent. They wrote to *Rome*, and repreſented him as a Man who was too unactive to make a compleat General. Theſe Prepoſſeſſions ſpread, and afterwards became prejudicial to his Honour. Indeed the Siege of *Amiſos* did not advance; it looked rather like a Blockade. *Mithridates* profited by the Delays of *Lucullus*, and had already got together an Army of 40000 Foot, and 8000 Horſe. Theſe Preparations of the Enemy increaſed the Murmurs in the *Roman* Army; nevertheleſs the wiſe *Pro-Conſul* would not ſtir; and the Diſcontents grew ſtill greater, when *Cotta* failed in his Attempt upon *Heraclea*. The Inhabitants, tho' ill uſed by their own Garriſon, made ſo vigorous a Reſiſtance, that they obliged *Cotta* to retire. But all theſe pretended Diſadvantages promoted the Deſigns of *Lucullus*, who had greater Points in view than taking Cities; and he now put them in execution.

Mithridates was ſtill encamped in the Plains of *Cabira* with his numerous Army, and enjoyed the Pleaſure of ſeeing the *Romans* waſte themſelves with fruitleſs Attacks on four Cities, which deſtroyed many of their Men. He was ſurrounded by high Mountains, found no Difficulty in ſubſiſting in his own Country, and thought himſelf ſafe within the Ramparts Nature had made about him. He had poſted his Cavalry at all the Paſſes through which the *Romans* could come to him, and had given the Command of them to *Phœnix*, one of the Princes of his own Blood. But *Phœnix* had received perſonal Affronts from the King, and kept a Correſpondence with *Lucullus*. His Orders were to light Fires on the Mountains, upon the firſt Motions of the *Roman* Army towards *Cabira*; and as ſoon as *Lucullus* had aſſembled all his divided Troops together, turned the Sieges into Blockades, and began to march that Way, *Phœnix* gave the appointed Signal; but at the ſame time went over to *Lucullus*, and offered to be a Guide to the *Roman* Army. By his Aſſiſtance, it paſſed the narrow Roads of the Mountains, without Reſiſtance; and as ſoon as the *Legions* appeared in the Plain, *Mi-*

App. in Mithrid.

[12] *Themyſcira*, according to *Strabo*, ſtood at a little diſtance from the Sea, in one of the fineſt Countries in *Aſia Minor*. *Herodotus* and *Diodorus Siculus* place it near the Mouth of the *Thermodon*. This City, which is now called *Themiſi*, or *Temiſira*, was

[13] *Cabira* was then only a Fort which *Mithridates* had put into a Condition to bear a long Siege, by the Works he had raiſed to defend the Approaches to it. *Pompey* enlarged it, and called it *Diopolis*.

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thridates paſſed the [14] *Lycus*, and did not decline an Engagement with *Lucullus*, who had come ſo far, in ſearch of him.

Some ſlight Skirmiſhes preceded a general Battle, and in theſe *Mithridates*, whoſe Cavalry was ſtrongeſt, always had the Advantage. In one of them, *Pomponius* an Officer of Figure in the *Roman* Army, was wounded, made Priſoner of War, and brought to the King. *Mithridates* aſked him, *if he would grant him his Friendſhip in caſe he cured him of his Wounds*; but the *Roman* replied, *Firſt gain the Friendſhip of* Lucullus. *It is upon that Condition only, that I grant mine.* The Courtiers about *Mithridates* thought this too proud an Anſwer, and were going to cut him in Pieces. But the King ſtopped them, and ſaid, *By no Means. An unfortunate brave Man ſhall never be the Object of my Revenge.* Who then diſcovered moſt Magnanimity, *Pomponius*, or *Mithridates?* In the mean time, *Lucullus* was not pleaſed with the Situation of his Camp. In an open Plain, the ſuperior Cavalry of the Enemy could not fail of diſtreſſing his Army in Time, and intercepting his Convoys. Beſides, it was both difficult and dangerous, either to continue in the Defiles of the Mountains, or to repaſs them. In this Uncertainty therefore, *Lucullus* kept cloſe in his Trenches, and often refuſed to fight when *Mithridates* offered Battle; and the King reſolved to take him off baſely by Aſſaſſination, if he could not bring him to an Engagement. The Hiſtorians relate the Matter ſomewhat differently; but we think it was probably attempted, in this Manner.

Front. Strat. L. 1. c. 5. Plut. in Lucullo. App. in Mithridat.

§. VII. There was among the Auxiliaries, in the Camp of *Mithridates*, a young *Scythian* Lord, of the Country of *Dardania*, which bordered on the *Palus Mæotis*. His Name was *Olcaba*, or, as others, *Olthacus*, and as he had Merit and Ambition, he was very deſirous of being firſt in the King's Favour; which he thought to have deſerved, by propoſing to him to aſſaſſinate *Lucullus*, which he promiſed to do with his own Hands. It was therefore agreed between them, that the King ſhould ſo publickly and ſo highly affront him, as ſhould force him to leave the Camp, and go over to the *Romans*. The Game was artfully played; and *Olcaba*, who fled for Refuge to the *Pro-Conſul*'s Camp, ſeemed to have nothing ſo much in view, as to gain the Favour of the new General. He was watched at firſt; but he gave ſuch Proofs of his Valour againſt the Enemy, as took off all Suſpicions. He was a Man of Addreſs; made his Court effectually to *Lucullus*; and gained the Eſteem of the Army by his Valour, and of the General by his Politeneſs and Complaiſance. Till at length, he gained his Point of having free Acceſs into the *Prætorium*, at all Hours; and then, the Traitor waited only for a proper Time to ſtrike the Blow. He knew, that at Noon, when the Heat was greateſt, *Lucullus* uſed to ſuffer his Guard to refreſh themſelves, and ſhut himſelf up, either to enjoy Solitude, or take a little Reſt; and therefore choſe this Time. But it fortunately happened, that the *Pro-Conſul* had not ſlept the Night before the Day which *Olcaba* pitched on; and, becauſe he wanted Sleep, ordered his Domeſticks not to admit any one into his Tent. *Olcaba* came, and demanded with Confidence, though not without ſome Confuſion in his Air, to ſpeak with the *Pro-Conſul*. But the Slave who watched near his Maſter, would not ſuffer the *Scythian* to come to him, and threatened to wake the Guard. Upon this, *Olcaba* thought his Treachery had taken Air; and immediately mounted his Horſe, and rode to *Mithridates*. The greateſt Odium of this black Action fell on the King of *Pontus*; but thoſe who envied *Lucullus*, openly declared, That it was his Negligence, and Love of Repoſe that had brought his Life into danger.

§. VIII. And now, when *Lucullus* began to feel more ſenſibly the Inconveniencies of the Place where he was encamped, he was delivered from them by accident. There was a fugitive *Greek*, who led a ſolitary Life in a Hole of a Rock, and had nothing to do but to run a Hunting over the Mountains of *Cabira*. He well knew all the Turnings and Windings about them, having learnt them in the Purſuit of his Game; and this honeſt Man came of his own accord, to offer to conduct the *Pro-Conſul* and his Troops, through unknown Roads, as far as to an old Caſtle, on the top of a Mountain over againſt the Camp of *Mithridates*. *Lucullus* depending on the Promiſes of the Stranger, took him for his Guide; and the March of the *Romans* being the leſs difficult becauſe they had few Horſe to paſs thoſe ſteep Rocks, they at length arrived at the Place

App. in Mithridat.

[14] The ancient Geographers mention ſeveral Rivers of this Name in *Aſia*. That here ſpoken of roſe in *Little Armenia*, watered Part of the Kingdom of *Pontus*, and joined *The Iris*.

appointed.

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Plut. in Lucullo.

appointed. From thence they ſaw *Mithridates* and his Trenches below them; and *Lucullus* encamped on the Banks of a Lake, or rather Pond, formed by the Rains and melted Snows, and was ſupplied with Proviſions from *Cappadocia*, by *Ariobarzanes*. Then the Skirmiſhes were renewed between the two Armies, and the Cavalry fought ſeveral Battles, in which, as before, *Mithridates* was almoſt always ſucceſsful. One Day indeed, the *Roman* Cavalry had the Superiority; but *Mithridates* marched out of his Camp in Perſon with all his Forces, and ſo animated them with his Reproaches, that they put the *Romans* to flight; and this ſlight Succeſs ſo much elated the King, that he ſpread Reports in all the neighbouring Countries, that he had defeated *Lucullus*, and diſperſed his whole Army. But the Sequel ſoon undeceived the abuſed Nations.

App. in Mithridat.
Plut. in Lucullo.

Lucullus made it his chief Buſineſs, to ſecure the Convoys of Proviſions that came from *Cappadocia*; and *Mithridates* made it his, to intercept them. One Day, the *Tribune Sornatius* marched out with ten *Cohorts* to guard one; and *Mithridates* ſent *Menander* one of his Captains, immediately after him, with a greater Body. But *Sornatius* beat *Menander*, put him to flight, and brought the Convoy to the *Roman* Camp, and a few Days after, the King's Troops received another Defeat which had much greater Conſequences. *Ariobarzanes* had got together a very great Quantity of Proviſions, to ſend to *Lucullus*; and as the Convoy was advancing towards him, the *Pro-Conſul* ſent *Fabius Adrianus* with only 5000 Men to guard it. *Mithridates* ſent *Menemachus* and *Myro* two Officers of Reputation, with 30000 Men to fight *Adrianus*, and take away the Convoy from him. The Detachments met in a Place encumbered with Rocks, where the King's Cavalry could not extend themſelves; and the *Roman* Infantry took hold of this Advantage. They drove the Enemy from Rock to Rock, forced a great Number of them into the Bogs, put them all to Flight, and obliged them to return to their Camp. There the News of their Loſs, though great, alarmed the Troops more than it ought to have done; the King himſelf was ſo ſtruck with it, that he thought himſelf loſt; and it greatly increaſed his Fears, to ſee *Adrianus* marching round his Camp, with an inſulting Confidence, at the Head of the victorious Detachment, and the great Number of Waggons it eſcorted.

The King, Officers, and Soldiers, were all ſtruck with a Panick at this Sight; and inſtantly decamped, without any Deliberation. The Courtiers and Officers of the Army firſt began to load their Carriages and Mules; and this created great Confuſion at the Gate of the Camp. There was a great Conteſt among the Servants, and Muledrivers, and Carters, who ſhould get out firſt. In the mean time, the Soldiers got together in Companies, to eſcape as well as the reſt; and as the Beaſts of Burden and Carriages ſtopped them, this was too fine an Opportunity of plundering to be let ſlip. They immediately fell on the Baggage, killed thoſe who defended it, murdered Maſters and Servants without Diſtinction, opened what they pleaſed, and took out what they thought moſt valuable. After this, ſeeing the Gates crowded, they made large Breaches in their Ramparts, and diſperſed themſelves about the Fields without Order, Officers, or Colours. *Mithridates* who had hitherto continued in his Tent, was carried away with the Stream; and he mixed with the Crowd, on Foot, without Guards, or Attendants, or ſo much as one Horſe with him. It was not, till a great while after, that one of his Eunuchs found him out among the Crowd of Soldiers and Slaves, and mounted him. *Lucullus*, who expected nothing leſs than this ſudden Departure of the Enemy, as ſoon as he ſaw them running about the Plain in Confuſion, immediately ſent out his Cavalry to purſue them, with Orders to deſtroy all they could, and not to hinder themſelves with taking Plunder. But theſe Orders were not obeyed. The *Romans* purſued *Mithridates*, and might have taken him. But when they, who came up with him, ſaw the Gold and Silver Plate that followed him, the Temptation was too ſtrong for them. They fought with one another for the Booty; and gave the King Time to reach [15] *Comana*, a City of *Cappadocia*, not far from *Armenia*, on the Banks of the [16] *Sarus* [17].

§. IX. However,

15 There were three Cities of this Name, one in *Piſidia*, another in *Cappadocia*, and the third in *Pontus*.

16 *Pliny* and *Procopius* make the *Sarus* riſe in *Little Armenia*. It is thought to be a different River from that of the ſame Name which *Ptolomy* ranks among the Rivers of *Cilicia*.

17 Nor was this the only Advantage that the Avarice of the Soldiers loſt *Lucullus*. They took *Calliſtratus*, the King's firſt Secretary, Priſoner; and the General ordered him to be carried to his Camp. But his Guard murdered him, in order to ſecure to themſelves

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Plut. in Lucullo.

§. IX. However, he made what Advantage he could of his Victories, or rather of the Panick of his Enemies. He took *Cabira*, and all the Caſtles in the Country; and by ſetting at Liberty the Lords impriſoned in the Tower of *Cabira*, and particularly a Siſter of the King's, named *Nyſſa*, he made the People of the Country pleaſed with the Dominion of *Rome*. They highly extolled the Glory of *Lucullus*, and complained little of the Humiliation of *Mithridates*. As for the latter, being almoſt deſerted in *Comana*, and ſcarce attended by 2000 Horſe, the ſad Remains of his diſperſed Forces, he retired in great Dejection to *Armenia*, where he hoped to find Protection, and procure Succours from [18] *Tigranes*. He was a powerful Monarch; gave himſelf the Title of *King of Kings*; and having driven the Race of the *Seleucidæ* from the *Syrian* Throne, was now attempting to reduce *Judæa*. During his Abſence, he ordered *Mithridates* to be received with a royal Magnificence, and ſecured in any of the Fortreſſes in his Dominions; but nevertheleſs, the latter finding that his Son-in-Law was at too great a Diſtance to bring him immediate Succours, was very fearful that *Lucullus* might ſeize his Capital, and plunder his Palace. Leſt the *Romans* ſhould take the Queens his Wives, and the Princeſſes his Siſters, Priſoners, and they ſhould either be diſhonoured by their Enemies, or reſerved by the Conqueror to grace his *Triumph*; he ſent *Bacchidas*, one of his Eunuchs, to kill all the Women in his Seraglio, not ſparing even her, whoſe Charms and Virtue had wrought moſt powerfully on his Affections.

The Ladies of the Court lived in great State in a Caſtle near *Pharnacia*, and thought themſelves ſafe, notwithſtanding the King's Flight. The two favourite Queens were *Monimia* and *Berenice*, both *Ionians*, one, a Native of *Miletum*, the other of *Chios*; and two of the King's Siſters, *Roxana* and *Statira*, lived in a forced Celibacy among them, and were now near forty. But the Sight of the Eunuch *Bacchidas* in the Seraglio, filled the King's Wives, and Siſters, and Concubines, with Conſternation. He was the uſual Miniſter of the King's Rage, or Revenge; and the only Mark of Compaſſion they could draw from this terrible Executioner was this, that he gave every one Liberty to chooſe her own Death. *Monimia*, the braveſt and proudeſt of them, choſe the royal Fillet to be the Inſtrument of her Execution. This Mark of Honour had long been inſupportable to her, and ſhe thought Death a Benefit. She conſidered it as a Paſſage from a burdenſome Slavery to a delightful Liberty; and therefore tore off her Diadem, tied it to a Poſt, and then faſtened it about her own Neck. But the Fillet was too fine, and broke; and then ſhe cried out, *Thou fatal Diadem, thou perpetual Inſtrument of Pain and Sorrow to me, why wouldſt thou not do me the Service to end them!* This ſaid, ſhe preſented her Breaſt to the Eunuch, who buried his Dagger in it, and left her expiring in her Blood. *Berenice* alſo died by the ſame Hand, and after an Attempt on herſelf. She had choſen to die by Poiſon, and divided the fatal Cup between herſelf and her Mother, who had followed her. The Poiſon had a ready Effect on her who was advanced in Years. But *Berenice*, who was in the Bloom of Life, ſtruggled a long time with it, and the Eunuch in Compaſſion ſtrangled her. As for *Roxana* and *Statira*, they received their Sentences in a very different Manner. The former, before ſhe had drank her Poiſon, uttered a thouſand Imprecations againſt her Brother. The latter comforted her Siſter, and endeavoured to inſpire her with Sentiments more worthy of her Birth. *The Throne of our Anceſtors*, ſaid ſhe, *is now paſſing into other Hands; and ſhall we ſurvive the Loſs of it? It is a very kind Act in our Brother, to have Pity on us in this Calamity. From how many Inſults and Outrages will he deliver us, by ſending us free, and ſpotleſs, to the Regions of the Dead! Let us die*, Roxana, *with Honour and Courage, as becomes the Daughters and Siſters of Kings?* Thus one expired with her Heart full of Rage; the other, with Gratitude for having her Days ended, before the total Deſtruction of her Country.

themſelves 500 Pieces of Gold which were hid in his Girdle. *Lucullus* was much enraged at the Murderers, when he heard the News; and had reaſon to lament the Loſs of a Man, who had been entruſted with all the King's Papers and Secrets. The Diſcoveries he might have made by them, might have been of great Uſe to him, in diſconcerting the Meaſures of that Monarch.

18 This Prince, by the extent of his Conqueſts, made himſelf formidable to all the Princes of the Eaſt. He ſubdued all the Dominions of the King of *Syria*, with an Army of 500000 Men, and forced *Antiochus*, the Son of *Antiochus Pius*, and the thirteenth of that Name, to hide himſelf in a Corner of *Cilicia*. After this, he marched beyond the *Euphrates*, made himſelf Maſter of *Meſopotamia*, reduced ſeveral Nations in *Arabia*, and leſſened the Power of the *Parthian* Kings. See all his Expeditions in *Appian*, *Joſephus*, and *Juſtin*.

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§. X. However, the People of *Pontus* did not view this barbarous Execution in the ſame Light that *Statira* had done. They put a bad Conſtruction on their King's Deſpair, and charged him with Puſallanimity. Ought one Defeat to have dejected him ſo much, as to have driven him to an Act ſo ſhocking to human Nature? Almoſt all the Governors of his ſtrong Holds deſpiſed him, and delivered them up to *Lucullus*. The *Pro-Conſul* had only ſome maritime Cities to ſubdue by Force; and when he had, with the Aſſiſtance of his Fleet, reduced [19] *Amaſtris*, and ordered the Attacks on *Amiſus* and *Eupatoria* to be continued, he marched in Purſuit of *Mithridates*. But the King was already retired into the Dominions of *Tigranes*, which the *Romans* dared not enter, for fear of provoking ſo powerful a Prince. However, *Lucullus* as he paſſed, conquered the Countries of the [20] *Chalybes* and [21] *Tybareni*, and *Little Armenia*, which had long been a Part of the Kingdom of *Pontus*. Such were the military Excurſions of this Hero, who was accuſed of Dilatorineſs at *Rome*.

From the Confines of *Great Armenia*, he returned for *Amiſus*, to advance the carrying on the Siege by his Preſence. It could not have held out ſo long, but through the Courage and indefatigable Pains and Induſtry of *Calimachus* the Governor, who was faithful to his King. Few Engineers among the Ancients, underſtood better how to repulſe Beſiegers, or impoſe on them by Stratagems, or invent new Machines to deſtroy their Works. But at laſt the *Pro-Conſul* eluded the Vigilance of *Calimachus* by a Stratagem not very far fetcht. He, for ſome Time put an entire Stop to all Attacks on the City, and drew off his Troops from the Foot of the Walls, to give them ſome reſpite. The beſieged were uſed to this Method, and did the ſame. And when, at a Time appointed, all ſeemed to be very quiet as uſual, *Lucullus* made ſo briſk an Aſſault, that he made himſelf Maſter of a Part of the Ramparts; and then *Calimachus* deſpaired of keeping the Place. In order therefore to facilitate his Retreat, and deprive the *Romans* of a rich Booty, he ſet Fire to the Houſes; and whilſt the Air was darkened with the Smoke, went on board the Ships in the Port, and tranſported himſelf and his Garriſon to *Eupatoria*. *Amiſus* was a City of the firſt Rank; *Mithridates* had adorned it with a regal Magnificence; and *Calimachus* had entered it, after it was blocked up, in Hopes of defending it.

In the mean time, the *Roman* Soldiers deſired of their General with great Clamours, that he would ſuffer them to make their Way through the Fire, and pillage the Riches of this Capital. But *Lucullus* had a compaſſionate Heart, and it was with Reluctance that he gave it up to be plundered by his greedy Soldiers. They entered the ſubterraneous Places where they ſuppoſed the Inhabitants had hid their Treaſures; and either by Negligence or Malice, increaſed the Fire, by extending the Flames to thoſe Parts of the City, which they had ſpared. Then the *Pro-Conſul*, who was an Eye-witneſs of theſe Diſorders, cried out, *Muſt I be more unfortunate than* Sylla! *He had the Happineſs to preſerve* Athens *entire: But I am reduced to the hard Fate of* Memmius. *It will be ſaid, that I have deſtroyed by Fire another* Corinth. Indeed, *Amiſus* was a flouriſhing City, founded formerly by the *Athenians* in the Time of their Power, and had often ſerved for a Retreat for [22] thoſe who were diſſatisfied with their Government. But after all, the Miſchief the *Romans* did in *Amiſus*, was not ſo great as *Lucullus* had apprehended. The Damage [23] was ſoon repaired; and then he aſſembled the diſperſed *Amiſians*, and brought them to their old Habitations; granted them Liberty; gave every one a decent Habit, and 200 *Drachmæ* in Money; and ſupplied the Places of thoſe who were dead or fled, with ſuch of his *Greek* Soldiers as were willing to ſettle

19 *Amaſtris*, now *Famaſtro*, a maritime City of *Paphlagonia*, on the Coaſt of the *Euxine Sea*, is the ſame Place that *Pliny* calls *Seſamum*. It was originally inhabited by a Colony of *Miletians*; and having been afterwards enlarged by *Amaſtris*, the Daughter of the laſt *Darius* King of *Perſia*, according to *Strabo* and *Stephen of Byzantium*, it changed its firſt Name for that of this Princeſs.

20 The *Chalybes* were diſperſed in ſeveral Countries in *Aſia Minor*, as we have before obſerved, when we ſpoke of *Chalybia*. *Strabo* ſays, That in his Time they were called *Chaldeans*. Their Country was dry and barren; but in return, it abounded with Iron-Mines.

21 *Strabo* places the Canton of the *Tibareni* on the Coaſt of the *Euxine*, above *Trebizonde*, and near the *Chalybes*. This little Diſtrict was a Part of the Kingdom of *Pontus*.

22 A ſtrict Union was long preſerved between *Athens* and this Place; and in virtue of it, the *Athenians*, who feared the Tyranny of *Ariſtio*, found a ſafe Retreat in *Amiſus*, where they enjoyed all the Privileges of the Natives.

23 According to *Plutarch*, ſo great a Quantity of Rain fell, when it was leaſt expected, that it put out the Fire, and ſaved many Buildings from being deſtroyed by it.

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there. In ſhort, he carried with him, out of this conquered Country, both the Love and Eſteem of the People he had ſubdued.

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§. XI. But the Exploits of *Lucullus* in *Pontus* muſt not make us forget the Incurſions of *C. Servilius Cæpio*, in *Dardania* and *Mæſia*. The Republick had ſent him into *Macedon* to govern it, in Quality of *Pro-Conſul*; and being deſirous of extending his Conqueſts far into the Country, he aſſembled his Troops near *Dyrrachium*. There he propoſed to his Troops, a very long March through rough and unknown Countries, and upon the firſt mention of it, one of the five *Legions* he commanded mutinied, proteſted againſt the Raſhneſs of the General, and refuſed to follow him. He therefore immediately ordered the other four to ſurround the Rebels, diſarmed them, forced them to march in the Rear of his Army, without Javelins, Bucklers, or Belts; and ordered them to aſſiſt the Servants who took Care of the Cavalry, and do the Office of Pioneers, in digging the Trenches round his Camps. They endeavoured to appeaſe him, but in vain: He was inexorable. He broke the whole *Legion*, took their *Eagles* from them; and the only Favour he would grant them was, to ſuffer them to be admitted into the other four *Legions*, as Recruits. After this, being now punctually obeyed, he began his Expeditions; entered the Countries of the Barbarians; paſſed Rivers till then unknown; made the *Roman* Name both known and dreaded wherever he came; and in a Word, was the firſt *Roman*, who brought a whole Army to the Banks of the *Danube*. And we are told, that *Rome* granted him a *Triumph*, as a Reward for his Labours.

Front. Strat. L. 4. c. 1.

Cic. in Piſo. Eutropius.

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§. XII. Nevertheleſs, the good News of the Progreſs of the *Roman* Arms in the diſtant Countries of *Europe* and *Aſia*, very little alleviated the Concern of the Inhabitants of the Capital of the World, at the Ravages which *Spartacus* committed in *Italy*, and the Pyrates at Sea. The Republick, upon what Conſideration, or by what Intrigues is not known, had put at her Head two Men, who were very little able to bear the weight of publick Affairs, at a Time when *Spartacus* made *Rome* itſelf tremble. Theſe were *Cn. Aufidius Oreſtes*, and *P. Cornelius Lentulus Sura*. The former had ſcarce any other Merit to qualify him for his Employment, than the Name of two illuſtrious Families; the *Aurelian*, from which he was deſcended, and the *Aufidian*, into which he was adopted. He was ſo little eſteemed, that the aſſembled *Tribes* had refuſed him the *Tribuneſhip*, which he had earneſtly ſollicited. And his Colleague ſtill leſs deſerved the ſupreme Dignity. *Sura*, which ſignifies *The Thigh*, was a Nick-name given him in Deriſion. He had formerly been *Quæſtor*, during the *Dictatorſhip* of *Sylla*; and whilſt a Guardian of the publick Treaſury, had exhauſted it in Debauchery, and uſeleſs Expences. The *Dictator* had therefore cited him to appear to give an Account of his Adminiſtration; and he anſwered, with extream Impudence, *Be it ſo, I give up* MY THIGH *then, and you may if you pleaſe whip me, like a Child.* Hence the Name of *Sura*; and we ſhall ſoon ſee this infamous Magiſtrate embark in *Catiline*'s Conſpiracy, and die in a Priſon, by the Hands of an Executioner.

Cic. pro Plancio.

However, the Senate wiſely prevented the ill Effects that might have followed from this bad Choice of *Conſuls*, by entruſting neither of them with the Command of the Armies that were to act againſt *Spartacus*. In the ſame *Comitia* that they were choſen, the People had nominated to the *Prætorſhip M. Craſſus*, a Man of known Valour, and approved Conduct in Arms. No Body had contributed more than he and *Pompey*, to advance *Sylla* to a ſupream Power; and no Perſons had a greater Share in the *Dictator*'s Favour, than theſe two Rivals for Glory. Though their mutual Jealouſy was great, it never broke out into any unbecoming Actions. They kept within the Bounds of Moderation, and Civility, and it appeared to be only a laudable Emulation. But *Pompey* had got the Aſcendant, though perhaps with little, if any, more Merit. They had both done important Services in *Sylla*'s Armies, and perfected themſelves in the Art of War, under the Diſcipline of ſo great a Maſter. Indeed, *Craſſus* could never yet attain to the Honours of a *Triumph*, which *Pompey* had enjoyed after he had defeated *Sylla*'s Enemies in *Africa*. But, in the Battle which was fought in Sight of *Rome*, *Craſſus* had defeated the *Samnites* in the right Wing where he commanded, whilſt *Sylla* himſelf was driven from his Poſt by the Enemy. And if *Craſſus* had not ſhined ſo much in Arms ſince the Death of the *Dictator*, he had ſhewn greater Skill than *Pompey* in the Management of publick Buſineſs; and had gained as great a Reputation in the City by his Elo-

Plut. in Craſſo.

quence [2]4,

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quence [24], as his Rival had done in the Field, by Feats of Arms. In a word, *Craſſus* as much [25] outſhined *Pompey* at *Rome*, as *Pompey* did him among the *Legionaries*.

§. XIII. As ſoon as *Craſſus* was named by the *Conſcript Fathers* to march againſt the rebellious *Gladiators*, the Nobility were very deſirous of attending him; and the People who thought him one of the moſt chaſte, moſt ſober, and moſt compaſſionate Men in the City, crowded to enroll themſelves under his Standards. In a few Days he had ſix *Legions* compleat, which, with the two that were the Remains of the laſt Year's Defeats, made a formidable Army; and his firſt Deſign was to go and wait for *Spartacus* in *Picenum*, and give him Battle in his Paſſage. The better to ſecure himſelf Succeſs in this, he ſent *Mummius* one of his Lieutenant-Generals, before him with two *Legions*, and with Orders to follow the Enemy in the Rear, but not to fight or even ſkirmiſh with them. But *Mummius* thought it too favourable an Opportunity to make himſelf famous, to be loſt; and his Valour got the better of him. He fought, and had the double Mortification, of having been diſobedient and beaten. However, the Times of *Manlius* were no more. *Craſſus* only reprimanded the Lieutenant-General, and decimated 500 [26] *Legionaries* which had fled before the Enemy; and by this ſeaſonable Severity, he made himſelf as much reſpected by his Troops, as he was before beloved.

App. Bell. Civ. L. 1. A few Days after, *Craſſus* marched out of *Rome*, at the Head of his Troops, which ſcarce amounted to 40000 Men. His firſt Attempt was on a Body of the Enemy, which was encamped by itſelf, apart from their main Army; and he made ſo great a Slaughter of the Slaves, that ſcarce a third Part of them were able to retire to *Spartacus*. This happy Beginning raiſed the Confidence of *Craſſus*, and he inſtantly marched to *Spartacus* himſelf, fought him, and got the Advantage. This made the Commander of the *Gladiators* ſenſible, that the new General was not like thoſe who had been ſent on the ſame Duty before him; and being now ſtruck with Terror for the firſt Time, he croſſed *Lucania*, and encamped with the Remains of his Army on the Sea-ſhore. Here he thought a fine Opportunity offered for him to go into *Sicily*, *Plut. in Craſſo.* and ſecure himſelf from the Purſuit of *Craſſus*, by carrying the War thither. He did not doubt but a great Number of malecontent Slaves would join him there, and was encouraged to expect Succeſs, by what had formerly happened. He therefore agreed with the Pyrates, which were ſpread on the Coaſts of *Italy*, to furniſh him with a certain Number of Ships, at a ſtipulated Price, and carry him into *Sicily* with Part of his Troops. But the Robbers took the Money, and broke their Word. So that, *Spartacus* was under a Neceſſity of continuing on the Continent, and there bearing all the *Florus L. 3. c. 20.* Weight of the War, with which he was threatened. Then he inſtantly decamped, and came and poſted himſelf in a Peninſula formed by the Sea, over againſt *Meſſina*, and near *Rhegium*. There he endeavoured to croſs *The Streights*, upon Rafts of Hurdles ſupported by empty Barrels. But, after a fruitleſs Attempt, he found that the Sea which divides *Sicily* from *Italy* was too rough, to truſt the Paſſage of ſo many Men, on ſuch weak Machines.

Plut. in Craſſo. §. XIV. In the mean time, *Craſſus* who had followed *Spartacus*, was wholly intent on ſo ſhutting up the *Gladiators* in the Nook of Land where they were poſted, as to

[24] He improved his Genius for Rhetorick by continual Application. *Plutarch* ſays, He did not decline the meaneſt Cauſes, and That the very meaneſt of the People who wanted his Aſſiſtance, met with a favourable Reception from him. He ſpent his Leiſure partly in the Study of Hiſtory, and was deemed one of the beſt Antiquaries of his Time. To which *Plutarch* adds, That he acquired ſome Knowledge in *Ariſtotle*'s Philoſophy, whoſe Writings he had read, under the Direction of a Maſter named *Alexander*, who was a profeſſed *Peripatetick*.

[25] *Craſſus* gained the Affections of the loweſt of the People by his engaging Behaviour and great Civilities. His Houſe was always open to them, and he often took Pleaſure in admitting them to his Table; where the obliging Manner in which they were received charmed them more, than either the Expence or Delicacy of the Entertainment.

[26] According to *Plutarch*, After *Craſſus* had reproached *Mummius* with his Raſhneſs in the ſevereſt Terms, he gave new Arms to the *Roman* Soldiers that had eſcaped the Slaughter, in the room of thoſe they had in a cowardly Manner left on the Field of Battle, that they might be the more ready for Flight. He alſo engaged them by the moſt ſolemn Promiſes, to wipe off the Reproach of the Defeat. But he did not ſhew the ſame Indulgence to the 500 Soldiers that firſt retired at the Approach of the Enemy, and cauſed the Rout of all the Army. He divided them into fifty tens, and the Man in each ten to whoſe Lot it fell was puniſhed. He brought them before the whole Army, in the Poſture of Criminals, and ordered the *Lictors* to execute them. By this exemplary Puniſhment he revived the old Cuſtom of making the Soldiers who had deſerved to die draw Lots. A Cuſtom which had been conſtantly kept up in the firſt Ages of the *Roman* Virtue, and which, through the Relaxation of military Diſcipline, had now, for many Years, been neglected.

prevent their eſcaping, and make them periſh with Want. In order to this, he cut a Ditch croſs the *Iſthmus* from Sea to Sea, of 15 Foot broad, and as many deep; and built along the Ditch a very thick and a very high Wall, which cut off all Communication between the Enemy and the neighbouring Country. *Spartacus* at firſt laughed at the Works of the *Romans*; but when he had conſumed all the Corn and Forrage in his *Peninſula*, he found, to his great Surprize, that he could have no Hopes of getting more, otherwiſe than by the Point of his Sword; and then Neceſſity increaſed his natural Valour. He made ſeveral Attempts to fill up the Ditch, and make a Breach in the Wall, with Faſcines and Fire; and was in no Fear of too much expoſing his Soldiers, who were more numerous than the largeſt *Roman* Armies. It is ſaid, that one Day the *Romans* killed near 12000 of them, with the Loſs of only three killed, and ſeven wounded. But his Attempts were not always fruitleſs. He made one, in a Night which with the Rain and Snow was extremely cold, on a Part of the Wall which was not finiſhed; and with ſuch Succeſs, that he ſet at liberty at leaſt one third Part of his Army.

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App. Bell. Civ. L. 1.

Plut. in Craſſo.

This unexpected Reſolution filled the *Romans* with Terror, and *Craſſus* himſelf was ſo alarmed at it, that without conſidering the Conſequences, he haſtily wrote Word to the Senate, That it was proper to recall *Pompey* from *Spain*. He repreſented every Thing as deſperate; *Rome* as ready to be ſacked; and the Maſters of the World to be ſubdued, by their own Slaves. Nevertheleſs he ſtill followed the Enemy in the Rear; and then, the Rebels left in the Peninſula ſoon found Means to come out likewiſe, and join their General. So that *Spartacus* was again Maſter of the Field, and at the Head of an Army much ſuperior in Number to that under the *Roman Prætor*. And indeed, the *Gladiator* would have been invincible, if he had not been weakened by a freſh Diviſion among his Troops. The Slaves who were Natives of *Gaul* and *Germany*, or had come originally from thence, again refuſed to obey him, choſe themſelves two new Commanders, *Cannicius* and *Caſtus*, in the Room of *Crixus*, and encamped ſeparately. This Diviſion raiſed the Hopes of *Craſſus*, who knew the *Gauls* were poſted in *Lucania*, on the Banks of a Lake, whoſe Water was ſometimes ſalt and ſometimes ſweet; and he attacked them in their Entrenchments, and would have made a great Slaughter of them, if *Spartacus* had not come to their Aſſiſtance. This great Man (for tho' a *Gladiator*, he had nothing ſervile in his Sentiments or Conduct) was above hearkening to his Reſentments. His whole Aim was to do good to the Party he had eſpouſed; and he would not give up even the diſobedient to the Fury of the Enemy. He encamped near them, that he might be always ready to come to their Relief. Nevertheleſs *Craſſus* continued intent on fighting the ſeparate Body, as being the weakeſt and commanded with leaſt Prudence; and he reſolved to endeavour, firſt to deceive *Spartacus*, and then fall on the *Gallic* Camp.

Front. Strat. L. 2. c. 4, & 5.

Never was Stratagem better concerted, or more ſucceſsful in the Event. The *Roman* General divided his Army into two Bodies, but had them both perfectly under Command. He poſted the beſt of his Troops, and particularly thoſe called *The Prætorians*, that is, the General's Guards, near *Spartacus*; and the worſt Part of his *Legions*, towards *Cannicius* and his *Gauls*. This looked as if the main Force of the *Romans* intended to fall on the chief Leader of the Rebels, and their great Aim was at him. But this was not *Craſſus*'s Deſign. He, in the Night-time, commanded his braveſt *Legions* to poſt themſelves behind a Mountain, as in Ambuſh, intending to draw *Cannicius* thither; and ordered his weak Men to go to their Camp to ſupply their Places. But he ſtill left the *Prætorians* in their firſt Camp, the better to deceive and amuſe *Spartacus*; and they pretended to offer him Battle, but avoided fighting. In the mean time, whilſt *Spartacus* was deceived with theſe Appearances, *Craſſus*, to draw the *Gauls* out of their Trenches, and bring them to the Ambuſh he had laid for them, ſent ſome Horſe[27] to inſult *Cannicius*; and at the ſame time, detached *Promptinus* and *Ruffus*, two of his

27 *Plutarch* relates this Matter ſomewhat differently. He ſays, That *Craſſus*, being reſolved to attack the Slaves commanded by *Cannicius* and *Caſtus*, detached 6000 Men, with Orders to ſeize a neighbouring Eminence, from whence it was eaſy to ruin the Enemy's Camp; and with particular Directions, to take all poſſible care, to conceal their March from the Enemy. But as this Detachment was advancing towards the Hill, they were ſeen by two Women, who were offering Sacrifice at the Gate of the Camp, for the happy Succeſs of the Arms of *Spartacus*; and it would inſtantly have been ſurrounded by the vaſt Multitude of the Slaves that encamped in the Plain, if *Craſſus* had not marched to its Relief with all his Army.

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his Lieutenant Generals, at the Head of 12 *Coborts*, with Orders to march round the Mountain, and attack the Enemy in the Rear. And the Scheme anſwered in every Particular. The *Gauls* came out of their Camp to purſue the *Roman* Cavalry which inſulted them, and appeared in the Plain. *Craſſus* ordered his *Legions* to fall on *Cannicius* and *Caſtus*, whilſt *Promptinus* and *Ruffius* attacked them in the Rear; and it was rather a Butchery than a Battle. 30000 of the *Gauls*, with their two Generals, were killed on the Spot, before *Spartacus* could come to their Relief; and in this compleat Victory, the *Romans* recovered five of their *Eagles*, 26 other Standards, and five *Faſces* with their *Axes*. A memorable Action, which gave *Craſſus* hopes of the utter Ruin of the Rebels!

Plut. in Pomp.

§. XV. During theſe Tranſactions, *Metellus* and *Pompey* arrived from *Spain*. They had ſubdued this vaſt Country, and *Pompey* who was the younger and moſt greedy of Fame, had every where left illuſtrious Proofs of his Preſence. He had from the *Pyrenees* to the *Alpes*, erected many *Trophies* with Inſcriptions, importing, *That* Pompey *had ſubdued* 72 *Cities, from the* Alpes *to the furtheſt Parts of* Spain. But the moſt laſting Monument he raiſed, was the City he built, which he is ſaid to have called *Pompelona* [28] from his own Name, and is now called *Pampeluna*. As ſoon as he appeared at *Rome*, the Populace were even ready to adore him. They took it for granted that he would re-eſtabliſh their *Tribunes* in their former Luſtre, and reſtore them what *Sylla* had taken from them. He affected Popularity; and his Diſcretion in burning the Letters which many of the *Plebeians* had written to *Sertorius*, had gained him the Affections of many of thoſe who were Enemies to the *Patrician* Party. But at the ſame time, he kept well with the Senate; and he could not but be agreeable to the Nobility in general, as having been *Sylla*'s Pupil. So that the *Tribunes of the People* proclaimed his Glory, and the Senate joined in the Acclamations. It was unanimouſly agreed, That *Pompey* was the greateſt General the Republick had; and That he alone was capable of finiſhing the War with *Spartacus*. Theſe Diſcourſes were too publick, not to come to the Ears of *Craſſus*; and then he repented of having deſired the Senate to recal *Pompey*. He had authoriſed the *Conſcript Fathers* to ſend for the Conqueror of *Spain*, to ſucceed him in an Expedition, which was now almoſt finiſhed, and in which he wanted no Aſſiſtance; and he therefore reſolved to give a deciſive Battle immediately, in order to diſperſe the *Gladiators* as ſoon as poſſible, and ſo prevent the Fruits of his paſt Labours, from falling into the Hands of his conſtant Rival.

Plut. in Craſſo.

After the Defeat of the *Gothic* Slaves his Allies, *Spartacus* turned towards *Petelia*. Two of *Craſſus*'s Lieutenant Generals followed him, attacked him, and were beaten. This ſlight Advantage increaſed the Boldneſs of the Rebels; and they ſeditiouſly demanded leave of their General, to go immediately and attack the *Romans*. But he was ſtill intent on his old Scheme. He reſolved to draw towards the Sea, and take the firſt Opportunity that offered, to go over into *Sicily*. With this View, he drew near to *Brunduſium*; but inſtantly returned back. He found a falſe Rumour ſpread on the Coaſt, that *Lucullus* was at Sea, and ready to land in *Italy*. This News ſurpriſed him, and forced him to return to *Lucania*; and then he was as deſirous of a Battle as the *Roman* General. One was afraid of having another Enemy upon him; the other, of having a Succeſſor, or at leaſt, a Collegue. They therefore drew very near to each other, and contended who ſhould firſt begin a general Action. *Craſſus* dug Trenches round *Spartacus*'s Camp, as if he intended to inveſt him; *Spartacus* ſent out Troops

App. de Bell. Civ. L. 1.

Army. Then a Battle was fought, according to our Author, with equal Fury on both Sides; and at laſt the *Romans* became victorious, and the Slaves were almoſt all killed on the Field of Battle, after they had ſold their Lives dear. But nevertheleſs, he does not make the Number of the ſlain, on the Side of the Enemy, to be more than 12300.

28 *Strabo* ſeems to aſcribe the founding of *Pampeluna* to *Pompey*. At leaſt, the *Spaniſh* Authors, and particularly *Mariana*, undertake to prove the Antiquity of this City, from a Paſſage in this Geographer, which ſome will not allow to be deciſive. *The Capital of Navarre*, ſays *Strabo*, *was called* PAMPELON, *or which amounts to the ſame Thing*, THE CITY OF POMPEY. But theſe Words are not ſo very clear, as that we can certainly conclude from thence, That *Pompey* was the Founder of *Pampeluna*. The Writer might perhaps have nothing in view, but the reſemblance or alluſion, between the two Names of *Pompelo* and *Pompeiopolis*. But be that as it will, it is certain, that *Pompey* erected many *Trophies* in this Neighbourhood, in order to tranſmit to Poſterity the Remembrance of his Conqueſts, and his Victories. *Mariana* ſays, That there were, in his Time, at the Foot of the *Pyrenees*, in the Valleys of *Andorre* and *Altavaca*, ſeveral Iron Rings which were fodered in the Rocks; and it is preſumed, that each of theſe Rings, the leaſt of which is ten Feet in Circumference, ſupported a *Trophy*, or ſome other Monument of that Nature, erected in Honour to the Conqueror.

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to interrupt the Pioneers, whoſe ſkirmiſhes were but the Preludes to a greater Conteſt. Nevertheleſs, before *Spartacus* would hazard all, he attempted an Accommodation, and made Propoſals to the Enemy. But *Craſſus* proudly refuſed to enter into any Conference, or Treaty, with a Fugitive, a *Gladiator*, and a Slave. Nothing therefore remained for *Spartacus*, but to conquer, or die.

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One Day, as they were fighting in ſmall Parties, the Slaves in order to haraſs the *Roman* Workmen, and the *Romans* to ſupport them, the two Generals marched out all their Troops into the Plain, and drew them up in Battalia. *Spartacus* reſolved to fight on Foot, and therefore killed his Horſe before the Action. *If I am overcome*, ſaid he, *I ſhall not want a Horſe*; *and if I conquer*, *I ſhall find a thouſand.* The firſt Attack was vigorous, and the Victory warmly diſputed, as long as *Spartacus* lived. But his Valour carried him too far in purſuit of *Craſſus*. Nothing would ſatisfy him but fighting with *Craſſus* in Perſon; and in order to come at him, he broke into the Enemy's Battalions, and mowed down all before him. At length, he came up to the *Roman* General's Guards, and with his own Hand killed two of their *Centurions*. But *Craſſus*, like a wiſe General, declined engaging with an Adventurer, and retired into the middle of his *Legions*. This made it neceſſary for *Spartacus* to break through them, and his own Guards wanted Courage. They fled and left their General expoſed alone, in the midſt of the Enemy. However, he ſtill reſiſted, even after he had received a large Wound in his Thigh with a Javelin. When he could no longer ſtand, he kneeled, covered himſelf with his Buckler, and defended himſelf with great Bravery: Till at length, being ſurrounded, and overpowered with Numbers, he was mortally wounded, and fell down dead on the Place. His Enemies themſelves admired the Bravery of this great Man; and ſaid, That Nature had been guilty of a Miſtake when ſhe formed him; by joining the Soul of an Hero, to the Body of a *Thracian*, and a Slave.

§. XVI. When *Spartacus* had loſt his Life, his Troops no longer kept their Ranks. Some ran upon their Fate like wild Beaſts, others calmly waited for it like devoted Victims, others joined together in Plattoons, and endeavoured to eſcape. 40000 of the Rebels are ſaid to have been killed in this ſingle Action; but the Body of *Spartacus* could not be found. The *Romans* loſt about 1000 Men; and to make them amends, recovered 3000, who were Priſoners in the Enemy's Camp, which they plundered. The reſt of the Slaves fled to the Mountains, to the Number of about 40 Companies. The victorious Army ſurrounded them, and hunted them like wild Beaſts; and ſuch of them as they could take alive were reſerved for the uſual Puniſhment of Malefactors of their Rank. 600 Croſſes were ſet up in the great Road between *Capua* and *Rome*, for the Execution of ſo many of theſe Robbers, as a Terror to the Slaves which were very numerous in *Campania*; and in ſhort, the Victory of *Craſſus* was in a manner perfected, when the Senate gave *Pompey* a Commiſſion to compleat it. He ſet out with the Troops he had brought from *Spain*, and was not unwilling to rob his Rival of part, at leaſt, of the Glory which he had deſerved. But when he came, he found that there was ſcarce any thing left for him to do, whereby he could gain any Reputation. *Epit. Liv.*

Among the many vagabond Slaves, that had joined *Spartacus*, there was one *Publipot*, a Man of Courage, who had gathered together about 5000 Fugitives after the laſt Battle, and had retired to *Lucania*; where being well acquainted with the Roads, he found Means to ſubſiſt by his Robberies. Againſt theſe ſmall Remains of the vanquiſhed, *Pompey* marched, and defeated them without difficulty; and being very vain, aſſumed much Honour to himſelf, from this ſmall Advantage. He was not aſhamed, to write the Senate word, *That* Craſſus *had indeed vanquiſhed the* Gladiators, *but he had plucked up this fatal War by the Roots*; and as every Thing was well received at *Rome*, from a Man whom the People even adored, this derogated from the Merit of *Craſſus* in the Minds of many, tho' the Republick was really under great Obligations to him. He had, in ſix Months Time, put an end to a War, in which ſeveral *Prætors* and *Conſuls* had failed. He had ſpared the Blood of his *Legionaries*, and by his wiſe Conduct delivered *Rome* from an Enemy, who was contemptible for nothing but his Birth and Condition. And yet, all the Honour he could obtain at *Rome* after his Return, was that of an *Ovation*. It was not without Difficulty, that he obtained the little Diſtinction of entering *Rome* wearing a *Crown of Laurel* inſtead of one of *Myrtle*, which had been appropriated to thoſe, who were allowed only the leſſer ſort of *Triumph*. Nevertheleſs, *Plut. in Craſſo, & Pomp. App. Bell. Civ. L.* 1.

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vertheleſs, it may be affirmed, That *Craſſus* did more againſt *Spartacus* in one Campaign by mere Force of Arms, than *Pompey* had done in four, againſt *Sertorius*, aſſiſted by all his good Fortune, and the Treachery of *Perperna*. Yet, how different were the military Honours beſtowed on one and the other! *Pompey*, and according to ſome, *Metellus* with him, obtained a ſecond *Triumph*, tho' he was yet but a *Roman Knight*, and had not paſſed through the *Curule* Offices. *Rome* would not conſider the War in *Spain*, as a Civil War, tho' really ſuch, becauſe they were never followed with a *Triumph*; but deemed it a Foreign one, with the *Luſitanians*. So that *Pompey*, by Favour only, ſucceeded better than *Craſſus* could do with all his Merit.

§. XVII. A Rumour was ſpread, that *Lucullus* had been recalled from *Aſia*, and was daily expected in *Italy*. Whether he had received ſuch Orders is doubtful, but it is certain, That he had forced *Mithridates* to ſeek Refuge in the Dominions of the King of *Armenia*; and as ſoon as he had conquered almoſt the whole Kingdom of *Pontus*, he ſent a Deputation to *Tigranes*, to require him to deliver up *Mithridates*, the fugitive King, who was the Victim deſtined to grace his *Triumph*. The Ambaſſador the *Pro-Conſul* ſent, was *Appius Claudius*, whoſe [29] Siſter he had married; and *Appius* went to ſeek *Tigranes* in the fartheſt Part of *Syria*, a Kingdom which he had invaded for 13 Years. He was then engaged in the Siege of [30] *Ptolemais* in *Phœnicia*, on the Confines of *Paleſtine*; and the *Roman* Ambaſſador had great Difficulty, to get as far as to *Antioch*, the Capital of *Syria*. The Guides *Tigranes* had ſent to conduct him, often carried him deſignedly much out of his Way. But at length, by the Advice of a Freed-man, who was a Native of the Country, he diſmiſſed theſe falſe Guides, and then came in a few Days to that City, where he found Orders to tarry, till the King returned. And in the mean time, he was not idle. *Tigranes* had many Enemies, in a Kingdom which he had poſſeſſed himſelf of by Violence; and *Claudius* privately did what he could, to prepare Buſineſs for him [31] in his new Conqueſt. The People could not bear the State in which he always appeared, his inſatiable Deſire of enſlaving Provinces, and his keeping Kings under Oppreſſion. The *Parthians* and *Medes*, his Neighbours, were jealous of his great Power. The *Greek* Cities, whoſe Inhabitants he had tranſplanted into *Meſopotamia*, wanted Avengers to deliver them out of his Hands. And all the Malecontents among the *Syrians*, and the People of the neighbouring Countries, addreſſed themſelves to the *Roman* Ambaſſador; who encouraged, but perſuaded them to diſſemble, their Uneaſineſs; and gave them Hopes, that *Lucullus* would ſoon come, and reſtore them to their Liberty.

Plut. in Lucullo.

Joſeph. Antiq. c. 13.

Plut. in Lucullo.

Whilſt *Claudius* was thus forming an Intereſt among the *Syrian* Nations and Cities, *Tigranes* at laſt returned, attended by a very pompous Train. A crowd of Kings accompanied him, and did the common Offices of his Family. Four of theſe [32] Sovereigns walked on Foot by his Side when he rode on Horſeback, and ſtood round him with their Hands claſped like Mutes, when he gave Audience to Ambaſſadors. But this State did not hinder *Claudius* from accoſting him with all the Pride of a *Roman*. *I come, King* Tigranes, ſaid he, *to demand a Fugitive, whoſe want of Probity made him our Enemy, and whom our Valour and Succeſs have made the Slave of* Rome. *We have a Right to demand* Mithridates, *by the Law of Nations; and we cannot believe you willing to ſhare the Fate of a vanquiſhed Exile. Nevertheleſs, You cannot be ignorant, that the ſame Puniſhment which the Slave deſerves who runs away from his Maſter, is likewiſe due to him that harbours him.* Carthage, Corinth, Antiochus, *and more lately,* Mithridates *himſelf, may inform you, what the Arms of* Rome *can do; and we have now no Civil Wars, to hinder us from putting in Execution whatever our Senate*

Liv. Epit. L. 98. c. 7.

Ibid. c. 8.

Ibid. c. 2.

29 This was the *Clodia* whom *Cicero* in his *Epiſtles to Atticus*, calls, the *Juno* of her Age, becauſe ſhe was deemed the Wife of her own Brother *Clodius*, as the fabulous *Juno* was of her Brother *Jupiter*. When *Lucullus* returned to *Italy*, he divorced her, in order to marry *Servilia*, Siſter by the Mother's ſide, to *Cato of Utica*. But this ſecond Marriage was not more happy than the former. *Servilia* was not leſs debauched, Inceſt only excepted, than *Clodia*. Inſomuch that *Lucullus* was at laſt forced to divorce her likewiſe, after he had long borne with her, out of Reſpect to *Cato*.

30 *Ptolemais*, a maritime City of *Phœnicia*, which was formerly ſo well known, in the Hiſtory of the *Cruſades*, by the Name of *St. John D'Acre*, is now but a ſorry Town, in the Poſſeſſion of the *Turks*.

31 *Plutarch* ſays, That *Appius Clodius* ſeduced from *Tigranes* many *Satrapes* and tributary Princes of the Kingdom of *Syria*, and particularly a Prince of *Gordiene*, named *Zarbienus*.

32 According to *Plutarch*, theſe four Kings did the Office of Guards, or Footmen. When he gave Audience, and on Days of Ceremony, they placed themſelves on the four Corners of his Throne, in an humble Poſture, which ſhewed their Servitude.

Year of *ROME* DCLXXXII. CN. AUFIDIUS ORESTES, & P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS SURA, Conſuls. *Epit. Liv. L.* 98. *c.* 10.

ſhall decree. The King, who had heard nothing but Flattery for twenty Years, turned pale upon his Throne at this Speech; but he ſoon recovered his Confuſion, and ſternly anſwered, *Declare War with me if you think fit. I ſhall maintain it with much more Juſtice, than you proclaim it. Whatever the ill Conduct of* Mithridates *may have been, I ſhall not give up a Father-in-Law to Deſtruction.* After the Audience, he ordered an Anſwer to be written to the Letter delivered him from *Lucullus*, and refuſed to give him the Title of *Imperator*, that is, *General of the Roman Armies*; becauſe *Lucullus* had not ſtiled him *King of Kings*. Nevertheleſs, he ordered very fine Preſents to be ſent to the Ambaſſador, more out of Oſtentation than Good-will. But *Claudius*, declined all except one ſmall Vaſe; which he accepted, for fear of offering too great an Affront to ſo great a King.

As ſoon as the *Roman* was gone from *Antioch*, to return to the *Pro-Conſul*, *Tigranes* brought to his Court *Mithridates*, whoſe Reſidence in *Armenia* began to be uneaſy [33] to him. He was ſurprized at the Indifference, or rather Contempt, with which his Son-in-Law treated him. But he ſoon diſcovered the Cauſe of it, in the firſt Conferences he had with him at *Antioch*. He had employed *Methrodorus* as his Agent with his Son-in-Law; and that Nobleman, who had an Intereſt in both Courts, and had by his Probity merited the Confidence of both Kings, faithfully diſcharged the Commiſſion with which he was entruſted. He juſtly repreſented the lamentable Condition to which the *Romans* had reduced the King of *Pontus*, and in virtue of the Alliance between the two Monarchs, demanded ſpeedy Succours againſt the *Roman* Forces. But when *Tigranes* had commended his Zeal for *Mithridates*, and required him to give him his real Thoughts of the new War he propoſed to him, with the Openneſs and Sincerity of a Friend; *Methrodorus* replied, *As the Agent of* Mithridates, *I implore your Aſſiſtance for him; but as the Servant of* Tigranes, *I adviſe him not to quarrel with* Rome. This had given riſe to the Coldneſs and Contempt beforementioned; and after *Tigranes* had been ſo indiſcreet as to diſcover this important Secret to *Mithridates*, he got *Methrodorus* aſſaſſinated. Then the King of *Armenia* lamented the Loſs of him, and made magnificent Obſequies for him; but he would have been wiſer, if he had at leaſt followed his wholſome Advice.

§. XVIII. When *Claudius*, after long expectations of him, returned from his Embaſſy, he found *Lucullus* wholly employed in eſtabliſhing order in *The Aſiatick Province*. By the Report of the Ambaſſador, the *Pro-Conſul* perceived, That a new Scene was opening for his Arms; and That he muſt carry on the War, into the Heart of *Syria*. But the Seaſon was too far advanced, to take the Field at preſent. He therefore finiſhed the great Work he had begun a Year ago; and divided his Cares between the Preparations for War the next Year, and the Reformation of the Abuſes he had found in the *Roman* Government in *Aſia*. The Diſorders in this fine Province, had owed their Riſe to the Tax of * 20000 [34] *Talents*, which *Sylla* had laid upon it, and made payable at different Times. *Rome* had ſent to theſe unfortunate *Aſiaticks* a certain Number of *Publicans* to collect this Tax, who were Men Strangers to Compaſſion, and yet of great Weight in the Republick. They were almoſt always *Roman Knights*; and they every Year preſſed the Payment of the Sums due to the Republick with extreme Rigour. So that, the poor People were forced to borrow, to enable themſelves to pay their Contingents; and oftentimes, of the *Publicans* themſelves, who exacted of them exorbitant Intereſt for the Sums they lent. Hence the Ruin of many Families which became inſolvent; and the cruel Uſage which the Debtors received from their Creditors.

Ibid.

* 3875000 *l. Sterl.*

Nothing was more common, than to ſee a Father obliged to ſell his Sons and Daughters to pay his Debts; and tho' himſelf freeborn, ſubject his Children to Slavery. Whole Cities were often forced, to turn the fineſt Ornaments of their publick Buildings into Money, and ſell their moſt valuable Pictures, and even the Statues they worſhipped in their Temples, to make their Payments; and the refractory, and the indigent who wanted Credit and Money to diſcharge their Debts, were either made Slaves to their Creditors, or put to the Rack. *Lucullus* was moved with Pity towards ſo many unfortunate People, and was exaſperated againſt their Oppreſſors. And in order to relieve them, he firſt cancelled all Debts where the Intereſt exceeded the Principal; then reduced all Intereſt to one *per Cent*; and afterwards, forbad the Creditors to ſeize more than the

33 *Tigranes* had not only ſhewn no Compaſſion for the Misfortunes of his Father-in-Law; but had even ordered him to be kept under a Guard as a Priſoner of State, in a marſhy and an unhealthy Place.

34 20000 *Talents* make 60 Millions of *Livres*.

Year of *ROME* DCLXXXII. Cn. Auridius Orestes, & P. Cornelius Lentulus Sura, Conſuls.

fourth Part of the Goods of the Debtors. So that he left them ſufficient for their preſent Subſiſtence, and gave them Hopes of recovering by Degrees all their Effects. And laſtly, he ordered, That if any Perſon added the Intereſt to the Principal, in order to receive Intereſt for it, he ſhould loſe both. All theſe Regulations were for the Advantage of the People, but they raiſed the Murmurs of the *Publicans* againſt the Author of them. They were powerful at *Rome*, both on account of the Faction they embraced, and the Friends they purchaſed at a great Expence with their Preſents; and they tried all means to make *Lucullus* odious to the *Comitia* of the *Roman* People. They let looſe againſt him the venal Tongues of the *Tribunes*; and theſe accuſed him of Negligence in his Office, as General. They ſaid publickly in *Rome*, *That the* Pro-Conſul *of* Aſia, *loſt Time in Shows and Amuſements*; *That inſtead of purſuing* Mithridates *to the very Court of* Tigranes, *he ſuffered his Troops to languiſh in Idleneſs*; *and That he had already done nothing for a whole Year.*

§. XIX. Theſe Diſcourſes artfully ſpread by eloquent Men, gradually diſpoſed the People to recal the General who had vanquiſhed *Mithridates*, and conquered a great Kingdom; but they were not in haſte to offer ſo ſhocking an Affront to ſo great a Man. They gave him Time to prove by new Exploits, that he was the moſt active, and moſt expeditious, of all the *Roman* Generals; as will appear when we come hereafter to relate the reſt of his Victories. The Concern of the People about the Choice of new *Conſuls*, and the Difficulty they had in fixing their Choice, ſuſpended their Reſentments againſt *Lucullus*. Two Men of the greateſt Merit were Candidates for the *Conſulate*. One was the Conqueror of *Spartacus*, the other had pacified *Spain* by the Death of *Sertorius*. The Services of both were freſh; and the Friends of each uſed their utmoſt Intereſt to exclude the other. The *Romans* could not readily reſolve on conferring the *Conſulate* on both at the ſame Time; leſt their continual Rivalſhip ſhould expoſe the Republick to the ill Conſequences of thoſe Diviſions which would certainly ariſe between them. *Pompey* had the Favour of the People and Senate; but he was no more than 34 Years of Age, and had never been *Quæſtor*, or *Ædile*, or *Prætor*. So that it was doing him double Honour, to diſpence with the Laws in his Favour, on purpoſe to raiſe him to the firſt Dignity in the State. Whereas the Caſe of *Craſſus* was very different. He was of a mature and competent Age, and had paſſed through all the inferior Offices. Nevertheleſs, the Majority of the Voters ſeemed inclined to favour the younger Candidate.

Appian. L. 1. de Bell. Civ. Plut. in Pomp.

Craſſus ſeeing he ſhould be unjuſtly excluded, did not lay down the Command of the Troops which had followed him in his Expedition againſt *Spartacus*; and *Pompey*, following this Example, kept up thoſe he had brought from *Spain*. So that *Rome* was inveſted by two Armies encamped under her Walls, and every Thing recalled the Remembrance of the Civil Wars, in the Time of *Marius* and *Sylla*. The *Romans* feared they ſhould ſee the two Rivals come to Blows; the Conſequence of which would be, that the moſt illuſtrious *Citizens* would be expoſed to new Proſcriptions. But during the Alarm, *Craſſus* took a politick Step, which was not expected from him. He ſollicited *Pompey* to give him his Intereſt for one of the *Conſulſhips*, and propoſed a Reconciliation. *Pompey*, charmed to ſee his Rival ſo far humbled as to deſire his good Offices and Protection, made uſe of them effectually for him; and declared, That he would not accept of the *Conſulate* himſelf, unleſs *Craſſus* was made his Collegue. By this means, the *Comitia* for the great Elections were held in Peace in *The Field of Mars*, and *Pompey* and *Craſſus* unanimouſly choſen *Conſuls*. Nevertheleſs *Rome* was not entirely delivered from her Fears. There was ſtill a Diſtruſt between the two *Conſuls* elect. *Pompey* was reſolute not to diſband his Troops, till the Minute he entered upon his *Conſulſhip*; and *Craſſus* as obſtinate in keeping his, as long as *Pompey* ſhould continue in Arms. The People in vain intreated them, not to leave two Armies at the Gates of *Rome*, which upon the leaſt Diſtaſte might become Enemies. But [35] Religion made greater Impreſſions than their Intreaties on the Heart of *Craſſus*, who had a

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35 The Reconciliation of *Craſſus* and *Pompey* was in ſome meaſure the Work of a *Roman Knight*, named *Onatius Aurelius*. The Love of Tranquillity had kept him for ſome Years in the Country, far from the Hurry of Buſineſs. But being accidentally at *Rome*, when the People were aſſembled, he mounted *The Tribune*, and gave them an Account of a Viſion which he ſaid he had ſeen in his Sleep. Jupiter *appeared to me*, ſaid he, *the laſt Night, and admoniſhes you by my Mouth, not to ſuffer the Miſunderſtanding between the* Conſuls *to continue any longer*. The People thought this Dream a manifeſt Sign of the Will of the Gods; and they forced the two Rivals to ſacrifice their private Reſentments to the Intereſt of their Country.

greater Veneration for the Gods than *Pompey*. When News was brought the two Collegues, who were in different Parts of *The Forum Romanum*, that the *Augurs* threatened the Republick with the moſt terrible Scourges, if the two Chiefs perſiſted in their Diſunion, *Craſſus* immediately made the firſt Advances. He drew near [36] to *Pompey*; and held out his Hand to him, as a Sign of Concord. *Pompey* could not decline the Civilities of his Collegue; the People renewed their Inſtances with them; and then the two Generals immediately reſolved to diſmiſs their Troops. But after all, this was only a Reconciliation in Appearance. There ſtill remained a Leaven of Hatred in both their Hearts, which laſted longer than their Joint-Adminiſtration,

Year of *ROME* DCLXXXIII. CN. POMPEIUS MAGNUS, & M. LICINIUS CRASSUS DIVES, Conſuls. *App. de Bell. Civ. L.* 1.

§. XX. The Republick had ſcarce ever ſeen two Perſons whoſe Merit was more known, in her higheſt Offices. *Pompey*'s Surname of *The Great* proclaimed his Glory; and that of *Craſſus* imported his great Power and Intereſt. He was called *Dives*, or *The Rich*, not only becauſe this was a Surname in his Family, but becauſe he was in reality the richeſt of all the *Romans*. And it is probable, that if *Pompey* had ſhewn an Inclination to recall *Lucullus* and ſucceed him in the Eaſt, it would have been granted: ſo ſtrongly were the People prejudiced in his Favour. The Commons entirely depended on him alone, for the Advancement of their deareſt Intereſts. In the firſt Speech he made them, he thanked them for the *Conſulate*, and promiſed them to reinſtate their *Tribunes* in their ancient Luſtre, which *Sylla* had wiſely diminiſhed; and he afterwards kept his Word. He made the *Tribunate* as powerful as it had been in the moſt tempeſtuous Times; and baſely made his Court to the Multitude, by giving the Republick a Wound, which ſhe ſoon felt, and greatly contributed to her Deſtruction. Indeed *Craſſus* did not oppoſe the diſannulling the wholſome Laws of *Sylla*. But he acquieſced, more for Fear of irritating the People, than out of Inclination. So that the Senate ſtill continued to have all that Regard for him, which was due to a Man whoſe Heart was ſincerely *Patrician*.

Cic. de Leg. L. 3. *Plut. in Pomp.*

Nor was it only in favour of the *Tribunate* that *Pompey* aboliſhed the Laws of *Sylla*, whoſe Creature he had been. He privately engaged *M. Aurelius Cotta* the *Prætor*, to move, That other Aſſeſſors might be appointed to judge in Civil Cauſes with him, beſides thoſe of the ſenatorial Body. *Tiberius Gracchus* had formerly taken theſe Judgments from the *Conſcript Fathers*, and appropriated them to the *Roman Knights*. *Sylla* had reſtored them to the Senate, who had been in Poſſeſſion of them for ten Years. And now, at the Inſtigation of *Pompey*, the Judges were partly taken out of the Senators, partly out of *Knights*, and partly out of thoſe *Tribunes* who had the Care of the Finances, and were called *Tribunes of the publick Treaſury*. So that a much greater Part of them were *Knights*; the *Tribunes of the Treaſury* being almoſt all of that Order. By theſe means, *Pompey* gained the Affections of the lower Orders of Men in the Republick, at the Expence of the *Patrician* Party, which he had at firſt eſpouſed. He regulated his Conduct wholly by his Intereſt. Whenever the preſent State of Things, and his immediate Views required it, the zealous *Republican* ſometimes became all on a ſudden an Advocate for the Senate. He was always ready to change, as oft as he wanted the Good-will of the oppoſite Party to promote his Deſigns; and by theſe Artifices, made himſelf a kind of Sovereign in *Rome*. Without aſſuming the odious Title of *Dictator*, or making uſe of Violence as *Sylla* did, he peaceably acquired an abſolute Authority in the Government; which was only feintly diſputed by *Craſſus*, who had no weight but among the Nobility, and with them not much. It is not therefore to be wondered at, that *Pompey* ſhould be ſo very fond of reſiding at *Rome*, where he was become the Maſter of all Favours, and the Arbiter of every Man's Fortune. He haughtily refuſed to have any *Province* allotted him by the Senate, as they uſually did to the new *Conſuls*; and declared he would accept of no Office out of the City. But this Reſolution did not laſt long. However *Craſſus* followed his Example, and would not ſtir from the Capital; doubtleſs becauſe he would not leave him to reign alone there.

Epit. Liv. Cic. Verr. 1. *Salluſt. in Conjur. Catil.*

§. XXI. Ever ſince the Year of *Rome* 667, the Republick had choſen no *Cenſors*. This important Office had been ſuppreſſed during the Troubles, and *Sylla* had ſwallowed it up, in the abſolute Authority of his *Dictatorſhip*. But it was now revived. *L. Gellius Poplicola*, and *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus*, were promoted to it; and the new *Cenſors* thought themſelves obliged to uſe Severity, in Proportion to the Licentiouſneſs

[36] He told the People, *He thought it not beneath him, to take the firſt Steps towards an Union, with a Perſon whom they had honoured with the Title of the Great, and with a* Triumph *before the legal Age.*

that

Year of ROME DCLXXXIII.

CN. POMPEIUS MAGNUS, & M. LICINIUS CRASSUS DIVES, Conſuls.

Aſcon. Cic. pro Cluentio.

that had prevailed during this Interval, when no one was appointed to inſpect the Manners of the People. They diſcharged all the Parts of their Office, with as much Care as Men could do, who deſired to re-eſtabliſh it, on its ancient footing. In the firſt Place, they drew up a new Liſt of Senators; and by placing at their Head *Q. Catulus* one of the moſt learned Lawyers, and moſt virtuous *Citizens* in *Rome*, created him *Prince of the Senate*, that is, Preſident of that auguſt Aſſembly. Then, to the Surprize of many ancient Senators, they ſtruck the Names of ſixty four of them out of the Liſt; and among them that of *C. Antonius*, whom we ſhall hereafter ſee promoted to the *Conſulate* with *Cicero*. He was a known Extortioner, and a Spendthrift, whoſe Effects were all ſeized; and this made *Catiline* depend upon him, when he ſaw him made Collegue with his moſt inveterate Enemy. In the next Place, the *Cenſors* ordered a Review of the *Roman Knights*; and *Pompey*, though *Conſul*, did not diſdain to appear in the Body, of which he had been a Member before his Advancement. He affected this Air of Popularity, to pleaſe the Multitude; and when he came before the *Cenſors*, as they were ſitting on their Tribunals, attended by his *Lictors*, and was aſked, *Whether he had performed all the Services he owed the Republick*; he anſwered with an Air of Sufficiency, *I have ſerved as many Years, as the Laws require; not indeed as a Soldier, or a Subaltern, but as a General.* At theſe Words, the People made the Air ring with their Acclamations; and the *Cenſors* riſing from their Seats, conducted *Pompey* back to his Houſe, amidſt a Crowd of People, who never ceaſed clapping their Hands, till they had loſt ſight of him. It was thus the vain Man pleaſed himſelf with Applauſes. And laſtly, the *Cenſors* made a *Cenſus* of the *Roman* People, and found 450000 *Citizens* fit to bear Arms.

Plut. in Pomp.

Plut. in Craſſo.

§. XXII. On the other hand, *Craſſus* did what he could, to deprive his Rival of at leaſt a ſmall Part of the Eſteem of the Publick. Though naturally [37] covetous, he reſolved to give all the People one of thoſe magnificent Entertainments, which Luxury and Ambition had now, for ſome Time, introduced into *Rome*. He ordered 10000 Tables to be erected in a ſpacious Place, and covered them with a ſurprizing Delicacy and Profuſion. Nor did he confine his Liberality to the Feaſt only. That he might be the longer remembered, he gave every Gueſt Corn enough for three Months Subſiſtence. A mighty Bounty, which would have lain very heavy on any other but the richeſt of all the *Romans*! *Pompey* in vain endeavoured to equal the Splendour of his Rival, in a Show he gave the People at his own Expence. But nevertheleſs they did him ſo much Juſtice, as not to proportion their Regards to his Eſtate, which was leſs than that of his Collegue. He ſtill retained the Preference in their Affections and Eſteem.

In the mean time, *Cicero* acquired another Kind of Glory, by his Eloquence and great Talents of Mind. A *Prætor* of *Sicily*, named *Caius Verres*, had lately been recalled from his Province. This avaricious and brutal Governor had ſet no Bounds to

37 The Hiſtorians reproach *Craſſus* with having made uſe of the moſt ſordid Means to accumulate Riches. He had ſcarce * 200 *Talents*, or the Value of 300000 *Livres*, in Land, when he entered into publick Life; but after he had uſurped the Eſtates of the Perſons proſcribed in *Sylla's Dictatorſhip*, he ſet no Bounds to his Avarice. No Method of increaſing his Revenues eſcaped him. The Profits he drew from the Labour of his Slaves were immenſe, by his employing them in uſeful Works. Moſt of them were Maſons, or Carpenters, or Architects, or Husbandmen, or Men bred to ſome profitable Arts; and he employed them, in repairing the Houſes he had bought at a very low Price, or in improving his Lands, or in working the Silver-Mines he found in his Eſtates. Being of Opinion, as he himſelf declared, That no *Citizen* was to be accounted a rich Man, till he was able to maintain an Army at his own Expence; he was continually making Acquiſitions, and increaſing his Eſtates, by ſuch Parſimony, as was unworthy his Birth and Rank. Nevertheleſs, *Plutarch* ſays, That he never refuſed to aſſiſt his Friends in Diſtreſs. He freely lent them Money without Intereſt. But as ſoon as the limited Time was elapſed, he proſecuted them without Mercy, and made them repay him with Uſury, the Sums which he had lent them *gratis*. And this ſhameful Prevarication in a great Man, made all his good Qualities in a manner overlooked. *Plutarch* ſays, He was a Man of Addreſs and Affability, which prejudiced People in his Favour, and gained upon their Affections. His Frugality and Temperance did not at all leſſen the Delicacy of his Table; and the Hiſtorians, who have written his Life, extol him for his Continence. Nevertheleſs, he was accuſed, ſome Years before his Death, of an unlawful Commerce with the *Veſtal Licinia*. She was ſummoned to take her Trial, at the Suit of one *Plotinus*, who accuſed her. But the Judges at laſt determined, That *Craſſus's* frequent Viſits to *Licinia*, were not founded in a criminal Amour, but a Matter of Intereſt. She had a fine Country-Houſe, ſome Leagues from *Rome*, which by very convenient for him; and it was, on this Account, that he viſited the Prieſteſs of *Veſta* every Day, till at length, he prevailed on her, by his Importunities, to ſell him the Houſe which he ſo paſſionately deſired, at a very moderate Price. But theſe too frequent Interviews raiſed Suſpicions in the Minds of the *Citizens*, which were not for the Honour of *Craſſus* or the *Veſtal*.

* 38750 *l. Sterl.*

his Oppreſſions, Cruelties, and infamous Debaucheries. He had robbed the City of their publick Ornaments, the Temples of their Gods, the Fields of their Harveſts, private Perſons of their Eſtates, and Women of their Honour. The Complaints of the *Sicilians* againſt him were univerſal. They applied themſelves to *Cicero*, who had formerly been *Quæſtor* in their Iſland, and entreated him to take them under his Protection, and employ his Eloquence, to get ſome of the Riches reſtored to them, which the unjuſt Oppreſſor had extorted from them. Hitherto *Cicero* had employed his Rhetorick only in defence of the unfortunate, and he could not readily reſolve to undertake an Accuſation which would prove hurtful to an illuſtrious *Roman Citizen*. But at length Compaſſion for a drained Province got the better of his Inclinations. He undertook to accuſe *Verres*, went himſelf into *Sicily*, and took Informations of his Crimes upon the Spot, employed all his Eloquence in ſupport of his Cauſe, and pleaded it with ſo much [38] Strength and Solidity, that he forced *Hortenſius*, the Patron of [39] *Verres*, to hold his Peace, and the Criminal himſelf to have recourſe to a voluntary [40] Baniſhment. In ſhort, the Merit of the Orator was both confeſſed and rewarded. The *Comitia* granted him the [41] *Ædileſhip* which he ſollicited, and enjoyed the next [42] Year; and by that means raiſed him to the ſecond Station, in the Road to publick Honours. In the ſame Year *Virgil*, another Light of the *Latin* Literature, was born in the Village of *Andes*, near *Mantua*; and as *Rome* already admired her *Cicero* as a ſecond *Demoſthenes*, ſhe afterwards found in her *Virgil* a ſecond *Homer*.

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§. XXIII. All the Weſt enjoyed a perfect Tranquillity, in the *Conſulate* of *Pompey* and *Craſſus*. The Eaſt only was diſturbed afreſh, with the War which *Lucullus* revived againſt *Mithridates* and *Tigranes* together. *Heraclea* and *Synope*, in the Kingdom of *Pontus*, were yet to be reduced; and he ordered *Cotta*, one of his Lieutenants, to beſiege the former. But it held out for two Years. *Cotta*, who was often

Memnon apud Euſeb.

38 According to *Plutarch*, *Cicero* ſuſtained the warmeſt Attacks of many Perſons in great Power; who, being corrupted by *Verres*'s Preſents, were not aſhamed to patronize the Villain. Even the *Prætors* on the Bench, who heard the Cauſe, ſeemed to have had a private Correſpondence with him. After they had tired out *Cicero*'s Patience, with affected Delays, they put off the Determination of the Cauſe to the laſt Day of the Year. Their aim was to gain Time, till the *Conſulate* of *Hortenſius*, who privately ſupported *Verres* with his Intereſt. One Day was not ſufficient to hear the Pleadings of the Orator, and to determine an Affair of ſuch Importance. But nevertheleſs *Cicero* was not diſcouraged. He laid aſide his uſual Method of Pleading in Form, and took a ſhorter Way. He at once produced the Witneſſes to each Article of the Charge, and gave ſuch flagrant Proofs of *Verres*'s Crimes, that he ſilenced his Protectors. The Judges were forced, by the Clearneſs of the Evidence, and the Enormity of the Grievances, not to fatigue the Accuſers with freſh Delays, leſt they ſhould be ſuſpected of Prevarication; and they all agreed, to give Judgment againſt a notorious Robber, whom the Voice of the People had already condemned.

39 *Hortenſius*, according to *Plutarch*, durſt not declare himſelf openly in favour of the accuſed. But he promiſed to appear at the Bar, in order to moderate the Fine which would be laid upon him, by way of Reparation for the Injuries which this unjuſt Magiſtrate had done, during his *Prætorſhip*. For this, he had a little Ivory Sphinx of exquiſite Workmanſhip, which was thought a Maſter piece in its Kind; and this ſhameful Traffick was not ſo ſecretly managed, but it reached *Cicero*'s Ears. The Orator reproached him in covert Terms with having ſhared the Spoils of *Sicily*; and *Hortenſius*, imagining that the Thing was a profound Secret, anſwered, That he knew not what he meant by that Reproach. To which *Cicero* ſmartly replied, *You may very eaſily gueſs. The Sphinx you have lately gotten, will explain it to you.* But the Orator would not be at the Trouble of ſo much Ceremony with *Quintus Cæcilius Niger*, a Freed-man, who was ſaid to be of the *Jewiſh* Religion. He had been *Quæſtor* in *Sicily*, when *Verres* was *Prætor*, and pretended to accuſe the *Sicilians*; who had Reaſon to ſuſpect his being in a Combination with the accuſed, whoſe Crimes it was his Intereſt to palliate. *Cicero* therefore plainly asked him, *Think you, that a Jew has no Quarrel with a Boar?* Alluding both to the *Jewiſh* Laws, which forbid thoſe of that Religion to eat *Swine*'s Fleſh, and to the Name of *Verres*, which was the *Latin* Name for that unclean Animal.

40 Though *Verres* had anticipated his Condemnation by a voluntary Baniſhment, yet Sentence was pronounced, and the Judges, with *Cicero*'s Approbation, laid on him a Fine of 750000 *Drachmæ*, or 375000 *Livres*, at the Rate of 10 *Sols* to each *Drachma*, as we have before computed. But this was thought too ſmall a Sum, conſidering the Damages *Verres* had done in *Sicily* by his Oppreſſions; and *Cicero* was blamed for it, and ſuſpected of not having been Proof againſt the Offers that were made him. And indeed *Cicero* himſelf confeſſes, That this publick Robber had robbed the *Sicilians* of *Quadringenties H. S.* that is, of 40000 *Great Seſterces*, or 40 Millions of *Little Seſterces*; which make 5 Millions of *Livres*, according to our Computation, Vol. 2. p. 504. Note 84. Now, the *Roman* Laws condemned every Extortioner to pay double the Sum he had unjuſtly appropriated to himſelf, and half as much more. And therefore the *Roman* Orator in his *firſt Oration againſt* Verres, inſiſts, in the Names of the *Sicilians*, that he be condemned to pay 12500000 *Livres*.

41 *Cicero* was then 36 Years of Age; the Term the Laws had fixed to qualify a Man for the *Ædileſhip*.

42 The *Sicilians*, to ſhew their Gratitude to *Cicero*, contributed towards the Expence and Decorations of the Shows, with which his new Dignity obliged him to entertain the *Romans*. He applied nothing of the magnificent Preſents they made him, to his own Uſe; but, according to *Plutarch*, he made uſe of all their Bounties, to leſſen the Price of Proviſions, which were grown exceſſive dear, in the Capital.

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repulſed, returned again to the Attack by Intervals, and ſpent more Time in ſubduing this ſingle maritime City, than *Lucullus* did, in conquering the reſt of this great Kingdom. Till at length, being tired out with the Slowneſs of his Progreſs, *Cotta* called *Triarius*, the Vice-Admiral of the *Roman* Fleet, to his Aſſiſtance; and the latter having fixed a Day when he would enter the Ports with his Ships, the former prepared to make an Attack on the Place at the ſame Time, with the Land Forces. Accordingly, *Triarius* appeared at Sea with 43 Galleys, partly *Roman* and partly *Rhodian*; and *Cotta* at the ſame Time brought his Troops to the Walls; and this unexpected Sight filled the *Heracleans* with Terror. But nevertheleſs, *Lamachus*, the Governor, immediately ſent out the 30 Ships they had in the Port, half equipped, and drew out his Garriſon on the Ramparts, to defend them.

The thirty *Heracleot* Ships fell on the twenty *Rhodian* Galleys which advanced at the Head of the *Roman* Fleet; and in the firſt onſet, the Advantage was almoſt equal. The *Rhodians* ſunk five of the Enemy's Ships, and the *Heracleots* three of the *Rhodian*. But *Triarius* with his *Roman* Ships changed the Face of the Battle. He fell furiouſly on the Enemy, ſunk, or boarded and took, fourteen of their Galleys, and forced the reſt to return into their Port, which the *Heracleots* ſhut up. And then *Cotta* who intended to have given a general Aſſault on the Place, retired, and contented himſelf with only blocking up the City; which now could receive no more Proviſions by Sea or Land, and conſequently muſt ſoon be ſtarved. Accordingly a Famine ſoon followed, and after the Famine a Plague, of which *Lamachus* died, and *Damophiles* ſucceeded him, and at the Inſtigation of *Connacorix*, propoſed to capitulate privately, without the Knowledge of the Inhabitants. But they knew *Cotta* too well, to addreſs themſelves to him; and therefore joined in a Letter to *Triarius*. His Anſwer was intercepted; and then, *Connacorix* pretended, that he would not be concerned in the Surrendry of the City. He left it, and put to Sea, with his Effects, and the Troops that were attached to him, to ſeek for a Retreat elſewhere; whilſt *Damophiles* opened one of the Gates to *Triarius*. During the Commotions that this occaſioned, *Cotta* mounted the Walls with his Troops; pretended he had taken the City by aſſault, though it had really ſurrendered by Capitulation; and upon this weak Pretence gave it up to be plundered. His Men committed ſuch Cruelties upon the Inhabitants, and took ſuch immenſe Riches from them, that *Triarius* was much offended at it. But he was ſoon appeaſed by dividing the Spoils between his Soldiers, and thoſe of *Cotta*; tho' the latter was indeed the moſt greedy, and moſt untractable. He took out of the Temple of *Hercules*, whoſe Name the City bore, the richeſt and fineſt Statue of this Demi-God, that was in the World. His Club, and Lion's Skin, and the Arrows in his Quiver, were all of maſſy Gold. In ſhort, *Cotta* carried his Fury ſo far, as to burn all the Houſes in *Heraclea*. And when the baſe *Roman* had thus glutted his Rage, and gratified his Avarice, he put his Booty on board his Ships, ſent his *Legionaries* to *Lucullus*, diſmiſſed his Auxiliaries, and ſet ſail for *Rome*. But Heaven puniſhed him for his Covetouſneſs, when he was got very near to the Coaſts of *Italy*. He was there over-taken by a Storm, which diſperſed his Ships which were over-laden; and beat ſome of them in Pieces againſt the Rocks.

§. XXIV. As for *Lucullus*, he had not yet any of *Cotta*'s Vices. He made War at preſent for the Glory of the *Roman* Name, and was very compaſſionate and merciful to thoſe he conquered. This appeared at [43] *Synope*, with the Siege of which he began this Campaign. It was one of the largeſt Cities in *Pontus*. *Mithridates* had been born and ſpent his Infancy there, and had adorned it with valuable Ornaments. Three Governors, *Seleucus*, *Cleochares* an Eunuch, and *Leucippus*, had commanded in it, with equal Authority; but the two former had accuſed *Leucippus* of Treaſon before the People, and when they found they could not prove their Charge, aſſaſſinated him in the Night. Then *Cleochares* and *Seleucus* were left ſole Maſters in *Synope*; and ſup-

Epit. Liv. B. 98. *c.* 18.

43 The City of *Synope*, which ſtood in a Peninſula on the Coaſts of the *Euxine* Sea, was formerly the Capital, not only of *Paphlagonia*, but alſo of the Dominions of *Mithridates* in *Aſia Minor*, from the Time it was taken by *Pharnaces*, the Grandfather of this Monarch. *Strabo* carries up the Origin of this City to the *Argonauts*, who, according to him, firſt laid the Foundations of it. But it is more probable, That it was built, or at leaſt conſiderably increaſed, by the *Miletians*; who as *Strabo* himſelf, and *Xenophon* agree, ſtrengthened it with a good Port. Several Princes ſubdued it; till at length it fell into the Hands of the *Romans*, who ſent Colonies thither. *Thevet* ſays, it ſtill retains its old Name; but *Chalcondylas* gives it that of *Perdaptas*; and *Leunclavius* ſays, it is called *Synabe* by the *Turks*. It was famous for having given Birth to *Diogenes the Cynick*.

ported by an Army of Pyrates whom they called to their Aſſiſtance, exerciſed great Tyranny there. They adminiſtered Juſtice arbitrarily, and cut off many Heads. During theſe Confuſions, *Lucullus* came, and prepared to beſiege it; and the two Tyrants were of different Opinions about it. *Cleochares* was for defending the City, and preſerving at leaſt, this ſmall Remains of his Dominions for *Mithridates*; *Seleucus* was for putting all the old Inhabitants to the Sword, and ſelling the City at a great Price to the *Roman* General. But the beſieged gained a ſlight Advantage over the *Romans*, which prevented the ſurrendering of the City. With the Aſſiſtance of the Pyrates, they took a Convoy which was coming to *Lucullus* by Sea, and beat the thirty Ships that guarded it.

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However, the Inconveniencies the *Romans* ſuffered in their Camp were ſoon removed. *Machares*, that Son of *Mithridates*, whom he had ſettled King in *Colchus*, was afraid of the Power of the *Romans*; and dreading that he ſhould be dethroned in his turn, ſought the Friendſhip of *Lucullus*, ſent him the Proviſions he had gotten together for his Father, and with this Preſent, a Crown of Gold. This Plenty of Proviſions, and new Alliance, greatly raiſed the Courage of the *Romans*, and drove the Tyrants to deſpair. They embarked great Riches on ſome of the lighteſt Ships they had, and when they had ſet Fire to the reſt, and ordered the Pyrates to plunder the 44 City, ſailed off in the Night. The Clamours this occaſioned, and the Fire he ſaw, induced *Lucullus* to make an attack upon the City, and he entered it without Difficulty, and put 8000 Men, partly Pyrates and partly Inhabitants, to the Sword. After this he reſettled the reſt in their Houſes, reſtored them to their Liberty, recalled the Fugitives from Exile, and increaſed the Privileges of the City. This uncommon Clemency from a victorious General, is aſcribed to the miraculous Appearances 45 of a Demi-God, the Protector of *Synope*, to *Lucullus* in a Dream; but it is more probable, that all that was *marvellous* in this Moderation, was the *Conſul*'s own Generoſity and good Nature.

Plut. in Lucullo.

Epit. Liv. L. 98. c. 21.

§. XXV. When all the South Coaſt of the *Euxine* Sea was thus conquered and ſettled in Peace, *Lucullus* left 6000 of his *Romans* there, to keep the People in ſubjection, under the Command of Lieutenant General *Sornatius*, and marched forwards. He reſolved to fight *Tigranes* and *Mithridates* together, and if it ſhould be found neceſſary, to penetrate into the Heart of *Syria*. An exceeding raſh Deſign, if we judge of it, by the Number of his Forces; for his Army ſcarce conſiſted of 12000 Foot and 3000 Horſe. What were they, to withſtand the numberleſs Troops of the two largeſt Kingdoms in the World, *Armenia* and *Syria*? But Heroes don't depend ſo much on the Number of their Soldiers, as their Valour, and their own Experience. *Lucullus* was now entering on much the ſame Carrier, as *Alexander the Great* had done; and he did it, with as much Confidence, and as much Courage. His *Legionaries* murmured a little at the new Expedition of their General; and ſaid to one another, *Into what a Country, and through how many Dangers, is the General leading us, to a certain Defeat? The leaſt we have to ſuffer, is to croſs uncultivated Deſerts, and deep Rivers, and to climb over Mountains that reach the Clouds, and Rocks that have Torrents running between them!* And at *Rome*, thoſe very *Tribunes of the People*, who a little while ago accuſed *Lucullus* of Dilatorineſs, now defamed him in the *Comitium*, as an enterprizing Man, who was ſacrificing every Thing to his own Fame. So true is it, that artful Enemies will not only aggravate the pretended Faults, but put an ill Conſtruction even on the Virtues, of thoſe whom they want to deſtroy.

44 According to *Plutarch*, theſe *Cicilian* Pyrates were in *Mithridates*'s Pay; and upon the Approach of *Lucullus*, ſet fire to the City, after they had inhumanly cut the Throats of a great Number of the Inhabitants.

45 *Plutarch* gives us an Account of this Viſion, which upon the Credit of a fabulous Tradition, paſſed for a Miracle. *Lucullus*, ſays he, thought he ſaw in the Night, a Man, who called himſelf *Autolychus*, and who invited him to draw near him, that he might confer with him; and the General thought this no accidental Thing, but imagined it concealed ſome Myſtery under it. The next Day, he made himſelf Maſter of *Synope*; and as he was purſuing the 8000 *Cilicians*, who fled towards the Port to ſecure themſelves in their Ships which were riding there, he perceived a Statue broken down which the Pyrates had left on the Shore. This was one of the fineſt Performances of one *Sthenis* a famous Sculptor; and then the General perceived, that this Statue repreſented that *Autolychus* whom he had ſeen in his Dream. He was deemed one of the Heroes, who had attended *Hercules* in his Expedition againſt the *Amazons*; and it was ſaid, That in his return, the Ship he was in ſtruck againſt a Rock of the *Cherſoneſus*; That he and his Company were ſaved from Shipwreck; and That, coming to *Synope*, they took this City from the *Syrians* who then poſſeſſed it, and driving out the old Inhabitants, ſettled a Colony there.

However,

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However, *Lucullus*, little concerned at what paſſed at *Rome*, turned towards *Cappadocia*, where *Ariobarzanes* was waiting for him, to ſupply him with the Proviſions and Ammunition neceſſary for his Expedition. A falſe Report was then ſpread, that *Tigranes* and *Mithridates* were going to enter the Provinces *Rome* poſſeſſed on the Coaſts of *Aſia*, by the Way of [46] *Lycaonia* and *Cilicia*; and the *Pro-Conſul* was leſs ſtruck with the Thing, than the Policy of *Tigranes*. *This powerful Monarch*, ſaid he, *formed no Deſign of invading the* Roman Provinces, *whilſt* Mithridates *was proſperous and powerful. He was afraid of leſſening his own Glory, by ſharing it with a King, who was in a Condition to ſecond him. But now that* Mithridates *is ruined, he makes no ſcruple to join him with him in his Conqueſts; as well knowing, that all the Glory of them will be his own.* Nevertheleſs, the March of the *Syrians* into *Lycaonia*, did not ſo terrify *Lucullus*, as to divert him from his Reſolution. He continued his March towards *Cappadocia*, in order to enter *Great Armenia*, after he had paſſed the *Euphrates*. But this River was ſo much ſwelled the Day he came to it, that he could not paſs it, even with the Boats he had made for that purpoſe. He was forced to tarry till the [47] next Day, and then the *Roman* Army paſſed it, and found on its Banks ſome [48] Herds of thoſe Oxen, which were ſacrificed to the Gods, and particularly to *The Genius of the Euphrates*. The neighbouring People continued in Tranquillity, and payed the Contributions *Lucullus* demanded. One ſingle *Armenian* who was zealous for his King, ran to inform *Tigranes*, that the *Romans* were entered into his Dominions; and the brutal King ordered his Head to [49] be ſtruck off, for diſturbing his Repoſe. Hence the Inactivity of the *Armenians*, who ſuffered their Country to be plundered without Reſiſtance; and *Lucullus* treated them with his uſual Moderation. Some of the *Legionaries* knew that there was a Caſtle in the Neighbourhood, where *Tigranes* was ſaid to have depoſited ſome of his Treaſures; but the *Pro-Conſul* would not ſuffer them to beſiege it. *Theſe are the Walls you muſt ſcale*, ſaid he to them, pointing to Mount *Taurus:* And accordingly, the Army croſſed it, and came and encamped on the Banks of the *Tigris*.

App. in Mithrid.

In the mean time, the Flatterers about *Tigranes* lulled him on, in a falſe Security. *Lucullus*, ſaid they, *will be a great Officer, if he has the Courage to wait for you, even at* Epheſus. *The very Preſence of the King of Kings will ſoon ſend him back into* Italy. *Mithrobarzanes* was the only Man of all his numerous Court, who dared repreſent to his Sovereign, That it was of Importance to him, not to leave *Armenia* a Prey to his Enemies; and his Fidelity was ill rewarded. *Tigranes* immediately ordered this faithful Servant, to march againſt *Lucullus* with a Detachment of only 3000 Men, to fall upon all the *Roman* Army, give no Quarter, and bring him the *Roman* General alive. Strange! that it ſhould be poſſible for a Prince, otherwiſe a prudent and good Stateſman, to be ſo intoxicated with Flattery, as to be brought to believe, that an handful of *Aſiaticks* could beat a whole Army of *Romans!* He ſoon found, that all the Forces of *Syria* and *Armenia* were not ſufficient to withſtand thoſe invincible *Legions*. However, *Mithrobarzanes* obeyed, tho' with regret; and attacked the *Romans*, tho' he was ſatisfied the Conſequence would be certain Death. When he appeared, *Lucullus* was buſy in making a new Camp, and had only part of his Troops with him. The reſt followed ſlowly. Nevertheleſs, he ſent *Sextilius*, with ſomewhat better than 3000 Men, Horſe and Foot,

Plut. in Lucullo.
App. in Mithridat.

46 *Lycaonia* is a little Province of *Aſia Minor*, divided from *Cilicia* by Mount *Taurus*. The City of *Iconium*, formerly its Capital, is now called *Cogni*.

47 According to *Plutarch*, the very Night he came, the *Euphrates* which had overflowed, ſunk within its Banks, all on a ſudden; the People of the Country thought this ſudden Change a Miracle wrought by *Lucullus*; and paid him divine Honours as a God, to whoſe Preſence this River had ſhewn ſuch Regard.

48 *Plutarch* here adds another *marvellous* Circumſtance, in his Account of the *Roman* Army's paſſing the *Euphrates*. He obſerves, That on the Banks of this River ſome Heifers were grazing, which were conſecrated to *Diana of Perſia*, a Goddeſs much revered in theſe Cantons; That theſe Animals who were kept for Sacrifices, were marked with the Figure of a burning Torch, the Symbol of the Goddeſs, on their Backs; and That they were hard to be caught. But, ſays our Author, one of them came of her own accord to *Lucullus* to be ſacrificed, and offered her Throat to the Knife of the Sacrificer. Whence he concludes, That the Gods declared themſelves for the *Roman* General, and favoured his Deſigns.

49 *Tigranes*, according to *Plutarch*, ordered the Man to beheaded, who brought the News of the Approach of *Lucullus*; and this Act of Barbarity, ſays the Hiſtorian, ſo intimidated all thoſe who were well affected to him, that no one durſt run the Hazard of the like Fate. They made it their chief Concern, to keep from him, what it was moſt neceſſary he ſhould know, in order to prevent the Miſchiefs that threatened him; and his Courtiers were wholly employed in lulling him on in a falſe Security, at the ſame Time that his Dominions were a Prey to his Enemies.

Foot, to discover the Enemy; and upon the sight of the *Roman* Detachment, *Mithrobarzanes* fell on *Sextilius* with great Fury. But the Attack was not equal to the Defence. *Mithrobarzanes* lost his Life in the first Onset, and his Troops were cut in pieces; so that, only a few of them escaped, to carry their King the News of their Defeat.

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Tigranes was then at *Tigranocerta* [50], a favourite City which he had built at a great Expence, surrounded with a Wall of 50 Cubits high, and peopled with a very great Number of *Armenians*, *Greeks*, and *Syrians*. There he had built a Citadel, which served him for a Palace, and for a Retreat for the Women of his *Seraglio*. There they lived in Pleasure, in a kind of Cloister; but such a one as contained magnificent Gardens, fine Ponds, and a Park full of Deer and all sorts of Game. The King was forced to leave this delightful Place, and send for *Mithridates*, whose Assistance and Advice he wanted, against an Enemy which he now began to fear. He encamped with the *Armenian* Troops he had ready, in the Defiles of Mount *Taurus*; and sent Orders to all the Soldiers in his Dominions, in *Armenia*, *Syria*, and *Arabia*, to come and join him. In the mean time, *Lucullus* was not unactive; the Report of the great Preparations his Enemy was making, kept him always upon his Guard. *Cappadocia* supplied him with Provisions as well as Auxiliaries; but he had little dependance on any except his *Romans*. He sent *Sextilius* to meet an Army of *Arabians* who were coming to join *Tigranes*; and surprized them when busy in pitching their Camp, and routed them. He also detached *Murena* to watch the King, who was posted between his Mountains; and the *Roman* Commander, thinking he had a good Opportunity to fall on *Tigranes*, who was embarrassed in a very narrow Passage, attacked and defeated him. He forced him to leave his Baggage, and flee, and made a considerable Slaughter of his *Armenians*.

§. XXVI. After all, these were small Losses to *Tigranes*, who had so many Troops come to him from all Parts of *Asia Minor*. He got together in a few Days, 250000 Foot, and 50000 Horse; yet this pompous Appearance was so far from terrifying *Lucullus*, that he greatly rejoiced at it. He hoped to destroy all the Forces of the most powerful Monarch in the World, at one Blow; and in order to draw his Enemies the more precipitately to a Battle, had the Boldness to lay Siege to *Tigranocerta*. At his Departure, *Tigranes* had given the Command of this beloved City, to one of his bravest Officers, named *Manæus*; who, when he saw *Sextilius* investing the Place, made a Sally, and was shamefully repulsed. Then the *Romans* made their Circumvallation without farther Opposition, plundered the Suburbs, and ordered their Machines to be advanced. But the City not being yet so much invested, as to make *Tigranes* despair of rescuing his Women; he sent 6000 of his Horse, with Orders to leave no Means untried, to deliver the Queens and their Attendants out of the Hands of the Enemy. These brave Men stole into the Place by Night, furnished the Ladies with Carriages, and made them advance before them; and in their March, they defended them with great Bravery, and brought them to a Place of Safety.

However, this slight Advantage of *Tigranes*, only made *Lucullus* the more careful in guarding the Avenues to *Tigranocerta*. The Garrison was numerous, and the City full of Inhabitants, from all the Nations of *Asia*, or bordering upon it. Several of them were skilful in making *Naphta* [51] and other bituminous Things, which they threw in burning Balls, at the Besiegers. Nevertheless the *Romans* still continued their Works, in full persuasion, that the King would not suffer them to take a City which bore his Name, and which he had built and magnificently adorned. And indeed, *Tigranes* was extremely desirous of fighting a Battle and raising the Siege. But *Mithridates*, who had had more Experience than the King his Son-in-Law, was not for hazarding a general Action. He had experienced how formidable the *Romans* were in pitched Battles. While he was on the Road, he often wrote to *Tigranes*, to take care of doing any Thing precipitately; and when he came to him, he advised him only to cut off the Enemy's Provisions, and starve them in their Camp. *Taxiles*, the King's Confident,

50 *Tigranes* had lately built this City which he called *Tigranocerta*, or *Tigranopolis*, from his own Name. It stood, according to *Pliny* and *Ptolomy*, beyond the Springs of the *Tigris*, towards Mount *Taurus*, on an high Hill, in the south Part of *Armenia*. And *Strabo* tells us, That he placed there the Inhabitants of twelve Cities which he had conquered.

51 *Naphta* is a sort of *Bitumen*, soft, sulphureous, and very inflammable. It was very common in *Babylonia*. Some of it is now found, near *Ragusa*, in some Provinces of *France*, and in *Italy*, &c.

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ſupported the Advice of *Mithridates*; and till ſuch Time as the great Reinforcements which he expected from ſeveral Places were arrived, *Tigranes* contented himſelf with ſending out Detachments of his Horſe, to attack the *Romans* upon forraging, or intercept their Convoys. But as ſoon as he ſaw himſelf at the Head of an innumerable Multitude of *Syrians*, *Armenians*, [52] *Gordyæans*, [53] *Adiabeni*, [54] *Albani*, *Babylonians*, *Scythians*, *Medes*, and [55] *Arabians*, he could hold out no longer; and at his Meals, he never mentioned this Handful of raſh Occidentals, who were come ſo far to bury themſelves in his Lakes, but with Contempt. *Taxiles* and *Mithridates*, who underſtood War, modeſtly oppoſed the King's Preſumption, but neither of them was heard. The former was ſuſpected of Cowardice, the latter of Jealouſy.

Plut. in Lucullo. *Oroſ. L. 5.*

At length, *Tigranes* took his Reſolution, unknown to his Father-in-Law. He ſent away the King of *Pontus*, and marched alone againſt the *Romans*. As he drew near to *Lucullus*'s Lines, he was continually talking to his Friends in this manner. *Alas! Why have I but one* Pro-Conſul *to fight with! I wiſh all the Generals* Rome *has were here. I would then deſtroy all the Forces of the proud Republick at one Blow.* With ſuch Confidence did the numerous *Phalanxes* that followed him, inſpire him; whilſt, on the other hand, *Lucullus* was not at all alarmed at his Approach. Moſt of his Officers were for continuing the Siege, and ſtanding the Attack of the Barbarians in their Lines; others were for abandoning the Place, and meeting the Enemy with the whole *Pro-conſular* Army; and *Lucullus* choſe the medium between thoſe Opinions. He left *Murena* to block up the Town with 6000 Men; whilſt he himſelf, with only 24 *Cohorts*, that is, about 10000 Foot, and all his Horſe, went to meet *Tigranes*. The Inhabitants of *Tigranocerta* ſaw the two Armies from their Walls, and inſulted the *Romans*. The Earth ſeemed covered with the Multitude of the *Aſiaticks*. Their light armed Infantry, conſiſting of 20000 Men armed with Slings and Bows; their Cavalry, of 55000, 17000 of whom were mounted on Horſes in Armour; and their heavy-armed Foot, which amounted to 150000, beſides 30000 Pioneers, Carpenters, and Servants, together with their Camels and other Beaſts of Burden; covered a vaſt Tract

52 The *Gordyæans* were ſo called, becauſe they inhabited a Province of *Armenia* which bordered on the *Gordyæan* Mountains; which is the Name *Ptolomy* gives to one of the Branches of Mount *Taurus*.

53 The *Adiabeni* inhabited that Part of *Aſſyria*, which contained *Arbelitis*, and the Fields of *Aturia*, between the *Tigris*, and the Rivers *Capros* and *Lycus*. The Cities of *Arbela*, *Gaugamela*, and *Ninive* ſtood in this Province. *Ammianus Marcellinus* places *Ecbatana* alſo in it, tho' this laſt City belonged to *Media*. This Hiſtorian derives the Name of *Adiabene* from the Name of the River *Adiaba*, which he thinks the ſame as the *Lycus* which falls into the *Tigris*. At leaſt, it has been remarked, That the Word *Diaba* ſignified a *Wolf* in *Chaldee*, as *Lukos* does in *Greek*, and *Lucus* in *Latin*. Some Writers are of Opinion, that the Name of *Adiabene* was given to all *Aſſyria*; and ſupport it, with the Authority of *Pliny*, who ſeems to be very expreſs in their Favour. *Adiabene, Aſſyria, ante dicta. Stephen of Byzantium* by miſtake places this Country between the *Tigris* and the *Euphrates*. It is evident, that he confounded *Adiabene* with *Meſopotamia*.

54 The *Albani* inhabited all that great Province of *Aſia*, which is bounded to the Eaſt by the *Caſpian Sea*, to the Weſt by *Georgia*, to the North by a Part of *Sarmatia Aſiatica* near Mount *Caucaſus*, and to the South by a Diſtrict of *Great Armenia*, near the River *Cyrus* or *Cur*, as the People of the Eaſt now call it.

55 The Country of the *Arabians*, or *Arabia*; reaches Eaſtward to the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, Northward and Weſtward to *Paleſtine*, and advances Southward, between the *Red Sea*, and the *Perſian Gulph*. It is divided into three Provinces, called *Arabia Deſerta*, *Arabia Fælix*, and *Arabia Petræa*.

The firſt is bounded, to the Weſt, by *Syria*, *The Holy Land*, and *Arabia Petræa*; to the North, by *Diarbeck*; to the Eaſt, by *Perſia*; and to the South, by a Chain of Mountains. It was inhabited forty Years by the *Iſraelites*, till ſuch Time as they took Poſſeſſion of the Land of *Promiſe*. Its chief Nations were formerly reckoned to be, The *Idumæans*, *Moabites*, *Midianites*, and *Amalakites*. It was called *Deſerta*, or *The Deſert*, on account of the dryneſs of its Soil, which is ſandy, and lies among Mountains. Its Inhabitants were called *Scenitæ*, becauſe they formerly lived in *Tents*, after the manner of the *Nomades*; as they do to this Day, under the Conduct of their *Emirs*.

The ſecond is bounded, to the Eaſt, by the *Perſian Gulph*; to the Weſt, by the *Red Sea*; to the South, by the Ocean; and to the North, by Mountains that divide it from *Arabia Deſerta* and *Arabia Petræa*. It was called *Fælix*, or *The Happy*, on account of the Fineneſs of the Climate, and the Fruitfulneſs of the Soil; which, according to *Strabo*, produced two Crops in a Year. The Ancients alſo call it *The Holy*, becauſe it produced Incenſe, and Aromaticks of all ſorts, which the *Pagans* uſed in great Plenty, in the Worſhip of their Gods. But *Arabia Fælix* was chiefly famous among the Ancients, for its great Plenty of Gold and Silver Mines, and for its precious Stones, and Pearls, which are found on the Sea-Coaſt in Shell-fiſh. The People of this fine Country were called *Sabæans*, from *Saba* the Son of *Chus*, and Grandſon of *Ham*.

Arabia Petræa took its Name from the City of *Petra*, ſituated on the Coaſt of *The Dead Sea*. St. *Jerome* and *Joſephus* call it *Nabathæa*. But *Strabo* derives the Name from the City of *Petra*, which, according to him, was called *Nabatha* in the moſt ancient Times. This Country lies along by the Side of the *Red Sea*, between *Syria*, *Paleſtine*, *Arabia Fælix*, and *Arabia Deſerta*. The *Ammonites* poſſeſſed a Part of it, near the Mountains of *Gilead*.

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of Ground. Whereas on the other hand, the 30000 Men in the *Roman* Army, ſeemed ſcarce viſible, or at leaſt appeared to take up but a very little Spot. Inſomuch that *Tigranes* himſelf deſpiſed the *Romans*, when he firſt took a view of them from an Eminence; and jocoſely ſaid of them, what the ancient Hiſtorians ſo often repeat: *If* Lucullus *comes to me as an Ambaſſador, his Train is too numerous; if as a General, his Army too weak.* Upon which, ſome of his principal Officers, the more effectually to make their court, earneſtly preſſed him, to give one of them a Commiſſion, to go and fight the *Romans* with a ſingle Detachment; and told him, *That it was beneath the Dignity of the King of Kings, to engage perſonally with an handful of raſh Men.*

§. XXVII. There ran between the two Armies in a vaſt Plain, a winding River which the Hiſtorians don't name, and which by the Circumſtances of the Story, we gueſs was the [56] *Tigris*. The King was poſted on the Eaſt ſide of it; and *Lucullus* on the Weſt, in a kind of Peninſula, formed by its turnings. There the *Pro-Conſul* drew up his little Army in Battalia, on the ſixth of *October* in the Morning; and ſeemed to intend to paſs the River. One of his Officers informed him, this was deemed an *unfortunate* Day, becauſe *Cæpio* had formerly been beaten on this Day, in a Battle of Importance with the *Cimbri*. But *Lucullus* briſkly replied, *Then we will make it fortunate.* He had ordered the River to be ſounded in ſeveral Places; and finding it fordable in an Elbow at ſome diſtance where it widened, he inſtantly ordered his Troops to ſeize the Ford, and marched out of his Peninſula in fine Order. *Tigranes* ſaw the *Roman* Army move, and being vain, ſaid, *Theſe* Romans *are afraid of me, and are fleeing.* But *Taxiles* judged better. He ſaid to the King: *No; it is not for nothing that our Enemies have dreſſed themſelves in their fineſt Cloaths, and cleaned their Arms. By the ſhining of their Helmets and Bucklers, I gueſs they are coming to us, to fight us.* And indeed, *Lucullus* had the Boldneſs to paſs a great River in ſight of an Army of 300000 Men, tho' followed by only one *Legion* and ſome *Cohorts*, and attack the Enemy. He thought it neceſſary to ſurprize the *Aſiaticks* by an unexpected Blow, before this Multitude could have Time, to draw themſelves up in right Order, and take their Poſts.

Tigranes really thought the *Romans* retiring, till he ſaw one of their *Eagles* draw near him, after they had paſſed the River. Then trembling, he cried out in Aſtoniſhment, *What! they are then really coming to us!* and this ſaid, ran in all haſte, to draw up his Army in ſome Regularity. But it was formed in great Diſorder. *Tigranes* commanded in the Center, the King of the *Adiabeni* in the left Wing, and the King of the *Medes* in the Right. The light Cavalry covered the right Wing, and thoſe mounted on Horſes in Armour the Left; and the latter being the moſt formidable Part, *Lucullus* there began the Attack in Perſon. That he might be the more eaſily known, he made himſelf conſpicuous by the Finery of his Arms; and perceiving that the heavy-armed Cavalry of the Enemy were poſted on an Eminence, he marched up to them on Foot, Sword in Hand; exhorted the two *Cohorts* he led on, to follow him, and ordered his auxiliary Cavalry to attack them in Flank, while he did ſo in Front. The only Arms of the *Aſiatick* Cavalry were Lances; theſe the *Romans* turned aſide with their Swords; and then, it was eaſy for every one to kill his Man, who was in a manner impriſoned in his Armour. As ſoon as *Lucullus* had reached the top of the Eminence, he cried out to his Army, *Romans, the Victory is ours!* The Cavalry which was ſo formidable in appearance, fled in a ſhameful manner, and in their Rout fell in with their own Infantry, and put them into Diſorder.

Epit. Liv. L. 98. *c.* 46.

Ibid. c. 47.

After this beginning, the Slaughter grew very great. The *Romans* conquered almoſt without ſtriking a Stroke, or loſing a drop of Blood. *Tigranes* retired immediately, gave his Diadem, with Tears in his Eyes, to his Son, and ordered him to ſecure himſelf by Flight. This young Prince durſt not put on the royal Fillet; and before he left the Plain, gave it to an *Armenian* one of his Friends, to ſecure it. This Man, with his Depoſitum, was taken Priſoner, and the Diadem was kept by *Lucullus* to be a Monument of his Victory. However, the reſt of the Army, did not find it ſo eaſy to

56 The *Tigris*, called *Dagella*, by the *Arabians*, riſes in the Mountains of *Great Armenia*, near the Places where the *Euphrates* riſes. It waters the Plains of *Meſopotamia*, after it has run a conſiderable Way under Ground. From thence it paſſes into *Babylonia*, and divides itſelf into two Branches, which both fall into the *Euphrates*, and make it a great River, which alſo divides itſelf into two Branches, and then falls into the *Perſian Gulph*.

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retreat, as *Tigranes* and his Son. Their own Numbers embarraſſed them. The ſwifteſt ſtopped up the Roads againſt the reſt, and kept them back under the Swords of the Conquerors. The *Romans* are ſaid to have been tired, with the Number of their own Blows, and to have thought it rather a Reproach than an Honour to them, that the whole Action was more a Slaughter than a Battle. In this bloody Defeat, which was ſuch as had ſeldom been parallelled, *Lucullus* is ſaid to have loſt only five Foot-Soldiers, tho' he killed 100000 of the *Aſiatick* Infantry, and almoſt all their Cavalry. And after this compleat Victory, the greateſt Generals in *Rome* expreſſed an Eſteem for him. They ſaid, *That he had conquered the two greateſt Generals in the Eaſt, by very different Methods; the vaſt Army of* Mithridates *before* Cyzicus, *by Delays; and the yet more numerous Forces of* Tigranes, *by Diſpatch.* *Mithridates* [57] was not in this great Action. Some ſay, that depending on the Delays of *Lucullus*, which he had experienced, he did not make much haſte to the Camp of *Tigranes*; and by that means, had the good Fortune, not to partake of his Diſgrace. Nevertheleſs, he did not inſult *Tigranes* in his Misfortunes, tho' he had met with ſuch Treatment from him, in his own Diſtreſs. He, on the contrary, comforted him, kept up his Spirits, and gave him Hopes of being ſoon able to raiſe a new Army.

App. in Mithridat. Plut. in Lucullo.

§. XXVIII. Notwithſtanding the Loſs of the Battle, *Manæus* the Governour of *Tigranocerta* did not ſurrender it up immediately: But put himſelf into a Condition to defend it, tho' by ſuch Means as proved fatal to it. The Inhabitants of the City conſiſted partly of *Armenians*, partly *Syrians*, and partly *Greeks*; and the Governour ſuſpecting the latter of a Plot, to deliver up the City to the Enemy, diſarmed them without turning them out of the Place. They therefore armed themſelves with Staves, made themſelves Bucklers of their Cloaths and Moveables, fell upon the Garriſon, ſeized the Arms of thoſe whom they killed, and overpowered the reſt. Then they invited the *Romans* to ſcale the Walls, and helped them to take the City. Thus *Tigranes* loſt in few Days, a very great Army, and the fineſt City in his Dominions. *Lucullus* gave it up to be plundered by his Soldiers, but with the Order that military Diſcipline requires. Beſides the Statues and valuable Moveables, they found there 8000 *Talents*, in Gold and Silver Coin. Out of the whole Booty, the General gave each of his Soldiers, 800 *Drachmæ*; and kept the many Muſicians and Comedians, which *Tigranes* had brought to *Tigranocerta* to conſecrate a Theatre he had lately built there, to celebrate his Victory. After this, he ſent the *Greeks* home into their own Country, and gave them Money to defray their Expences on the Road. The News of theſe great Exploits, a little effaced the ill Impreſſions the *Publicans* had made on the Minds of the common People at *Rome*, with regard to *Lucullus*. What *Roman* could refuſe his Applauſe to the *Roman* General, who had firſt made the Arms of the Republick triumphant beyond the *Euphrates!* But the Conqueror had ſome very obſtinate Enemies among the covetous *Roman Knights*, whoſe Avarice he had reſtrained by wiſe Regulations. They waited only for the News of his ill Succeſs, or Indolence, to ruin him. They already reported, That he had ſuffered *Tigranes* to eſcape in the Battle of *Tigranocerta*, only in order to prolong the War, maintain himſelf in his Government, and enrich himſelf with the Spoils of *Aſia*. Such were the Diſpoſitions of the People at *Rome*, with Regard to *Lucullus*, when *Pompey* and *Craſſus* went out of their *Conſulſhip*; ſomewhat reconciled, as was reported, but ſtill Rivals.

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§. XXIX. The laſt Year the Republick had promoted two illuſtrious Warriors to her higheſt Honours; and now ſhe divided them between a famous Orator, and an Officer of Reputation. The Majority of the Suffrages were given in Favour of *Q.*

57 *Mithridates* was not in haſte to join *Tigranes*. He made ſhort Marches, taking it for granted, that *Lucullus* would be dilatory as uſual, and not fight a Battle with the King of *Armenia*, till he had taken the ſame Precautions, he had uſed againſt him, before the laſt Battle, which compleated the Conqueſt of *Pontus*. But the Appearance of ſome *Armenian* Soldiers who were ſtruck with Terror, and of a great many wounded Men who were rambling about, out of any Road, ſufficiently informed him of the Rout of his Son-in-Law; whom he ſought a great while, and at laſt found deſerted by every Body, and reduced to the State of a miſerable Fugitive. Then *Mithridates* ſeemed to forget his own Misfortunes, in order to ſhew his Compaſſion for thoſe of *Tigranes*. The Humiliation of the greateſt King in *Aſia* drew Tears from his Eyes. As ſoon as he ſaw him, he alighted from his Horſe, to go and meet him; embraced him tenderly, comforted him, uſed all the Means he could to raiſe his Hopes; and ordered his own Officers and Guards, to attend only the afflicted Monarch. At length the two Kings made it their whole Buſineſs to raiſe new Troops, in order to repair their Loſſes.

58 *Hortenſius,*

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[58] *Hortenſius*, who ſpent almoſt his whole Life in peaceful Employments. He was eſteemed in his Youth for his Eloquence; and made but one Leap, if I may ſo ſpeak, from common Pleadings to the moſt important State-Cauſes. No Orator was more methodical, or with regard to Diction, more forcible, or more florid. His Memory was ſo good, that when he had once conſidered his Subject, he ſpoke what he intended without Notes, and without any Heſitation; and his Voice was ſo harmonious, and his Geſtures ſo well judged, that his Action exceeded all Expectation. The *Romans*, believing that the Art of Rhetorick, when managed by a Man zealous for the publick good, might be as uſefully employed in the Service of the State, as the Art of War, promoted the laborious *Hortenſius* to the higheſt Dignity; and thereby encouraged Perſons brought up in thoſe Studies, to conſider Eloquence as a Means whereby they might advance themſelves to as great Honours, as were acquired by the Sword. The Acclamations of the People were to Orators, what a *Triumph* was to Soldiers; and tho' there was ſomething more glittering in the triumphal Proceſſion, yet the repeated Applauſes of the People to thoſe who had charmed them with their Speeches, were ſurely, at leaſt, equal in Honour, to the tranſient Glory of the triumphant Victors. In ſhort, *Hortenſius*, without any other Merit, than that of Probity, and the Talent of ſpeaking with Dignity, Energy, and Grace, obtained the Suffrages of the People for the *Conſulſhip*; and the Collegue given him was one Q. [59] *Metellus*, who had always made Arms his Profeſſion. It was very proper, that at leaſt one of the Heads of the Republick ſhould be able, if Occaſion required, to lead an Army into the Field, or put a Stop to Inſurrections, and unexpected Tumults.

The two new *Conſuls* drew Lots for their Provinces, as uſual. *Rome* was determined to carry the War into the Iſland of *Crete*, not ſo much on account of the *Cretans* ſiding with *Mithridates* and giving a Retreat to the Pyrates, as out of a Deſire of conquering it; and it fell to the Lot of *Hortenſius*, to command the Troops that were to go thither. But the wiſe *Conſul* underſtood himſelf better than to undertake it. As he knew, how unqualified he was for military Expeditions, and found more Pleaſure in governing publick Aſſemblies by the Power of Perſuaſion, he readily reſigned to his Collegue the glorious Employment which had fallen to his Lot. Nevertheleſs, *Metellus* poſtponed ſetting Sail, till the Time of his *Conſulſhip* was expired. So that we ſhall not ſee him enter upon Action, till the next Year. All was calm at *Rome*, during this peaceful Adminiſtration. *Pompey* gave himſelf up to repoſe, after his long Fatigues. He had proteſted, when he entered upon the *Conſulſhip*, that he would not accept of any Commiſſion which ſhould ſend him away from *Rome*. But Heroes in vain Promiſe themſelves great Happineſs in Retirement. Their natural Activity ſoon gives them a diſlike to it. They flatter themſelves, that they can continue n Tranquillity in Port; but the firſt favourable Wind that blows, calls them out to Sea. However, *Pompey*, at leaſt, enjoyed his Leiſure with Dignity. He no longer intermeddled in publick Affairs; or ſo much as employed his Rhetorick, as he formerly had done, for the Service of his Friends. He neither frequented the Bar, nor the Aſſemblies of the People. He ſeldom went out of his Houſe; and when he did, was always guarded in a pompous manner. He did not think the Multitude worthy of acceſs to him, and therefore admitted only ſelect Perſons into his Company; and even theſe Airs of Sufficiency and Grandeur did not leſſen him in the Affection of the People. He affected them, to keep up the Reſpect due to him, a Man of ſuperior Rank and uncommon Merit; and indeed thought it below the Character of a triumphant Victor, to converſe with the generality even of the Nobility. But this Policy, tho' ſucceſsful with him, would not have been ſo, with any other.

Flor. L. 3. c. 7.

Cicero Verr. 1.

Plut. in Pomp.

There was only one Perſon who diſputed with him the firſt Place in the Eſteem of the publick, and he did it, by a very different Conduct. No body was ever more obliging, more affable, or more eaſy of Acceſs, than Q. *Lutatius Catulus*. After his *Conſulate*, which he had diſtinguiſhed by Acts of great Reſolution and Juſtice; this wiſe old Man was now at the Head of the Senate; and a Perſon was to be nominated to conſecrate the magnificent Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, which ſince its being burnt in the Civil Wars, had been rebuilt, with an Expence worthy of the Maſters of

Epit. Livian. Cic. Verrina. 6. Plin. L. 7. c. 43.

[58] The *Hortenſian* Family, tho' *Plebeian*, was one of the moſt conſiderable in *Rome*. It furniſhed the Republick with one *Dictator* in the Year 666, and with ſeveral *Conſuls*, *Prætors*, and *Tribunes of the People*.

[59] This *Quintus Metellus* was the Son of *Metellus Dalmaticus*, who has been ſpoken of, in the preceding Parts of this Hiſtory.

Year of ROME DCLXXXIV. Q. Hortensius, & Q. Cæcilius Metellus, Consuls. *Epit. Liv. L. 98. c. 31.*

the World. *Sylla*, to his great Mortification, had miſſed this Honour; and did not think himſelf the moſt fortunate of Men, becauſe he had not the Glory of preſiding at the Conſecration of an Edifice, which he had begun to raiſe out of its Ruins. When the Temple was finiſhed, many Perſons entertained Hopes of it; and *Pompey* doubtleſs expected this honourable Diſtinction. But *Catulus* was preferred before him. When the Ceremony was performed, the Heat being very intenſe, the Conſecrator ſcreened the People from the Sun with a kind of Vails or Curtains; and this introduced the Cuſtom of erecting them in the *Shows of the Circus*.

Dio Caſſ. in Fragmento L. 15. Plut. in Lucullo.

§. XXX. Such were the Amuſements of the idle in the Capital, whilſt *Lucullus* was forming the vaſt Deſign of ſubduing all *Aſia*. He had ſpent the Winter, in the Heart of *Armenia*, without ſtirring from his Conqueſts; partly, in Incurſions into the neighbouring Countries, and partly in Negotiations with the Kings which might join *Tigranes* and *Mithridates*. [60] *Antiochus* King of *Comagene*, and *Alchaudo* one of the little Sovereigns of *Arabia*, declared openly for the *Romans*. That Province of *Armenia* which was called *Gordyæa*, becauſe at the Foot of the *Gordyæan* [61] Mountains, that is, of Mount *Ararat* [62], had ſurrendered to *Lucullus*; and the King of this little Territory, whoſe Name was *Zarbienus* [63], had lately been aſſaſſinated by Order of *Tigranes*. The *Roman* General went thither; ordered [64] magnificent Obſequies to be performed for this faithful Ally; and, finding his Coffers full of Gold and Silver, and his Magazines furniſhed with 300 Meaſures of Corn, ſeized them. By this Means he provided for the Subſiſtence of his Troops, and enabled himſelf to carry on the War, without any Draughts from the Treaſury of the Republick. But, in the midſt of this Proſperity, there ſtarted up another Enemy, whom the *Pro-Conſul* had more Reaſon to fear than *Tigranes* and *Mithridates*. This was [65] *Arſaces* King of the *Parthians*, whoſe Dominion reached over all *Perſia*, and as far as to *Media*. Indeed the different Provinces of this great State, were not yet united in that Concord which was afterwards eſtabliſhed among them, when *Craſſus* carried the War thither. But nevertheleſs, it was in the Power of *Arſaces*, to throw a great Weight into the Ballance, either in favour of *Tigranes*, or the *Romans*.

Salluſt. in Fragmento.

The King of *Armenia* had already got the Start; and had ſent an Embaſſy to the King of the *Parthians*, to intreat him to make an offenſive and defenſive League, againſt the Enemy of all *Aſia*; and the more effectually to engage him, the Ambaſſador had Orders to give him up three Provinces, which had hitherto been in Diſpute, *viz. Meſopotamia*, *Adiabene*, and that which was called *The Great Valley*. With his Inſtructions, the Ambaſſador carried a Letter from *Mithridates*, which ought to be eſteemed as a maſterly Piece of Eloquence. *Before you reſolve on Peace or a Neutrality*, ſaid he to the King of *Parthia*; *it becomes you to conſider, whether either would not be ſhameful, and at the ſame time prejudicial to your Dominions. I am not ſo preſumptuous as to hope, that you will interrupt the beloved Tranquillity you enjoy, on my Account. To eſpouſe the Quarrel of an unfortunate King, and ſhare his Calamities, would be an Act of greater Generoſity than I have any Right to require. Or how can* Tigranes *himſelf expect, that after the Conteſts that have kept you at variance, you ſhould intereſt your ſelf in his Cauſe, if he will not give up the Points in Diſpute? For my own part, I*

60 The *Antiochus* here ſpoken of, was the *thirteenth* of that Name, and the Son of *Antiochus the Pious*, and *Selene*. This Prince, who was the laſt of the Race of the *Seleucidæ*, was ſurnamed *Aſiaticus*, becauſe he kept himſelf concealed in *Aſia Minor*, whilſt *Tigranes* made himſelf Maſter of his Dominions. After the Defeat of *Tigranes*, *Lucullus* ſuffered *Antiochus* to take Poſſeſſion again of the Kingdom of his Anceſtors. But *Pompey* would ſuffer him to reign only in *Comagene*, a little Province of *Syria*, whoſe Capital was *Samoſata*, a City on the Banks of the *Euphrates*.

61 See above Note 52, of this Book.

62 There is an ancient Tradition, that *Noah's* Ark reſted on this Mountain, which is now called *Meſſovar*, that is, *The Mountain of the Ark*.

63 According to *Plutarch*, *Zarbienus*, tired out with the Tyranny of *Tigranes*, had privately concluded a Treaty with *Lucullus*, by the Interpoſition of *Appius Clodius*. The King of *Armenia*, being informed of this Negotiation, invaded *Gordyæa*, ſeized the Prince, and put him and his Wife and Children to Death, before the *Romans* had made themſelves a Way into *Armenia*.

64 *Plutarch* adds, That he gave a great Sum of Money, for erecting a ſtately Tomb to the Memory of this faithful Ally of the *Romans*.

65 Since the Time of *Mithridates the Second*, with whom the *Romans* made an Alliance, by *Sylla's* Means, as we have before obſerved in this Volume, the Empire of the *Parthians* had been ſucceſſively governed by *Arſaces Mnaskites*, *Arſaces Sinatroſkes*, and *Phraates the Third* who was ſurnamed *Arſaces* as well as his Predeceſſors. The latter had reigned a Year, when *Mithridates* implored his Aſſiſtance againſt the *Romans*.

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have learnt Wiſdom by my Adverſity; and my ill Fortune has enabled me to give wholeſome Advice. My Sufferings may be an uſeful Leſſon to all the Sovereigns in Aſia. *They may learn from me, to know the* Romans. *Their Avarice and Ambition draws them from Kingdom to Kingdom; and they will never leave off conquering, as long as they can find any Riches to ſeize, or Countries to reduce. Thus from* Carthage *they went over into* Macedon; *and* Philip's *Defeat followed that of* Hannibal. *And thus the Overthrow of* Antiochus *ſoon ſucceeded the Ruin of* Perſes. *Nor has their Artifice contributed leſs to their Grandeur than Force and Violence.* Eumenes *and* Nicomedes *entered into Friendſhip with them; and the Fruits they reaped from it were, that the Kingdoms of* Pergamus *and* Bithynia *became* Roman Provinces. *Yet ſtill I maintained myſelf in my Dominions, and reigned in Wealth, independent of the Tyranny of* Rome. *But my Riches and Independence cauſed all my Misfortunes. Who are there that now enjoy any Liberty, throughout the whole World, but you,* Ptolomy [66], *and the* Cretans? *The Weſt has undergone the ſame Fate as the Eaſt. The Wars of the* Romans *in* Spain, *brought on thoſe in* Gaul; *and the Reduction of one might have foreboded that of the other. And will the Torrent, which is now overflowing the Dominions of* Tigranes, *when that is done, ſpare yours? I am very ſenſible, that your Riches are as immenſely great, as your Dominions are extenſive. But that is the very bait which will draw theſe inſatiable Robbers upon you. Whether they offer you an Alliance with them, or threaten you with their Arms, their only Aim is to ruin you. But in this, they can never ſucceed, if you have the Courage to join* Tigranes, *and me. Our Affairs are far from deſperate. We have already armed numerous Nations; and I flatter myſelf, that I neither want Experience nor Courage, to enable me to command a great Army. If you will appear in* Meſopotamia, *at the ſame Time, that we poſt ourſelves in* Armenia; *the Enemy will irrecoverably be deſtitute of Proviſions, and periſh, either by Famine or the Sword.*

§. XXXI. *Lucullus* was informed of the Steps *Tigranes* and *Mithridates* were taking, with the King of *Parthia*; and he ſent *Sextilius*, one of his chief Officers, to [67] *Seleucia*, the Capital of the Kingdom of *Arſaces*. But the diſtruſtful Prince was ſuſpicious of an Ambaſſador who was a Soldier. He looked on *Sextilius*, as a Spy, who was come to examine into the Strength of his Dominions, and immediately ſent him back. Nevertheleſs he, by an [68] Embaſſy, gave the *Romans* reaſon to hope, that he would ſend them Succours. And as to the Ambaſſadors of *Tigranes*, he diſmiſſed them as abruptly as he had done *Sextilius*; but to make them amends, gave them this Anſwer, That he would join his Forces with thoſe of the *Armenians*. Theſe were fine [69] Promiſes; but his Reſolution was, to take Advantage of the Diviſions in *Aſia*, to ſettle himſelf the more firmly on his Throne, which he had but lately inherited, ſince the Death of his Father *Sinatrus*. So that he contented himſelf with being a Spectator of the Quarrels in his Neighbourhood, without any Concern about the Reſentments of *Tigranes*, or the Vengeance of *Lucullus*, whom he had deceived with falſe Promiſes. But the *Roman* General was exaſperated at the Falſhood of a Prince, who laughed at both Parties; and ſaid in a Rage, Arſaces *thinks to procure himſelf Peace by baſe Actions. But I will kindle a War in his Dominions, and have the Pleaſure of having put the three moſt flouriſhing Countries in* Aſia, *in a Flame. It is much to the Honour of a Wreſtler, to be able to contend with more Adverſaries than one, at the ſame Time.*

Dio, L. 35. Plut. in Lucullo. App. in Mithridat.

Plut. in Lucullo.

In purſuance of this Reſolution, *Lucullus* ſent Orders to *Sornatius*, whom he had left Governor in the Kingdom of *Pontus*, to bring him to *Gordyæa*, all thoſe *Roman* Troops, that were left on the Coaſt of the *Euxine* Sea. But the *Legionaries* mutinied in a very ſcandalous Manner. *Sornatius* had already experienced their Untractableneſs more than once; and now, they entered into a Plot, to deſpiſe the *Pro-Conſul*'s Or-

66 This *Ptolomy* is known in the Hiſtory of the *Lagidæ*, by the Name of *Alexander the Second*. He was the Son of that *Ptolomy Alexander* whom we have ſeen ſo long diſpute the Crown of *Egypt*, with his Brother *Ptolomy Lathurus*. We ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of him, in the next Volume.

67 There were many Cities of this Name in *Aſia*. That here ſpoken of was ſituated on the Banks of the *Hedypho* in *Elymais*, a Diſtrict of *Perſia*, near *The Perſian Gulph*. *Strabo* ſpeaks of it as a conſiderable City.

68 According to *Plutarch*, *Arſaces* had firſt prevented *Lucullus* by a ſolemn Embaſſy. The *Roman* General was then in *Gordyæa*; and there received the Ambaſſadors, who came to him in the Name of their Maſter, to deſire the Alliance and Friendſhip of the prevailing Republick.

69 *Memnon* and *Plutarch* add, That *Arſaces*, who was long in doubt what Part to act, at length determined in favour of *Tigranes*, upon Condition, that he would give him up *Meſopotamia*, and *Adiabene*, for his Reward, for the Succours he offered him. On the other hand, *Lucullus*, who was informed of theſe private Negotiations, threatened the King of *Parthia* to make War in his Dominions, if he accepted the Offer of the King of *Armenia*.

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ders, and demand their Diſmiſſal, with leave to return to *Rome*, or at leaſt ſettle in a Country already conquered, where they lived at eaſe, and out of Danger. From them the Mutiny ſpread to the Troops *Lucullus* had with him in the middle of *Armenia*; and they highly extolled the Conduct of their refractory Comrades. *They behave themſelves like Men*, ſaid they, *and will not ſubmit like Slaves to the Caprice of thoſe that command them. Shall we be obliged to encounter a new Enemy, and expoſe ourſelves to the Arrows of the* Parthians, *after we have tried the Lances of the* Syrians? In ſhort ſo effectual were theſe Murmurs, that they obliged *Lucullus* to lay aſide his Deſign of attacking *Arſaces*; and the Report of the Diſcontents of his Army reached *Rome*. There the *Publicans*, who hated him, declaimed loudly againſt him; and the *Comitium* rung with ſevere Cenſures of his Conduct. Some ſaid, *He was ſo ambitious as to raiſe up one War after another, purely for the ſake of continuing himſelf in his Command; and thereby brought the* Roman *Name into Diſgrace among Foreigners.* Others ſaid, *He was ſo imperious, that his Haughtineſs made the Yoke of Diſcipline inſupportable to his Soldiers; and ſo proud and contemptuous, as to deſpiſe Officers of Diſtinction, ſome of whom were better born than himſelf.* And indeed, theſe Complaints were not entirely without Foundation. He was haughty in his Deportment, and when he gave Orders, there was ſomething very rough and inſolent in his Manner, at leaſt in the Tone of his Voice. But, ſhould ſuch ſlight Defects in Temper and Behaviour, have been puniſhed as Crimes? Ought not rather the very many Victories and Conqueſts which he had gained, to have effaced them? But this is one common Inconvenience in all Republican Governments. Great Services are in them ſoon forgotten; and ſometimes the ſmalleſt Failures, or even their Superiority of Merit, are made Crimes in thoſe who have ſerved the State, with moſt Zeal and Fidelity.

Memnon apud Euſeb.

§. XXXII. Theſe Invectives againſt *Lucullus* were alſo increaſed by the Condemnation of *Cotta*, one of his Lieutenant-Generals, in the Wars in *Pontus*. We have before obſerved, that *Cotta*, after he had taken, ſacked, and burnt, the City of *Heraclea*, ſet out for *Rome*, and carried with him the rich Spoils of that fine City. As ſoon as he appeared in the Capital of the World, the Enemies of *Lucullus* began a Suit againſt him, for imbezzling the publick Money; more in order to have a Pretence to decry the General, than out of Hatred to the accuſed. Indeed *Cotta* had put into the publick Treaſury a great Part of the Booty he had brought from *Heraclea*, and the Sea had ſwallowed up the reſt. But the common People ſaid, *The Robber has concealed from us the beſt Part of the Spoils. Why elſe does not* Oppius *his* Quæſtor *appear? Without doubt, he has ſpirited him away, that there might be no Eye-witneſs here, to teſtify his Rapines.* Whilſt, at the ſame time, every one knew the Cauſe, that obliged *Oppius* to conceal himſelf. He had made an Attempt to aſſaſſinate his Commander, and had been taken with a Dagger in his Hand, ready to ſtab him. So that the Malice of the Accuſers made *Cotta* reſponſible, for the Abſence of a Man, who would have taken away his Life; and to increaſe the Injuſtice, a formal Suit was begun in Behalf of the *Heracleots* againſt their Conqueror. One *Thraſimedes*, a Native of *Heraclea*, was produced before the Judges, and in the Name of all his Countrymen, inveighed bitterly againſt *Cotta*. Beſides, the great Number of *Heracleots*, of all Ages and both Sexes, which had been brought Priſoners to *Rome*, came and proſtrated themſelves before the aſſembled People, with Olive-branches in their Hands. So that, every Thing ſeemed to tend towards condemning the Lieutenant-General to Baniſhment, the Puniſhment inflicted on publick Oppreſſors; but the People were content, with depriving him of his Seat in the Senate, by a Decree; and this Diſgrace affected him leſs, than it did *Lucullus*. The Exclamations were ſo great againſt the latter, that the People immediately decreed it neceſſary, to ſend two *Prætors* to *Pontus* in *Aſia*, to ſet in order that Province, which had been ſo ill governed; and the ſame Decree added, that one of the ſucceeding *Conſuls* for the next Year, ſhould go and govern *Cilicia*. This was depriving *Lucullus* of all Titles, without recalling him. This illuſtrious Soldier had hitherto carried on the War in the *Levant*, with no other Quality or Character, than that of *Pro-Conſul* of *Cilicia*; and being now deprived of his Government, he retained the Command of the Army only by the Connivance of the Republick, which had not yet ordered him to be recalled. As for *Pompey*, it is not probable, that he at all contributed to this firſt Fall of *Lucullus*, or yet had it in his view, to ſucceed him in the Eaſt. His whole Pleaſure at preſent conſiſted, in ſpending his Time in Tranquillity and Pomp, though in Retirement; in being conſidered in *Rome* as a Man neceſſary to the State;

and being desired as the most proper Person for all the important Expeditions which were given in Commission to others.

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§. XXXIII. When the *Consular* Year drew near to an end, and the People assembled in *The Field of Mars* to choose new Governors; the majority of the Suffrages were given to [70] *L. Cæcilius Metellus* the Brother of the last *Consul* of that Name, and to [71] *Q. Marcius* surnamed *Rex*, because his Family was descended from King *Marcius*. But the former died before he entered upon his Office, and another was chosen in his Room, whose Name the Historians have not transmitted to us. He also died, almost as soon as he had taken Possession of the *Consulate*; and *Rome* being alarmed at these two Deaths, the People superstitiously took it for granted, that it was the Pleasure of Heaven, that the Republick should be governed one whole Year by *Marcius Rex* alone. Before his Election, the *Roman* People had decreed, That one of the *Consuls* for this Year, should go and govern *Cilicia*, that is, all the Coast of *Asia*; for *Cilicia properly so called* was become the Retreat of the Pirates; and *Marcius*, being sole Governor of the Republick, deferred his Voyage till the next Year, and continued in *Rome*, to preserve Order there. The *Tribunes of the People*, whom *Pompey* had restored to their first Lustre, now began to take Wing. There were unlawful Assemblies forming in *Rome*, the Consequences of which were dreaded; and the Presence of the *Consul* was thought necessary, to disperse these Cabals. *Marcius* therefore got these lawless Meetings forbidden by the Senate, and the Capital continued in Tranquillity.

L. Cæcilius Metellus & Q. Marcius Rex, Consuls.

Dio Cassius.

Ascon. Pædian. in Pisonianam.

Abroad, two illustrious *Roman* Generals were employed in two Wars, an old, and a new one. Notwithstanding the Untractableness of his Troops, *Lucullus* continued to make War with *Mithridates* and *Tigranes*; and *Q. Cæcilius Metellus* prepared a great Armament, to be made use of against the *Cretans*, whose Ruin had been resolved on at *Rome*. We will therefore begin with the first Exploits of the former, and conclude with the Victories of the latter.

§. XXXIV. *Lucullus*, at the great distance he was from *Rome*, either knew little of the Pains that were there taken to bring him into Disgrace, or at least affected not to know it. He was bent on finishing the Work he had begun, either by utterly destroying the Kings of *Pontus* and *Armenia*, or by forcing them to accept of such a Peace from him, as should redound to his Honour, and confound his Enemies. And he would certainly have executed one of these Schemes, if his Officers and Soldiers had been as obedient as they ought to have been. But the Ill-will which was raised in the *Roman* People against him, was sensibly perceived even in *Asia*. His Troops were no longer attached to him as formerly. He had, for a great while together, Authority enough over them, to force them to spend very severe Seasons in Tents; which had enabled him to prevent his Enemies, and appear first in the Field. But now, it was not without Difficulty, that he could prevail on his Soldiers to leave their Winter-Quarters and follow him. So that he continued much longer than he desired in the plentiful Country of *Gordyæa*; and by this forced Delay, gave *Mithridates* time to recollect himself.

The King of *Armenia* left all the Care of raising Troops, and making new Preparations for the next Campaign, to his Father-in Law; and *Mithridates* preferring the *Armenian* Soldiers to the *Syrian*, raised all his Army in *Armenia*. All the Subjects of *Tigranes* that were able to bear Arms, were obliged to appear before the King of *Pontus*; and he chose 60000 of the most robust for his Infantry, and 35000 of the most dextrous for his Cavalry. This new Army was not tumultuously divided into Nations, as usual, but formed into *Cohorts*, under their proper *Centurions* and *Tribunes*. Each Troop had its own Standards, and at the same time was subject to its general Officers. In short *Mithridates* introduced among the *Asiaticks* the Customs and Discipline of the *Romans*, in Encampments, Marches, and the Conduct of Battles. In all the Villages in the Country, he ordered Arms to be made, and Provisions got together; and taught his new Levies their Exercise, and the Use of their Arms, by the old Officers, who had followed him in the Wars in *Pontus*: and by this means, raised a much more regular Body of Forces, than those of *Syria*, of which *Tigranes* had formed an Army.

App. in Mithridat.

70 The *Great Tables* falsely suppose, that this *Metellus* was the same *Quintus Cæcilius Metellus*, surnamed *Creticus*, who was *Consul* the last Year. At that Rate, this must have been his second *Consulship*.

71 We have already shewn the Origin and Descent of the *Marcian* Family in the preceeding Volumes.

Year of *ROME* DCLXXXV.

Q. Marcius Rex, Conſul.

Plut. in Lucullo.

The Spring and the beſt Part of the Summer were already paſt, when *Lucullus*'s Soldiers thought fit to leave their Winter-Quarters, and take the Field; and it was not without Intreaties, and Management, that the General could get his Orders obeyed by his diſaffected Troops. However, he took the Advantage of a Fit of Good-humour; and at laſt paſſed Mount *Taurus* with his Army. But, tho' the Corn was ripe in all other Places, he found to his great Mortification, that in the neighbouring Valleys, it was yet in the Blade; and he was under a Neceſſity of ſubſiſting upon it. The Army of *Syrians* which *Tigranes* commanded, and that of the *Armenians* under the Conduct of *Mithridates*, were both near him; and the latter ran leſs Hazards, and moved with much more Precaution, than the former. *Mithridates* had pitched his Camp at the Foot of a Mountain, which covered it, and ſcarce ever ſtirred out of it. *Tigranes* was continually ſending out his Cavalry, either to intercept the Convoys of the *Romans*, or ſkirmiſh with them; though they never returned to their Camp without being beaten. *Lucullus* often attempted to draw *Mithridates* to a general Action, but he had learnt Wiſdom from his Loſſes. Nevertheleſs the *Roman* found Means to make his Advantage of the Fearfulneſs of the one, and the Raſhneſs of the other. He ſeized the Magazine of Corn, which was prepared for *Tigranes*, and thereby reduced thoſe Enemies to want, who intended to have ſtarved him. The *Roman* Cavalry never went upon the Scout, without a Body of light armed Infantry, to make Head againſt the numerous Squadrons, which *Tigranes* uſed to detach; and which often did more execution on their Enemies in their Flights, than in their Attacks. As they turned their Backs on the Enemy, they threw Showers of Darts on thoſe who purſued them, and the Wounds made by theſe Darts were very dangerous. They had double iron Heads; one of which was fixed to the Shaft of the Dart, and the other was a ſort of Caſe to it, which ſlipped off from it. So that when the Dart was drawn out of a Wound, one of the Iron Heads continued in it, and could not be taken out, without very painful Inciſions.

App. in Mithridat.

Dio Caſſ. L. 35.

§. XXXV. At length, *Lucullus* perceived, that the Deſign of the two Kings his Enemies was to conſume his Army gradually, by leſſening it with little Skirmiſhes, though they were always worſted in them; and obſerved, that they had a Deſign by drawing nearer to each other, to ſurround him. Upon this, he reſolved immediately to decamp, and formed a Deſign worthy of his great Courage. *Artaxata* [72] was a ſtrong City on the Confines of *Armenia* and *Media*, watered by the *Araxes* [73]. Thither *Tigranes* had brought the Queens his Wives, and the Princes his Children, as to a Place of Safety; and *Lucullus* turned his Arms that way, with a Deſign to ſurprize or beſiege it. The

72 *Strabo* ſpeaks of *Artaxata* as a conſiderable City. According to him, it ſtood in a Place where the *Araxes* turns towards the North-Eaſt. There the River made a Peninſula, and watered all the Ramparts of this great City, except on one ſide, where it was fortified with Paliſades and a wide Ditch. According to *Plutarch*, in his *Life of Lucullus*, *Artaxata* was built by one of the Kings of *Armenia*, named *Artaxes*, or *Artaxias*. To which he adds, That the great *Hannibal* drew the Plan of it, and carried on the Works, at the Requeſt of this Monarch, who offered him a Retreat in his Dominions, after the Defeat of *Antiochus* King of *Syria* by the *Romans*; and *Strabo* affirms the ſame Thing. But *Plutarch* does not ſeem to be fully perſuaded of the Truth of this Tradition. At leaſt he expreſſes himſelf in ſuch a Manner, as gives room to believe, he did not think it out of all doubt. *Cornelius Nepos*, who has written the Life of this ſworn Enemy of the *Roman* Republick, does not ſay one Word of it. In the Account he gives of *Hannibal*'s Misfortunes, after the Victory gained over *Antiochus the Great* by *Scipio Aſiaticus*, he only ſays, That he went firſt into *Crete*, and from thence to the Palace of *Pruſias* King of *Bithynia*, and there killed himſelf. He does not ſay any Thing of that Hero's Journey into *Armenia*. We ſtill find the ſtately Ruins of *Artaxata*, in a Place which *Chardin* calls *Ardachat*.

73 The *Araxes* has different Names in ancient Authors. *Erythræus*, in his Index to *Virgil*, calls it *Dorinx*. *Plutarch the Geographer* calls it ſometimes *Almum*, and ſometimes *Bacthrum*. Nor is its modern Name leſs diſputed. *Thevet* pretends, that the Natives of the Country call it *Colachi*; *Leunclavius* gives it the Name of *Achlar*; and moſt of the late Geographers ſay, that it is called *Aras*, or *Ares*, by the People of the Eaſt. Neither are Authors better agreed about the Head of the *Araxes*. *Chardin* places it at the Foot of Mount *Ararat*. But it is more natural to believe *Tournefort*, who traced out the courſe of this River himſelf. He found, with *Strabo*, that it riſes in Mount *Abus*, where the *Euphrates* alſo riſes. *Pliny* ſays, That this Mountain was anciently called *Capotes*. Its modern Name is *Caicol*. *Ptolomy*, and before him *Pomponius Mela*, ſays, That after the *Araxes* fell into the *Cyrus* by a Canal running from North to South, it divided itſelf, and fell into the *Caſpian* Sea. Whereas *Strabo*, on the contrary contends, that theſe two Rivers were confounded together, and had but one Mouth. *Pliny* examines theſe two Opinions, and ſeems to determine in Favour of *Strabo*; and *Corneille le Brun*, who ſaw the Conflux of theſe two Rivers, confirms this Opinion. The *Rapidity* of the *Araxes* has given riſe to the Conjecture of ſome Moderns, that this was the *Gihon* of the Holy Scriptures; that Term in *Hebrew* ſignifying, according to them, *The rapid Courſe of a River*.

March was long, and before he came thither he muſt paſs the 74 *Arſanias* (which runs into the 75 *Euphrates*); and notwithſtanding all the haſte the *Romans* could make, the two Armies of *Tigranes* and *Mithridates* came up with them at that River. This was the Thing *Lucullus* had deſired. He had long wiſhed for a Battle, and ſo great a Concern as that of ſaving his Wives and Children, induced the King of *Armenia* to hazard one. Preparations were therefore made by the *Romans* for a general Action. *Lucullus* drew up twelve *Cohorts* in his firſt Line; kept the reſt of his Troops for a *Corps de Reſerve*, which he widened to prevent being ſurrounded; and poſted his Cavalry in the Wings. Year of *ROME* DCLXXXV. Q. MARCIUS REX, Conſul.

Tigranes, on the other hand, who had two Kings named *Mithridates* in his Army, poſted them in the two Wings; took upon himſelf the Command of the Center; and placed at the Head of his Troops the choiceſt of his Cavalry, whom he intermixed with 76 *Mardian* and 77 *Iberian* Archers. The Attack was begun by the Cavalry of the two Armies; which was rather a Skirmiſh than a Battle. As ſoon as the *Aſiaticks* ſaw the *Roman* Infantry advancing ſlowly towards them, the Squadrons and Archers of *Tigranes* diſperſed, and the *Roman* Horſe purſued them. The bare Shout of the *Roman Cohorts* affrighted *Mithridates* King of *Pontus*, and he was the firſt that fled. After his Flight, the whole Army diſperſed; and the *Romans* had no further Trouble, but to purſue and kill the Cowards, who received Death without defending themſelves. In ſhort, all the reſt of the Day, and all the Night, were ſpent in killing, making Priſoners, and chaining them. The Battle of *Tigranocerta* was not ſo bloody as this, neither did the Enemy loſe ſo many Perſons of Diſtinction there. Beſides the Multitudes of common Soldiers that were ſlain, there were here 5000 Men of Figure in the *Aſiatick* Army killed upon the Spot; and a greater Number made Priſoners of War.

§. XXXVI. After this compleat Victory, *Lucullus* might have depended on taking *Artaxata*; but the Severity of the Seaſon, and Alterations of the Weather, prevented his attempting it. Ever ſince the Autumnal Equinox, the Cold was grown ſo intenſe, that the Soldiers could not poſſibly bear the Severity of it. The Country was marſhy, and the melted Snows had made the Roads more unpaſſable than before. In a Word, it was become very difficult to continue there longer under Tents, in the midſt of Ice and Snow. So that the *Roman* General in vain intreated his Troops to go through with this their laſt Labour. He told them, *That* Artaxata *was to them a ſecond* Carthage; *That it was the capital City of* Tigranes, *where not only his Riches, but thoſe of all* Aſia *were depoſited*; *That the taking it would finiſh the War, and put an end to all their Toils*; *That when they were Maſters of the Seraglio and the Children of* Tigranes, *he would immediately ſue for Peace*; *and That they had but this Conqueſt to make, and then return home to their own Country in Triumph, and with Riches enough to laſt them all their Lives.* But as he was no longer in a Condition to command them, the Soldiers would not hearken to his Repreſentations. They inſiſted upon being carried into a more temperate Climate. And *Lucullus* therefore made them repaſs Mount *Taurus*, and brought them into 78 *Mygdonia Aſiatica*, a fruitful Part of *Meſopotamia*, where the end of Autumn was like the fineſt Spring.

74 According to *Plutarch*, the *Arſanias* ran between *Artaxata*, and *Trigranocerta*. The *Roman* Army commanded by *Lucullus*, was obliged to paſs it, in going from *Tigranocerta* to beſiege *Artaxata*.

75 The *Euphrates* has Springs in the *Gordyæan* Mountains, now Mount *Ararat*, according to the Generality of the Geographers. But it is agreed at preſent, that it comes originally from Mount *Abos*, a Branch of Mount *Taurus* in *Great Armenia*. After it has watered very large Plains running from North to South, and among the reſt *Meſopotamia*, it falls into the *Tigris* in ſeveral Streams, near old *Babylon*. Then the two Rivers are confounded in the ſame Bed, and fall into the *Perſian* Gulph. But ſeveral Moderns pretend, that they divide again before they fall into the Sea, and by their Separation make a Peninſula, which *Stephen of Byzantium* and *Philoſtorgius* call *Meſſene*.

76 *Ptolomy* acknowledges there was a Nation of *Mardi*, or *Mardians*, in *Great Armenia*, and *Media*. *Strabo*, *Suidas*, *Stephen of Byzantium*, and *Quintus Curtius*, place them in a Canton in *Hyrcania*. *Herodotus* and *Arrian* ſay, That not only the Countries bordering on *Perſia*, but likewiſe one of the Provinces of *Perſia*, were inhabited by *Mardi*. And laſtly *Pliny* affirms, That they were diſperſed in *Sarmatia Aſiatica*, near the *Euxine* Sea. They were a wild and rambling People, accuſtomed to live upon the Booty they got in the Provinces near them.

77 The *Iberians* formerly poſſeſſed that Part of *Aſia*, which is now properly called *Georgia*. It contains the Principalities of *Carduel* and *Caehati*. According to the ancient Geographers, *Iberia* was bounded to the Weſt, by *Colchis* and a Part of the Kingdom of *Pontus*; to the North, by Mount *Caucaſus*; to the Eaſt, by *Albania*; and to the South, by *Great Armenia*. Some Writers have made a random Gueſs that a ſwarm of theſe People went into *Spain*, and that from them that large Country was called *Iberia*; and others have ſaid, with as little Foundation, that a Colony of *Spaniards* was tranſplanted into *Iberia Aſiatica*.

78 *Mygdonia* was a ſmall Province of *Meſopotamia*.

Year of ROME DCLXXXV. Q. Marcius Rex, Conſul. *Dio Caſſius, L.* 85.

In this fine Country, there was a famous City, named [79] *Niſibis*, lately built on the River [80] *Mygdonius*. *Tigranes* had taken it from the *Parthians*, and being a frontier Town, kept a great Garriſon in it, under the Command of his Brother *Guras*. Nevertheleſs, *Lucullus* reſolved to attack it; and as ſoon as it was reported, that *Niſibis* was inveſted, *Callimachus* the famous Engineer who had ſo well defended *Amiſos*, haſtened to the Defence of it, It was in itſelf one of the ſtrongeſt Cities then in the World. It was in the firſt Place ſurrounded with a Rampart of Brick; behind that was a wide Ditch; and within the Ditch, another Wall: And *Tigranes* depended ſo much on the Fortifications of the Place, the Valour of his Brother, and the Skill of *Callimachus*, that he did not think fit to draw near it, ſo much as to moleſt the Enemy. However the Attack was begun, and by the Help of his Machines, the ſkilful Engineer kept the Foot of the Wall inacceſſible. In the mean time, Winter drew on, and the Weather became tempeſtuous; and then the Rigour of the Seaſon, which might have been expected to have ſaved the *Niſibians*, was the Cauſe of their Ruin. There aroſe ſuch a Storm of Rain, Hail, and Thunder, in a very dark Night, as made the Machines of the Town uſeleſs, and drove the Garriſon from their Poſts on the Ramparts; and *Lucullus* took this Opportunity to make a general Aſſault. His Men mounted the firſt Wall, without Oppoſition; then filled the Ditch; and broke the ſecond Wall, which was much weaker than the firſt, without Difficulty. As ſoon as the Breach was made *Guras* and *Callimachus* retired to the Tower, and demanded to capitulate. *Lucullus* granted the former favourable Terms; but, notwithſtanding the Intreaties of his Officers, condemned the *Greek Engineer* to die. He ſaid, *That he was a Traitor; had ſet Fire to* Amiſos *before he left it, contrary to the Law of Nations; and had deprived the Inhabitants of the Favour he intended them, which was to give them their Lives and Effects.* This fine Conqueſt, furniſhed the *Romans* with rich Spoils, Proviſions in great Plenty, and an agreeable Retreat during the Winter. Thus had *Lucullus* made a glorious Campaign; which ſhould have taught his Soldiers to obey him, and the *Citizens* of *Rome* to eſteem him. But his Troops were influenced by other People; and the People of *Rome* looked on his Merit, at a great diſtance. The beſt eſtabliſhed Reputation will ſuffer by diſtance of Place, when oppoſed by Men jealous of it.

§. XXXVII. The Expedition of *Q. Cæcilius Metellus* in *Crete*, did him more Honour at *Rome*, than *Lucullus* gained by his prodigious Conqueſts in *Aſia*. He was indeed, a good General, though inferior in Merit to *Lucullus*. This *Cretan* Expedition had been reſigned to him by his Collegue, as we have obſerved, the laſt Year; and he had ſpent his *Conſulate*, in making Preparations for it. The Motives that induced the *Romans* to undertake this War, were much Revenge, and more Ambition. *Crete* [81], which was a large and wealthy Iſland, had furniſhed almoſt all Nations in the World with Gods, and Laws. It was ſo populous, that the *Greeks* had given it the Name of *Hecatompolis*, that is, *The Iſland of an hundred Cities*. It had always been free; and the Alliances it had made with *Rome*, had not much reſtrained its Liberties. It had often entered into Meaſures with other Potentates, without much conſulting the *Roman* Senate; and was now ſaid to be in a Correſpondence with *Mithridates*, and ſecretly to favour him. But the moſt ſpecious Pretence the Republick had for attack-

Florus, L. 3. *c.* 4.

The River *Mygdonius* which falls into the *Euphrates* divided it into two unequal Parts. *Pliny* is of Opinion, that this Country was originally inhabited by a Colony of the *Mygdonians* of *Macedon*.

79 The City of *Niſibis* or *Neſibe* as it is called in the ancient Medals, ſtood in the North Part of *Meſopotamia*. St. *Jerome* carries up the Antiquity of this City ſo high, as to *Nimrod*. It was as conſiderable for the number of its Inhabitants, as its great extent. The *Syro-Macedonians* who conquered it, gave it the Name of *Antioch of Mygdonia* to diſtinguiſh it from the Capital of *Syria*. It ſerved for a Barrier againſt the Incurſions of the *Parthians* and *Perſians*, down to the Time of the Emperor *Jovian*, who gave it up to the latter, by Treaty. Some Moderns falſely aſſert, that *Niſibis* ſtood on the *Tigris*. It is plain, that it was watered by the *Mygdonius*, as appears by the Emperor *Julian*'s firſt Oration. The People of the Eaſt now call it *Naſſibin*.

80 The River *Mygdonius* riſes in Mount *Maſius*, between the *Tigris* and the *Euphrates*. It runs, from North to South, to the latter of theſe Rivers, into which it falls.

81 *Crete*, now called *Candia* from its Capital, is one of the largeſt Iſlands in the *Mediterranean*. It lies between the *Archipelago* to the North, the *African Sea* to the South, the *Carpathian Sea* to the Eaſt, and the *Ionian Sea* to the Weſt. It is generally ſaid to be 270 Miles long, 50 broad in the wideſt Place, and 589 round. It was anciently called *Curete* and *Macaros* to ſhew the Sweetneſs and Beauty of the Climate. The *Cretans* were famous among the ancient Pagans, for the Wiſdom of their Government, and gave Laws to ſeveral Nations. The Ancients ſay it had 90 Cities before the *Trojan* War; and 100, after the Colony of *Dorians* had built 10 more. All the Iſland is overlooked by Mountains, the higheſt of which is *Ida*, now Mount *Pſiloriti*.

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ing it, was the Retreat and Succours it gave to the Pyrates, who were diſperſed about the Seas. Whilſt in reality, the true Cauſe of it was the Independence it enjoyed. The *Romans* could not ſee this with Patience. They, who were ſo very fond of their own Liberties, were ever moſt intent on robbing all other Nations of theirs.

Metellus left the Coaſts of *Italy* with three *Legions*, which he embarked on his Fleet. The *Cretans* expected, that the *Romans* would not ſuffer them to eſcape unpuniſhed, for the Victory they had gained over them; when, as we have obſerved, *M. Antonius* had appeared on their Coaſts, and had been attacked and beaten by the Pyrates, who had hanged his Soldiers with the Chains he had brought for *them*; and in Conſequence of which, *Antonius* had died of Grief. In order to make amends for this Fault, and obtain a Pardon, the *Cretan* Republick had ſent an Embaſſy to *Rome*, conſiſting of 30 illuſtrious old Men of the Iſland, who were beſt ſkilled in Buſineſs. Theſe, by their earneſt Sollicitations, but chiefly by their humble Supplications, wrought ſo far upon the *Roman* Senate, that they were ready to grant them a Renewal of their ancient Treaties. But *P. Lentulus Spinther* alone oppoſed the Good-will of the Senate towards the *Cretans*, and ſtirred up the *Fathers* againſt them. He ſaid, they could never expect to be ſecure, till *Crete* was reduced to the State of *a Province*; and his Oppoſition changed the Decree. So many, and ſo hard Conditions, were then demanded of the Suppliants, that they could not comply with them; and *Crete* was forced to maintain a War. The Army of *Metellus* landed in the Iſland, when their Ambaſſadors were endeavouring to raiſe Money, in order to make up the Sum of 4000 *Talents* which *Rome* demanded of them.

The *Cretan* State was then governed by two Chiefs, *Laſthenes* and *Panares*; and the former perſiſted in making his Countrymen take up Arms. He knew that the *Romans* would make it a Preliminary, that he and his Collegue ſhould be delivered up to their Vengeance. They were conſcious of having been the Cauſe of *Antonius*'s Misfortune; were afraid of being puniſhed for it; and *Laſthenes* reſolved to die in Arms: and therefore his Faction fomented a War in all Parts of the Iſland. In a little Time, 24000 of theſe brave Iſlanders aſſembled together, crying out *Liberty!* and reſolved to maintain their Independence to the laſt. They did not want Arms. They made them, for all the Armies in *Europe* and *Aſia*. During theſe Motions of the alarmed People, *Metellus* advanced towards *Cydonia* [82], the Capital of the Iſland; and this March obliged *Laſthenes* to meet him and give him Battle, to prevent the Siege. But what could an unexperienced General do, with Troops tumultuouſly aſſembled, againſt a *Pro-Conſul*, at the Head of three *Roman Legions*? His little Army was diſperſed, himſelf fled to [83] *Gnoſſus*, and *Cydonia* was beſieged. *Panares* defended it but faintly, and at laſt ſurrendered it, upon a Promiſe from *Metellus*, that himſelf and the Inhabitants ſhould have their Lives ſaved. From thence the *Roman* marched to *Gnoſſus*, where *Laſthenes* had ſhut himſelf up; and the fearful General, inſtead of defending the Place, ſet fire to it, and fled; and after this, *Lychus* [84] made even leſs Reſiſtance than *Gnoſſus*. So that, in one Summer, *Metellus* poſſeſſed himſelf of the beſt Part of the Iſland, without Difficulty; altho' it had the *Cilician* Pyrates, as well as its own Inhabitants, to defend it. But after all, the Conqueſt of *Crete* was only begun. *Metellus* took up his Winter-Quarters there, and could not ſubdue it, till the next Year.

Phlegon apud Photium.

§. XXXVIII. *Rome* had already choſen *C. Calpurnius Piſo*, and *M'. Acilius Glabrio* for her new *Conſuls*; and *Cicero* was advancing very faſt to publick Honours. Almoſt as ſoon as his *Ædileſhip* was expired, he was promoted to the *Prætorſhip*, had the greateſt Number of Suffrages, and was firſt elected of eight Competitors. The *Conſuls* drew Lots for their Provinces; and it is probable, That *Calpurnius* continued in *Italy* and kept

82 *Cydon* or *Cydonia* was one of the ſtrongeſt Places in *Crete*. It had a Port which could hold a great Number of Ships. *Strabo* reckons it one of the three moſt conſiderable Cities in the Iſland. The other two that he ranks with it, are *Gortyna* and *Gnoſſus*. It is thought to be the ſame Place which is now called *Canea*.

83 *Gnoſſus*, where King *Minos* is ſaid to have fixed his Reſidence, was anciently called *Ceratus*, from the River that ran through it, according to *Strabo*; and he adds, That it was the Capital of the Iſland. He places it 25 *Stadia*, or a good League from the *Archipelago*, and 90 *Stadia* from the *African Sea*. It was, according to him, 30 *Stadia*, or near a League and an half, in Circumference. It is uncertain, whether *Gnoſſus* ſtood near the Town of *Caſtel Pediada*, or in a Place, where now ſtands the Village of *Cynoſa*. Authors are divided in Opinon on this Head.

84 *Lychus* was thought to have been originally a Colony of *Lacedæmonians*, according to *Polybius*, *B.* 4. It was an inland Town, and is ſuppoſed to have ſtood, where we now find *Paleo Caſtro*. Some place it near a Town called *Aguſtini*. Others ſay the Ruins of it are diſcovered near *Giropetra*.

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the City in Order, and That *Acilius* was appointed to govern *Bithynia* and *Pontus*. The Promiſe made the laſt Year to *Marcius Rex*, of the Government of the Coaſt of *Aſia*, was alſo now performed. And there is Reaſon to believe, That with the *Conſul Acilius*, and the *Pro-Conſul Marcius*, went twelve Commiſſaries to the *Levant*, all choſen out of the Senate, to take Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of *Mithridates*, ſettle a new kind of Government there, and put *Pontus* on the Foot of a *Roman Province*. *Lucullus*, after his Victories the laſt Year, was ſo ſure of his Conqueſt, that he had deſired they might be ſent. But the Face of Affairs in the Eaſtern Provinces was quite changed, as ſoon as *Acilius* and *Marcius* and the Commiſſaries arrived. Their Preſence ſtopped the Progreſs of *Lucullus*; and this great Man, who was ſtill the ſame Hero he had always been, loſt more of his Reputation than his Virtue. This we ſhall ſoon find Cauſe to lament, after we have firſt repreſented the State of Affairs in the Capital, and ſhewn the preſent Condition of the Government at *Rome*.

Pompey was ſtill the Idol of the *Roman* People; and the *Tribunes*, whom he had put on the ſame Foot as in the Times of their greateſt Proſperity, were intent at preſent, on aggrandizing their Benefactor, and getting him great Power. The Zeal alſo they had formerly ſhewn, in treating the Grandees and Nobility ill, revived; and tho' with leſs Fury, not with leſs Succeſs, than in the Times of the *Gracchi*. *Cornelius* the *Tribune* drew up a Law, which forbad, under very ſevere Penalties, the immoderate canvaſſings of thoſe, who ſtood Candidates for the firſt Offices in the State; and it was very viſible, that the *Tribune*'s Deſign was to mortify the *Patricians*, who were more greedy of Honours than the common People. Thoſe Irregularites were indeed carried to ſo great lengths, that a Reformation was neceſſary; and the Senate, who durſt not reject the Law propoſed, got the *Conſuls* to examine it. *Calpurnius* and *Acilius* were ſuſpected of having themſelves obtained the *Conſulſhip* by ſuch Means; and they laboured to moderate the Penalties the *Tribune* had appointed againſt the Infringers of his Law. It enacted, That they who were convicted of Intrigues in their Elections, ſhould be deprived of their Offices, degraded from being Senators, and fined; and the *Conſuls* inſiſted, That the Evil would be more effectually cured, by puniſhing the guilty with leſs Severity. *Who*, ſaid they, *will take upon them, to accuſe Men of high Birth, if the Puniſhments to be inflicted on them are ſo grievous?* They therefore mitigated the Rigour of the Edict, got their Amendments approved by the Senate; and waited to have the Law with the Amendments paſſed by the People, at the next *Comitia*. But *Cornelius* was angry at this ſoftening of his Law, and he raiſed a Commotion among the People, in which the *Conſul Calpurnius* was inſulted, and his *Faſces* broken. In ſhort, the Law paſſed without any Amendment, and was called *The Calpurnian Law*, tho' the Work of the *Tribune Cornelius*.

Liv. Epit. L. 99. *c.* 3,

Div. Caſſius. L. 16.

Cic. pro Murena.

Dio. Caſſ. L. 36.

Juvenal. Sat. 3.

This firſt Advantage, which *Cornelius* gained over the *Conſuls* and Senate, emboldened the other *Tribunes* alſo to make new Laws. *L. Roſcius Otho*, one of that Body, undertook to raiſe the Order of *Knighthood*, and in ſome meaſure equal it in Dignity with the Senate. The *Roman Knights* had hitherto had no proper Places in the Theatre [85]. They ſate blended with the People, as they happened to come. *Otho* therefore honoured them with a new Mark of Diſtinction; and, while he was mortifying the Senate, gave offence to the better ſort of *Citizens*, who before ſate promiſcuouſly with the *Knights*. In ſhort, he, by a new Law, aſſigned the fourteen Seats, or Steps, next the *Orcheſtra*, to ſuch of the *Roman Knights*, as had kept their Eſtates, and never demeaned themſelves ſo far, as to act the Part of Stage-Players, Wreſtlers, or *Gladiators*. By the Aſſiſtance of the Populace, who are little concerned about Marks of Diſtinction, the Law paſſed, and continued in Force under the Emperors, long after the Deſtruction of the Republick.

Div. Caſſius. L. 36.

§. XXXIX. Tho' *Pompey* had been the firſt Author of the new Attempts of the *Tribunes*, he had not appeared in the late Innovations. He kept at Home in an honourable Solitude, and ſeemed to have dedicated the reſt of his Life to Retirement. But he concealed a very great Ambition, under the Appearance of keeping himſelf at a diſtance from publick Employments. There is Reaſon to ſuſpect, that he ſet *Gabinius*, one of the *Tribunes* at work, to get another Law paſſed, which could ſcarce ſuit the Intereſt of any one, but ſuch a General as himſelf, that is, one who was moſt eſteemed and beloved by the People; tho' the Motion *Gabinius* made, ſeemed very proper in

[85] See Vol. 3.

the preſent State of Affairs. He deſired, that the Seas might be cleared of that terrible Multitude of Pyrates, whoſe Numbers and Power daily increaſed. Theſe Robbers had acquired a very extenſive Dominion on the Shores of the *Mediterranean*, from Eaſt to Weſt. In this great Compaſs, there were 400000 Mariners that were ſubject to them. Many Perſons of Diſtinction, of all the Countries of the World, were not aſhamed to partake of their Rapines, and to trade with them. The Appearance of their Fleet was grand and terrible. It conſiſted of 1000 Galleys, the chief of which were pompouſly adorned with gilded Balliſters, purple Sails, and Oars plated over with Silver. Joy and Licentiouſneſs reigned among them, and wherever they landed, the Shores rung with their Songs and Shouts.

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Plut. in Pomp.

Nevertheleſs their Love of Debauchery did not at all abate their Ferocity. They ſpared not one Temple, that was famous for its Riches. That of *Apollo* [85] *Didymæus* in *Claros* in *Ionia*, that of the *Dii* [87] *Cabiri* in *Samothrace*, that of [88] *Ceres* at *Hermione* in *Argolis*, that of *Æſculapius* [89] at *Epidaurus* in *Peloponneſus*, and among the reſt, even that of *Juno Lacinia* [90] on the Coaſt of *Italy*, had been plundered by theſe ſacrilegious Barbarians. All the Country Seats on the Sea-ſhore were a Prey to them. They took Slaves without Number from the maritime Countries, and inſulted *Italy* itſelf. They had pillaged the Port of *Cajeta*; ſunk part of a *Conſular* Fleet at *Oſtia*; and had made a Deſcent near *Miſene*, and carried away the [91] Daughter of the old *Conſul Antonius*, as ſhe was walking on the Shore. The Title of a *Roman Citizen* was no Security againſt their Inſults. If a Captive pleaded it, to procure better Uſage, he was immediately treated with Deriſion and Cruelty. *A venerable Quality indeed*, ſaid they! *The Honour of being a Citizen of* Rome! *How unfortunate are we, to have ſeized a Man ſo worthy of Reſpect!* Then lifting up their Hands and Eyes to Heaven, they begged [92] Pardon of the Captive for their Miſtake; and finiſhed the Raillery with a very tragical Concluſion. *Go, my Lord, Roman Citizen*, ſaid they, *Go out of our Ships, in full Liberty*; and then, either threw him into the Sea, or forced him to leap into it. But the greateſt Calamity the World ſuffered by theſe Sea-Tyrants, was the Scarcity of Proviſions which they occaſioned, not in *Europe* only, but likewiſe in *Africa* and *Aſia*.

Gabinius therefore gloried in the Zeal he ſhewed for the publick Good, whilſt he had in reality nothing in view, but procuring Honours for *Pompey*. He propoſed his Law in theſe Terms. *May it pleaſe you*, Romans, *to enact, That the* Tribes *ſhall chooſe out a Man from among the old* Conſuls, *to whom you will give the Dominion over all the Seas, from the Eaſt to the Weſt, with the Title of* Pro-Conſul; *That his Juriſdiction ſhall reach over all the Coaſts, and as far as* 50 *Miles within them*; *That he ſhall have a Right, to chooſe a great many Lieutenant Generals, to fit out ſeveral Fleets, to embark Land-Forces, to oblige the Kings our Allies to ſend him Succours, and to take what Money he pleaſes out of the publick Treaſury*; *and laſtly, That his Commiſſion ſhall be for three Years. The Republick ought to ſpare no Expence or Trouble, to wipe off the Diſgrace, which the Licentiouſneſs of the Pyrates caſts on the* Roman *Name.* As ſoon as *Gabinius* had read his Motion, all the People turned their Eyes on *Pompey*, and eaſily ſaw through the *Tribune*'s Deſign. He was ſo far from having any great Love for his Country, that he was really a bad Commonwealths-man. But he was a Friend to *Pompey*, and wanted to pleaſe the Commons.

§. XL. The People were very well diſpoſed to the new Law, and appoint *Pompey*, whoſe Name *Gabinius* had deſignedly omitted, to be the Man; but the *Conſuls*, Senate,

86 Near *Miletum* there was a Place called *Didyma*, famous for a Temple and Oracle of *Apollo*. Hence the God took the local Name of *Didymæus*. *Plutarch* ſays he was worſhipped in the Iſland of *Claros* under the ſame Name. This Iſland lay in the *Ægean Sea*, on the Coaſt of *Aſia*. It is now called *Calamo* as well as its chief City.

87 See Vol. 3.

88 *Hermione* ſtood in the *Gulph of Engia* in *Argolis*. The Temple erected in this City in Honour to *Ceres* and *Proſerpine*, was deemed an inviolable *Aſylum*.

89 See the preceding Volumes.

90 See the preceding Volumes.

91 The Daughter of *Antonius*, according to *Plutarch*, was forced to pay a conſiderable Ranſom, before ſhe could get out of the Hands of theſe Barbarians.

92 *Plutarch* ſays, they, in Deriſion, threw themſelves at the Feet of a *Roman Citizen*, pretended to implore his Protection, and officiouſly dreſſed him in a *Toga*, after the *Roman* manner. But after they had inſolently ſported with their Priſoner, they uſed him with Barbarity and Contempt, and forced him to throw himſelf into the Sea, to deliver himſelf, as they ſaid, from a ſhameful Captivity.

and

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and Nobility, and generally ſpeaking, all true Republicans [93], were againſt the Motion. Indeed a Power at Sea almoſt equal to this, had formerly been granted to *Antonius*; but he had too little Merit to create Jealouſy, and his Character being that of a voluptuous Man, this took away all Apprehenſions of his abuſing this Authority, which was a kind of Sovereignty over all the World. Whereas *Pompey* had been brought up under *Sylla*; and was ſaid to conceal mighty Deſigns, under the Appearance of great Modeſty. Beſides, his Popularity it ſelf was a juſt Cauſe for Umbrage; and the Devotion of the *Tribunes* to him, was really the Beginning of a Tyranny, whoſe Conſequences were juſtly dreaded. All Men therefore, who ſaw beyond the preſent Inſtant, oppoſed *The Gabinian Law*; and the *Patricians* made ſo great a ſtir in the *Comitium*, that *Gabinius* had like to have been torn in pieces. Whilſt, on the other hand, the *Conſul Calpurnius* had like to have been murdered by the Populace, becauſe he had ſaid of *Pompey*, *That the new* Romulus *had Reaſon to fear being cut in pieces by an enraged Senate*. But at length, a ſtop was put to Violences and Threatenings; and the *Conſcript Fathers* had recourſe to their old Method of diſconcerting the Meaſures of the *Tribunes*. They gained over two of them, *Trebellius* and *Roſcius*, Men of Eloquence and Credit; and theſe promiſed to oppoſe the *Gabinian* Law, and proteſt againſt the Decree of their Collegues.

Dio Caſſius L. 36. Plut. in Pomp.

When the *Comitia* came to be held, on the Day appointed, the Concourſe was prodigious. No one doubted but the *Pro-Conſulate of the Seas* was deſigned for *Pompey*; and the greateſt publick Oppoſition to erecting this new Office came from him for whom it was deſigned. He was indeed very impatient to be veſted with this Authority by a Decree of the People, and his Honour was now concerned in the Succeſs: But nevertheleſs, he was both by Nature and Art very covert in his Deſigns, and fond of Diſſimulation even in the moſt trifling Circumſtances of Life. He always pretended to decline the Thing, of which he was moſt deſirous; and with this Diſpoſition appeared in the Aſſembly of the People on this Occaſion, and addreſſed himſelf to them thus. Roman People, *the Regards with which you have always honoured me have been ſuch, that I could never form a juſt Senſe of them, much leſs ſufficiently expreſs the Obligation. From my Youth you have carried me in your Boſom, and raiſed me to Honours above my Age or Services. Does it then become you, to have no Regard to any but me, and even to oppreſs me with your Favours? Beſtow ſome of them on others; and ſuffer me to reſt a little in my Retreat after my paſt Labours. Indeed I am yet young; but if my Years are to be counted by my Fatigues, it ſeems but juſt, that I ſhould enjoy the Repoſe of an early old Age. Beſides, I am not ſo much afraid of a new War, as of the Jealouſy of my Competitors. O ye Gods! Muſt a Man of my Profeſſion be inceſſantly ſtruggling, either with the Contempt of the Publick if overcome, or with the Envy of his Equals in caſe of Succeſs! Suffer me then,* Romans, *to apply my ſelf wholly at preſent to the Cares of my Family. I have already exhauſted my ſelf enough for the Honour of my Country. Am I the only one, on whom you can beſtow honourable, but laborious, Employments? No,* Romans; *You have yet able Generals enough, who have your Intereſt at Heart; and who will do more for you, from a Senſe of Virtue, than I can, from a Senſe of Gratitude.*

Thus ſpake *Pompey*; and his Speech only made the People the more earneſt for his Promotion. The crafty Politician's Point in view, was to remove the Odium that generally attends ſo glittering an Employment, and to ſecure it in an honourable Way, by declining it: And he was well ſeconded by *Gabinius*. The *Tribune* addreſſed himſelf to the People, as had been agreed between them, in this manner. *Strange! That* Pompey *ſhould refuſe his Service, when wanted and deſired by his Country! The Contempt he has ſhewn for the moſt glorious Commiſſion that ever was given, is a ſufficient Proof indeed, how little deſirous he is of great Honours; and his Moderation ought to remove the Fears of thoſe timorous People, who form to themſelves imaginary Dangers, from the too great Elevation of Men of diſtinguiſhed Merit. But ought we to regulate our Deciſions, by* Pompey's *Deſires, or by the Intereſt of the Publick? It is a pardonable Error in him, modeſtly to refuſe us his Aſſiſtance; but ought he not to be told, That he is not his own Maſter? As he was born a Subject of the Republick, he owes her the Uſe of his*

[93] *Cæſar* only ſubſcribed the Law; which, as *Plutarch* obſerves, he did, not ſo much to make his court to *Pompey*, as to the People.

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Talents, and we have a Right to demand it. He has told us indeed, that Rome *does not want great Generals: And I would willingly believe him. But let him ſhew them? Are they every where to be met with? Or are thoſe we have all employed Abroad? Let one only be produced, who has always been ſucceſsful! If ſuch a one there be, let him be taken from his domeſtick Gods, and forced to prefer Labour to Repoſe, whether he will or not.* Pompey *ſpent his earlieſt Youth in Arms. He commanded Armies at an Age, which is thought more proper for Obedience. He is, if I may ſo ſpeak, grown familiar with* Victory. *Let us then,* Romans, *offer the ſame Violence to him now, that we did, when we ſent him to fight* Sertorius. *We forced him to accept of a Commiſſion, which all our Warriors refuſed. And we have no Reaſon to fear, that the Conqueror of* Sertorius *will be overcome by the Pyrates.*

§. XLI. Then the *Tribune Trebellius* attempted to oppoſe the Law; but as ſoon as he had opened his Mouth, the Clamours of the People made him ſilent. He only ſaid, *I forbid the* Tribes *to enter into the Encloſure, to give their Suffrages*; and then *Gabinius* immediately attacked him; propoſed his Depoſition to the People; and they directly went to voting, to deprive him of his *Tribuneſhip*. Seventeen *Tribes* actually gave their Suffrages, and when the eighteenth was entering the Encloſure to finiſh the Affair, the refractory *Tribune* gave way, and his Silence was underſtood to be acquieſcing in the Law. *Roſcius* therefore, who was likewiſe to oppoſe the Law, concluding that he ſhould not be heard, inſtead of ſpeaking, made Signs againſt it; and enraged the People more by his Geſtures, than he could have done by the moſt angry Speech. He held up two Fingers of his Right-hand very high, to ſignify, that he was for dividing the *Pro-Conſulate* between two Perſons, and not entruſting *Pompey* with the whole: And upon this Sign, the Aſſembly made ſuch a terrible outcry, that a Raven, which accidentally flew croſs the *Comitium*, is ſaid to have been ſtifled by the violent Agitation of the Air.

But, tho' the People would not hear the two *Tribunes* who appeared to oppoſe the Law, they ſhewed more Reſpect to *Q. Catulus*, then *Prince of the Senate*, and the greateſt Magiſtrate in *Rome*. He ſpoke with that Air of Authority which flows from Age and a Superiority of Merit; and was heard with Patience. *You have always known me,* ſaid he to the Aſſembly, *to be one of the moſt ſincere Friends, and affectionate Protectors, of the* Roman *People; and if I take upon me to ſpeak on this Occaſion, it is only in order to open your Eyes, to prevent your being ſurprized, and lead you to your true Intereſt. Neither the Rules of Prudence, nor our Laws, will permit you, to entruſt any one Man with ſo vaſt an Empire, as that of the whole World. I allow, that this Perſon for whom you intend it, will reſign it. But the Precedent is a bad one, and may prove fatal.* Marius *was ruined, by having too many Honours heaped upon him; and* Sylla, *by being continued too long at the Head of our Troops. And why muſt we be inventing new Dignities, and coining extraordinary Commiſſions, upon every Exigence of State? Don't we every Year chooſe* Conſuls, *whoſe Offices are preſcribed by Law; and to whom the Command of our Armies of Right belongs? Why then muſt they be left in the Capital, to enjoy the Honours of their Dignity, without taking upon them the Burden of it? Why ſubſtitute Vicegerents in their Room; and in order thereto, force Men from their Retirement againſt their Wills, and capriciouſly raiſe them to a State of Independence? I grant the preſent Exigency of Affairs is great. Storms are riſen, which require the Hand of an experienced Pilot. But our Anceſtors have wiſely provided for this. They have taught us to nominate* Dictators, *in difficult Times. But at the ſame Time, with what Circumſpection did they limit the Power of theſe extraordinary Magiſtrates? Our Laws forbid them to keep the* Dictatorſhip *longer than ſix Months, or to exerciſe any Part of that Office out of* Italy. *Promote then* Pompey, *or whomſoever elſe you pleaſe, to the high Office of* Dictator. *This will be acting regularly, provided you confine his Power within the ancient Limits. But to erect a Dominion, which will reach over all the Seas and all the Lands in the World; which will give an Authority over foreign Kings; and put all the Riches and all the Forces of the State into the Hands of one Man; this will be giving ſuch a Wound to the Government as has never yet been heard of, and will indeed be, in effect, the total Subverſion of the Republick. Has* Pompey *himſelf, tho' entitled* The GREAT, *Strength enough to bear ſo great a Burden? I join my Requeſt to his; and deſire you would leave him to enjoy the Repoſe he loves. Don't reward his long Services, by expoſing him to new Dangers. Reſerve him for more honourable Conqueſts. If the Sea, or the Fury of the Barbarians, ſhould deprive us of him,*

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to whom ſhall we have recourſe? To You, cried one of the Auditors from below the *Roſtra*, as the Orator was going on, *To You*, Catulus! *You only can ſupply the Place of a* Pompey. Immediately, *To you Catulus*, paſſed from Mouth to Mouth, and the Cry was univerſal: And then the virtuous old Man, both confounded and pleaſed with the Applauſes of the Publick, retired to his Houſe, amidſt the Acclamations of all the People. After this, *Hortenſius* ſpake againſt the Law, but his Eloquence was not powerful enough to efface the Prejudices of the Multitude. And it is obſervable, that *Cicero* did not ſpeak at all, when ſo fine an Occaſion offered for diſplaying his Talents. He was then in the Road to the higheſt Honours; and did not care to make either *Pompey*, or the Senate, or the Commons, his Enemies, by taking either Side of the Queſtion. In ſhort, the whole Day was ſpent in Speeches, and the Determination poſtponed to the next.

In the mean time, *Pompey*, who was very ſure of his Faction, retired into the Country, that he might not be a Witneſs, as he pretended, of the Diſturbances that would be raiſed in the *Comitium*, on this Occaſion. But all paſſed without any Tumult in the Aſſembly, the next Day. *Gabinius*'s Motion was agreed to by the People by a Majority of Suffrages; and the *Plebiſcitum* was carried to the Senate, who confirmed it againſt their Wills. In ſhort, the Law was paſſed in full Form for the *Pro-Conſulate* of *Pompey*; and the Senate even did more in favour of the new *Pro-Conſul*, than the *Tribune* had deſired in his Motion. Inſtead of 200 Ships of War, they allowed him 500: They alſo allowed him to chooſe 15 Lieutenant Generals out of the Body of the Senators, and aſſigned him a very conſiderable Sum, out of the publick Treaſury. *Pompey*, whom the News of his Nomination and of the Agreement of Senate and People in favour of his Enterprize ſoon reached in the Country, returned to the City; and being very cautious in every Step he took, would not enter *Rome*, till Night. He took it for granted, that if he entered by Day, a numerous Crowd of People would meet him, which might give Umbrage to the Senate; and to avoid Noiſe as much as poſſible, he returned to his Houſe without a Guard. *Gabinius*, the Author of this new Diſtinction, came to viſit him, and became his moſt avowed Friend, and his greateſt Confident.

§. XLII. Then *the Pro-Conſul of the Seas* prepared every Thing for his Expedition againſt the Pyrates; for which the Plan was already drawn up. He had been conſidering of it at leiſure, during his Retreat for theſe two Years; and was ſenſible, that his Buſineſs was not to conquer a Province or Kingdom, or Nation, by reducing Cities which lay within a ſmall Tract of Ground; but to reſcue the whole *Mediterranean*, from *the Streights of Gades* to the *Red-Sea*, out of the Hands of Barbarians of all Languages and Nations in the known World. Within this compaſs, they poſſeſſed Iſlands, maritime Cities, and Forts which they had built in different Places; tho' their moſt common Retreat was among the Rocks of *Cilicia*: and he took ſuch juſt Meaſures for finiſhing this great Enterprize, that inſtead of the three Years allowed him, he did it within four Months. In the firſt Place, he ſeized the *Conſular* Army which *Calpurnius Piſo* had aſſembled for himſelf. The *Conſul* complained of it, and raiſed ſuch a Diſturbance about it, that the People aſſembled in order to depoſe him. But *Pompey* interceded for him, appeaſed the Tumult, and kept the Troops he thought neceſſary for his Deſign. To theſe he added as many other *Legions* as made the Number of his Land-Forces amount to 120000; procured 500 Ships, which he was allowed to man with what Pilots, Seamen, and Rowers he pleaſed; and laſtly, inſtead of 15 Lieutenant Generals, obtained five and twenty.

Dio Caſſius L. 36. *Plut. in Pomp.*

After this, inſtead of reſerving ſolely to himſelf the Command of ſo numerous an Army, and ſo great a Fleet, he divided the one into ſeveral Bodies, and the other into ſeveral Squadrons. The extent of Country that he was to take from the Pyrates being very great, he divided his Fleet and Army into 13 Parts; appointed to each, a Lieutenant General, to whom he aſſigned a proper Share, both of the Land and Sea Forces; and gave them the Title, and all other Marks of Diſtinction, of *Prætors*. The Province he aſſigned to *Tiberius Nero*, was the Seas of *Spain*; to *Manlius Torquatus*, the Seas about the *Baleares* Iſlands; to *Pomponius*, the *Gallic* Sea; to *Lentulus Marcellinus*, that of *Africa*; and to *P. Atilius*, thoſe of *Liguria*, *Corſica*, and *Sardinia*. *L. Gellius* and *Cn. Lentulus* were to guard the Coaſts of *Italy*; *Plotius Varus* and *Terentius Varro*, thoſe of *Sicily*, and the *Ionian* Sea. The Borders of *Achaia* and *Macedon* were allotted to *L. Siſenna*; all the *Helleſpont* and the Iſlands of the *Ægæan* Sea, to *Tubero*; for the entrance into the

Epit. Liv. L. 99. c. 30.

Euxine

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Enxine Sea, *Bithynia*, *Thrace*, and *The Propontis*, to *P. Piſo*; and to *Metellus Nepos*, *Lycia*, *Pamphylia*, the Iſland of *Cyprus*, and *Phœnicia*. *Pompey* himſelf, at the Head of the largeſt Diviſion of Ships, and guarded by ſome *Legions* of Land-Forces, was acknowledged to be Generaliſſimo, paſſed through all the Seas, and provided for the Exigencies of every Station. He began with clearing the Coaſts of the Countries that were neareſt *Italy*, and ſupplied *Rome* with moſt of her Proviſions; and in forty days Time, there was not a Pyrate-Ship to be ſeen in the *Tuſcan* Sea, or from *Sicily*, *Africa*, and *Sardinia* to the Port of *Oſtia*. Commerce was revived, and the Capital of the World ſo greatly relieved, that when *Pompey* came to *Rome*, the People received him as the God of the Seas. He loved Applauſes; which, in the preſent Inſtance, were the more ſincere, as the Relief given was great and affecting [94].

§. XLIII. The Sea was already ſurrounded on all Sides, and the Pyrates ſeemed caught as in a Net. There was not a Ship of the Robbers to be found in all the weſtern Seas. And as their chief Strength was in the Eaſt, *Pompey*'s next Step was to ſail thither in all haſte. His Fleet waited for him at *Brunduſium*, and from thence he ſailed to *Rhodes* [95]. There, to ſhew, that his Enterprize was only Matter of Diverſion to him, he gave himſelf the Pleaſure of converſing with [96] *Poſſidonius*, a Man well verſed in all kinds of Literature; and then cruized all along the Coaſts of *Aſia*, chaſing the Pyrates wherever he came. A great Number of them had recourſe to his Clemency; and the favourable Reception they met with, attached them to him. They informed him of the Ports, to which their Companions uſually retired; and of the Places, where they depoſited their Booty: And in theſe Retreats, the *Pro-Conſul* attacked them, and by his Lieutenant Generals, drove them from them. At laſt, he turned towards *Cilicia*, the laſt Refuge of theſe Wretches, and the Place where they generally lodged their Treaſures, and the many Slaves they had taken on the Coaſts. This the Pyrates had expected; and had hid their Wives and Children and moſt valuable Effects, in Caſtles, and the Paſſes of Mount *Taurus*; whilſt they themſelves lay at Anchor in the Port of [97] *Coraceſium*, a ſtrong Citadel on the Coaſt of *Cilicia*. But when *Pompey* appeared, the Intrepidity of theſe Barbarians was ſoon turned into a Conſternation. They laid aſide their Fierceneſs, and threw their Darts and Oars into the Water. By this Signal, *Pompey* underſtood that they ſurrendered to him without [98] fighting; and he accepted of their Submiſſion. He promiſed them, that their Lives ſhould be ſaved; and demanded of them [99] *Cragus* and *Anticragus*, two important Caſtles, which were deemed the Keys of *Cilicia*, as a Guarantee for their Submiſſion. In theſe Places, the *Romans* found large Magazines of Iron, and Braſs, and Materials for building Ships, and of Hemp for Cordage and Sails.

The firſt uſe he made of their Reduction, was to ſet at Liberty the Captives whom theſe Tyrants kept in Slavery, either for their own Uſe, or for Sale; and then he kept his Word with the *Cicilians*, tho' ſo perfidious themſelves, and gave them their Lives. Nay, his Clemency went ſo far, as to provide Habitations for them in the inland Countries, and aſſign them uncultivated Lands to clear and improve. He ſent ſome of them, to people deſerted Cities, as [100] *Mallus*, *Adana*, and *Epiphanea*; and placed ſome

Virg. Georg. L. 3.

94 The *Conſul Calpurnius Piſo* looked with jealous Eyes on *Pompey*'s Grandeur. No body oppoſed the Enterprize of the new General againſt the Pyrates with more Violence. He did what he could, to have the Fleet deſigned for this Expedition, entirely diſperſed. But the Return of Plenty to *Rome*, and the Re-eſtabliſhment of Commerce, opened the Eyes of the People, with Regard to *Piſo*'s unjuſt Proceedings; and they had like to have depoſed him from the *Conſulſhip*. The Decree of Depoſition was actually drawn up by the *Tribune Gabinius*. But *Pompey* ſcreened him, and made it an Act of Merit with the Senate, and the *Conſul* himſelf, whoſe Fury he deſpiſed.

95 *Pompey* ſtopped ſome Days at *Athens*, where he was received with the Acclamations of the Citizens of this great City; who carried their Flattery to ſuch exceſs, as to pay him the Honours appropriated to the Gods of the Country. In the Inſcriptions which they made to his Honour, they ranked him among the Immortals, and gave him the firſt Place among the Heroes of Antiquity.

96 We ſhall give ſome Account of *The Philoſopher Poſſidonius*, in the next Volume. He is ſaid to have been the Author of the Continuation of *Polybius*'s Hiſtory; which ſome, as *Voſſius* obſerves, aſcribe, without any Foundation, to *Poſſidonius* of *Alexandria*.

97 *Coraceſium* was a ſtrong Place ſituated near the Sea, on a Rock which bordered on *Cilicia* and *Pamphilia*, according to *Strabo*. This Fort is now called *Scandelors*.

98 *Plutarch* ſays, the Pyrates waited for *Pompey* in Order of Battle, and after their Defeat retired to a Fort, in which the *Romans* beſieged them, and forced them to ſurrender at Diſcretion.

99 Mount *Cragus* ſtood in *Lycia*, as well as Mount *Anticragus* which was over againſt it. On the Summit of theſe two Mountains were built two Forts which were difficult of Acceſs. The *Cragus* was planted on the Sides with Trees, and ſeveral Flocks paſtured upon it.

100 Theſe three Cities belonged to *Cilicia*. *Mallus*, which is now called *Mallo*, ſtood on the Sea-Coaſt of that Province, near the Mouth of the *Pyramus*, now the *Maliſtra*: a River which riſes in the neigh-

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ſome, [101] in the extreme Parts of *Italy*, in *Calabria*. But he ſettled the moſt conſiderable Part of them at *Soli* [102], a City which *Tigranes* had ſacked, and called *Pompeiopolis*, from his own Name. The *Pro-Conſul* conſidered, that Men ſeldom run into great Exceſſes, unleſs driven by Want, or allured by Example and Opportunity; and in order to draw off theſe Robbers from their infamous Trade, he placed them at a great diſtance from the Sea, diſperſed them in ſeveral Countries, and put them into a Condition of ſubſiſting by their Labour. The Diſpatch he made in this Expedition, exceeded the Expectations of the Publick, and even his own Hopes; and it is therefore probable, that his Work was much forwarded by the Valour of the Lieutenant Generals, whom he had poſted on all the Coaſts. But *Pompey*'s Glory has [103] totally eclipſed that of his Subalterns. All we know of it is from *Varro* himſelf, who ſays, he received from his General, a *Roſtral Crown* [104], as his Reward for the Service he had done in his Station. This able Man, who was called *The moſt Learned of the Romans*, had confined himſelf to Retirement, only for the Sake of Reading and Meditation. He was a Soldier, and at different Times, made uſe of his Sword, as well as his Pen.

Plut. in Pomp.

Var. de Re Ruſtica.

neighbouring Mountains, and falls into the *Mediterranean*. *Adana* became one of the moſt conſiderable Cities in *Cilicia*. The *Pyramus* waſhed its Walls. And as for the third, called *Epiphanea*, and in the more diſtant Ages *Oeniandos*, according to *Pliny*, we know nothing more of its Situation, than that the *Notitiæ Eccleſiaſticæ* place it in the Eaſtern Part of *Cilicia*.

See Plate XV. *Page* 416. No. 6.

101 According to *Plutarch*, he placed ſome of theſe Corſairs at *Dymæ*, a City in the Weſt of *Achaia*: It was ſeparated from *Elis* by the River *Lariſſus*, which riſes in Mount *Scollis*. This City is now called *Clarenza*.

See Plate XV. *Page* 416. No. 7.

102 *Soli*, called alſo *Solæ*, by ſome ancient Geographers, was formerly a maritime City of *Cilicia*. It ſtood on the Banks of the *Iſſus*. It was ſaid to have been founded by a Colony of *Greeks*, who corrupted their Mother-Tongue, by the Commerce they had with the Natives of the Country; and from this Corruption came the Terms of *Solæciſare* and *Solæciſmus*. *Soli* is now only a ſmall Town, which is called *Paleopoli*.

103 *Plutarch* ſays, That *Pompey* took from the Pyrates a vaſt Number of Ships of all Sizes, and among the reſt 90 Galleys armed with Beaks. The Number of the Pyrates that ſurrendered willingly, or by Force, amounted, according to him, to 20000. This glorious Expedition is repreſented on two Medals ſtruck in Honour to *Pompey*. The Head of *Numa*, which

See Plate XV. *Page* 416. No. 5.

is the *Face* of the firſt * ſhews the Origin, whether real or pretended, of the *Pompeian* Family; and the *Prow* of a Ship in the Reverſe, points out the Victories *Pompey* gained by Sea over the Pyrates. The Title of *Pro-Quæſtor*, which is given to *Cneius Piſo* on this Medal, agrees with *Appian*'s Account, who ſays, That this *Roman* attended *The Pro-Conſul of the Seas*, in that Quality. The ſecond * Medal confirms the Teſtimony of the Hiſtorians, who ſay, That *Marcus Varro* was one of *Pompey*'s fifteen Lieutenant Generals. We find his Name on the *Face* of it; and the Scepter, Dolphin, and *Roman Eagle*, on the Reverſe, are Symbols of the Power the Admiral exerciſed, over the Coaſts of the *Mediterranean*. To theſe two Medals we add a * third, which points out the *Pro-Conſulate* of *Spain*, which was granted to *Pompey* for five Years; tho' that Event was ſubſequent to this Time. We thought it proper, to give the Reader together all the ancient Medals that are preſerved, relating to this Conqueror. On the Reverſe, is the Figure of *Spain*, as we ſee it repreſented on *Galba*'s Medals with the Word *Hiſpania*. She offers a Palm Branch to the *Pro-Conſul*, by way of Homage for his Victories; and we likewiſe find the Title of *Imperator*, with which he was honoured after his Expedition to *Africa*, on this Reverſe. That Province was governed under *Pompey* by *Marcus Poblicius*, with the Title of *Pro-Prætor*; as appears, by the other Part of the Inſcription of this Medal: M. Poblicius Legatus Pro-Prætor.

104 See our Remarks on the *Corona Roſtrata* in the preceding Volumes.

THE

THE Roman Hiſtory.

BOOK LX.

§. I. THUS *Pompey* finiſhed his War with the Pyrates; but as the three Years of his *Pro-Conſulate* were far from being expired, he did not leave his Ships, or lay down his Sea or Land-Forces. He ſought for Pretences to continue in Arms; and endeavoured to find himſelf Employment in the Countries of the *Levant*. The firſt Object that tempted him, was the finiſhing of the War in *Crete*. We have before obſerved, that *Metellus* had began the Conqueſt of it, and wanted little of entirely ſubduing it. He had taken *Cydonia*, *Gnoſſus*, and *Lyctus*, three important Cities; and tho' a great number of fugitive Pyrates had by joining *Laſthenes* and *Panares* increaſed their Armies, he had made Progreſs enough, to promiſe himſelf the entire Reduction of the Iſland. He had fought the *Cretans* and Pyrates together, taken from the latter the Caſtles they had built on the Rocks near the Sea, and from the former their ſtrong Holds in the Centre of their Country. But *Metellus* treated the Pyrates with extraordinary Severity on all Occaſions. So cruel was the Slavery to which he reduced them, that ſeveral of them poiſoned themſelves to deliver themſelves from it. On the other hand, the *Cretans* were ſo obſtinate in their Reſiſtance, that when they wanted Water in an inveſted City, they choſe rather to drink their own Urine, than ſurrender at Diſcretion. And the ill Uſage both *Cretans* and Pyrates had received from *Metellus*, induced them both to ſend an Embaſſy to *Pompey*. They had been informed, with what Goodneſs the *Pro-Conſul of the Seas* had ſhewn Favour to the vanquiſhed *Cilicians*; and in Hopes of experiencing the ſame Clemency, they intreated him to come and finiſh the Work *Metellus* was ready to compleat, promiſing to ſurrender to him, without any Reſiſtance.

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Pompey had a Fault with which he had been already reproached. He was very ready to undertake the Work of other Generals; and made no Scruple of going to finiſh, when no Difficulty remained, what others had well-nigh compaſſed with great Labour. He was accuſed, of having gone to *Spain*, to rob another *Metellus* of the Glory of finiſhing the War with *Sertorius*; and of having endeavoured to deprive *Craſſus*, of the Honour of entirely defeating the Army of *Spartacus*. And he was now much delighted with the View of acquiring the Reputation, of having put the laſt Hand to the Reduction of the *Cretans*. He heard their Ambaſſadors with Pleaſure; and promiſed to come and conclude a favourable Peace with them. And accordingly, after he had received Hoſtages, he ſent from *Pamphylia*, where he then reſided, *L. Octavius*, one of his Lieutenant-Generals, with Orders to proclaim all over the Iſland, That *Pompey* had the ſole Right of making Treaties in all Places of his *Pro-Conſulate*; and That *Metellus* had no Right to aſſume the Title of General, in a Country which was within the Province which the People had given to *Pompey*. But this was pitiful Chicanery. *Pompey*'s Friends could not excuſe this exceſſive Greedineſs of Glory, which led him to rob other illuſtrious Warriors of the Fruit of their Labours. *Metellus*'s Commiſſion, which was prior to that of the *Pro-Conſul of the Seas*, had not been recalled, either by Senate, or People. It was manifeſtly their Intention, to leave the old General, at the Head of the Army he had carried into *Crete*.

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This ſhameful Claim of *Pompey* therefore cauſed a kind of Civil War in the Iſland. The *Romans* diſputed with one another, who ſhould give the laſt Stroke to the *Cretans*. *Octavius* joined with the Pyrates and People of the Iſland, to oppoſe *Metellus*'s Conqueſt; and he, not fearing the additional Forces which *Pompey* had ſent againſt him, bravely purſued his Enterprize. He beſieged [1] *Eleuthera*, and took it by a Stratagem. A Burgher, who had been gained by the *Roman* General, poured down ſo many Barrels of Vinegar, for ſeveral Nights together, upon one of the Towers, that it was eaſily beaten down. By this means, *Metellus* became Maſter of the Place, and raiſed but ſmall Contributions on the Inhabitants. From thence, he turned towards [2] *Lappa*, a ſtrong City, which *Octavius* in Perſon undertook to defend. But though he maintained the Siege with Courage, *Metellus* took it at laſt by Aſſault. So that *Pompey*'s Lieutenant-General, and his Company of *Romans*, became the Ridicule of their Conqueror. He ſent them away without their Arms, amidſt the Hiſſes of his Soldiers. But the *Cilicians* that *Octavius* brought to *Lappa*, were all put to the Sword. *Pompey* therefore ſent new Succours to *Octavius*, and ordered *Siſenna* to ſail from the Coaſts of *Achaia* to *Crete*. But *Siſenna* died, before he could attempt any Thing; and *Metellus*, after he had taken [3] *Hierapytna*, forced *Octavius* to reimbark, to carry the News to *Pompey*, that the Conqueſt of *Crete* was compleated. In ſhort, *Metellus* obliged *Laſthenes* and *Panares* to lay down their Arms, and all the Inhabitants of the Iſland to ſubmit to the Yoke; changed their Government; impoſed new Laws upon them; and made them Subjects to the Republick. We may therefore conclude, that he did not ſpare *Pompey*, either in the Letters he wrote to him, or in thoſe by which he gave the Senate an account of his Victory. And when all was finiſhed, he returned to *Rome*, to receive the Honours of a *Triumph*. But *Pompey*, by his Intereſt, oppoſed it ſo much, that he was not honoured with it, till three [4] Years after his Victory. A Proceeding very unworthy of a Man, who was, by way of Eminence, ſtiled THE GREAT! He was not only inſatiably covetous of Glory himſelf, but envied others the ſmall Share of it, which they acquired by their Merit.

Epit. Liv.

§. II. His jealous Temper appeared, yet more ſenſibly, with Regard to *Lucullus*. This great General, who had been ſo often victorious, in *Pontus*, *Armenia*, and even in *Media*, had loſt a little of his former Glory, ſince he had made the *Euphrates* and the *Tigris* tremble. The Republick had ſent the *Conſul Acilius Glabrio* to ſucceed him in his Government of *Cilicia*, and the *Pro-Conſul Marcius Rex* to ſucceed him in *Bithynia*; and thereby, that General's Authority in *Aſia*, which he had enjoyed for ſeven Years, was now greatly diminiſhed. Beſides, his Soldiers [5] were revolted from him; and had moſt notoriouſly ſhewn their Diſobedience before *Artaxata*, which they refuſed to beſiege. They had indeed juſt taken *Niſibis*; but whilſt *Lucullus* was wholly intent on this glorious Conqueſt, *Tigranes* had returned into *Armenia*, recovered his Cities, and driven before him *Fannius*, whom *Lucullus* had left Governor there, during his Abſence. *Mithridates*, on the other hand, had marched towards *Pontus* his ancient Patrimony, in order to reconquer it. And *Tigranes* in *Armenia*, and *Mithridates* on the Shores of the *Euxine* Sea, had gained great Advantages over the *Romans*, whilſt *Lucullus* was abſent. *Mithridates* made himſelf Maſter of *Little Armenia*, and beat *Fabius Adrianus*, who oppoſed his Paſſage. The Stratagem that procured his Succeſs was the gaining over a Body of *Thracians*, who had formerly ſerved under him, and afterwards ſurrendered to the *Romans*. Theſe *Thracians* were ſent out, to get Intelligence of *Mithridates*, and went over to him. *Fabius*, notwithſtanding this, gave Battle, and was forced to retire to his Camp, after he had loſt 5000 Men.

Dio Caſſ. L. 35.
Plut. in Lucullo.
App. in Mithridat.

The next Day, *Fabius* drew out his Troops in the Plain, and was bent on Revenge. He had armed a great Number of Slaves; but the Traitors imitated the *Thracians*,

1 The City of *Eleuthera* in *Crete*, called alſo *Saorus*, or *Aorus*, according to *Stephen of Byzantium*, was an inland City.

2 *Lappa*, which ſtood at a little Diſtance from the Sea-Coaſt, is called *Lampa*, in *Polybius*, and the *Notitia Eccleſiaſtica*. It is now only a ſmall Town, which retains its ancient Name.

* *See Plate* XV. *Page* 416. No. 8.

3 This City was ſucceſſively called *Cyrba*, *Pytna*, *Cantiros*, and at laſt *Hiera-Pytna*. It is ſuppoſed to be the ſame Place that *Ptolomy* calls *Hiera-Petra*; or *The Sacred Rock*. *Strabo* ſeems to underſtand, that it ſtood on a Hill which he calls *Pytna*, and which, ſays he, was a Part of Mount *Ida*. At leaſt, he adds, That the City of *Hiera-Pytna* took its Name from this Hill. The ſame Geographer places it near the Coaſt, that lay againſt the *African* Sea.

4 Moſt Antiquaries are of Opinion, that the * Medal which bears the Name of *Quintus Metellus* repreſents the *Triumph* of this General.

5 *Salluſt* aſcribes this Revolt to the too great Severity of *Lucullus*, who would never ſuffer his Soldiers to live any where, but in Tents, even in the ſevereſt Winter.

and went over to *Mithridates*. So that the King of *Pontus* was the ſtronger; and was endeavouring to cut in Pieces *Fabius*'s Army, when he received a Blow with a Stone on his Knee, and was wounded under the Eye with an Arrow, fighting at the Head of his Battalions like a young Man, though almoſt ſeventy. This Accident ſuſpended the King's Victory, who was obliged to leave the Field of Battle, and lamented his not having entirely deſtroyed the *Romans*. But *Fabius* and his Troops were in ſo great Diſorder, that not any Body of them could keep together. They diſperſed, and ran to the Forts in *Cabira*, where they were ſafe. In the mean time, *Mithridates*'s Wounds were ſoon cured, by the Help of ſome *Scythians* called [6] *Agarians*, who made excellent Remedies for Wounds, out of the Poiſon of the moſt venomous Reptiles.

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§. III. As ſoon as *Mithridates* was recovered, he drew near *Cabira*, in order to ſurround *Fabius* and his Army. *Triarius*, one of *Lucullus*'s Lieutenant-Generals, and the Commander of his Fleet, haſtened to the Aſſiſtance of the inveſted *Romans*; and his Army terrified *Mithridates*. He left *Cabira*, and drew near *Comagena*. *Triarius* followed him thither; and *Mithridates*, after he had paſſed a River over a Bridge, drew up his Troops in Battalia, and waited for the Enemy. *Triarius* appeared, and the Battle began; but there aroſe a more furious Storm than had been ſeen in the Memory of Man. The Bridge was broken down by the Violence of the Water, and both Parties left off fighting. Then *Mithridates* returned to his Kingdom of *Pontus*, poſted himſelf near [7] *Gaziurza*, an old Caſtle in his Dominions; and there offered *Triarius* Battle, which he a great while declined. At length, in order to draw him into the Plain, the King ſent a Detachment to inveſt [8] *Dadaſa*, a Fort where the *Romans* kept their Ammunition; and then a Battle became neceſſary. Whether *Triarius* was not the more in haſte to fight before *Lucullus* came up, that he might have no Share in the Glory of the Action, is uncertain; but, whatever was his Motive, he advanced with his Troops as far as [9] *Ziela*, a little City, which became famous for the Defeat of the *Romans*. *Mithridates* had, early in the Morning, placed a Body of Troops in ambuſh there. Theſe fell upon the *Roman* Battalions, and broke them; and *Mithridates* coming up, when he heard the Noiſe, compleated the Defeat of *Triarius*, whoſe whole Army was routed. The *Pontians* purſued the Fugitives, as far as to the Banks of the *Lycus*; and there the Ground was ſo marſhy and ſlippery, that the vanquiſhed could not ſo much as rally, and fight as they retreated.

Dio, *L.* 35. *App. in Mithridat.*

The Battle of *Ziela* had therefore like to have replaced *Mithridates* on the Throne of his Anceſtors, and to have brought *Lucullus* into Diſgrace at *Rome*, if it had been compleat. But a *Roman Centurion* allayed a little the Joy the King of *Pontus* felt at having extirpated all the Troops which *Lucullus* had left to guard his Conqueſt. As the King was purſuing the Cavalry that fled before him, his Guard conſiſting of *Roman* Deſerters who were more furiouſly bent on deſtroying *Triarius* than the Barbarians themſelves, the *Centurion* mixed with them, and finding a fair Opportunity, threw the Dart he had in his Hand at the King, and wounded him in the Thigh. He was therefore forced to be carried off, and to let *Triarius*, and the reſt of the Fugitives, eſcape. In the mean time, it was thought, that the King was dead; and his Troops ran to his Litter, to inform themſelves of it. But *Timotheus* the King's Phyſician had ſtopped the Blood, and the Wound proved not dangerous. Then *Mithridates* lamented their having ſo ſoon put an end to the Battle, and immediately ordered himſelf to be carried to the Enemy's Camp, which was deſerted. So that nothing remained, but to rifle the dead, among whom were found 24 Military *Tribunes*, and 150 *Centurions*. After this the King of *Pontus*, ſuſpecting all the *Romans* who were mixed with his own Soldiers of Treachery, ordered them to be put to Death; and when he was cured,

6 The *Agarian* or *Agrian Scythians*, who are mentioned by *Strabo*, and *Stephanus the Geographer*, dwelt in that Part of *Scythia Europea* which borders on the *Palus Mæotis*. Theſe Authors agree with *Dioſcorides*, in placing them in *Sarmatia*. They probably took their Name from the River *Agarus*, now the *Schivet*, or the *Malovouda*, which, according to *Ortelius*, after it has watered the Country of *Præcopian Tartars*, falls into *The Sea of Zabacha*. Near this River, there grows on the Trunks of Trees a kind of Muſhroom, called *Agaric*, which the ancient Naturaliſts recommend as an excellent Purge.

7 *Gaziurza*, or as *Strabo* calls it *Gaziura*, was anciently a Caſtle, in which the Kings of *Pontus* ſpent ſome Months in the Year. The River *Iris* ran near it. But *Pliny* places it near the Banks of the *Halys*, towards the Frontiers of *Paphlagonia* and *Cappadocia*.

8 All we know of this Place is from *Dio*, who places it in *Cappadocia*.

9 *Ziela*, or *Zela*, according to ſome ancient Geographers, is placed by *Hirtius*, in his *Hiſtory of the Alexandrian War*, on the Banks of the *Lycus*, at the Foot of a Rock, towards the Eaſtern Confines of *Pontus*.

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he went to wait for *Lucullus*, in *Little Armenia*. There he committed great Devaſtations, in order to diſtreſs the *Roman* Troops in their Paſſage by a Want of Proviſions; and encamped in a rough hilly Country, reſolving not to ſtir out of it, till *Tigranes* had joined him with his Troops.

§. IV. At length, *Lucullus* come in ſight of *Mithridates*, and in vain endeavoured to draw him to a Battle. Then the other *Mithridates*, King of the *Medes*, appeared all on a ſudden, ſurprized a Party of *Romans*, who were diſperſed about the Country, and cut them in Pieces. Theſe unſeaſonable Diſaſters ſtill more exaſperated the *Legionaries*. *Lucullus* had brought from *Meſopotamia*; their Diſcontents with their General increaſed; and at laſt they refuſed to obey him. They complained, That they were forced to lay encamped all the Winter, and not ſuffered to Quarter even in the Cities of the *Allies*. They accuſed the *Pro-Conſul* of Avarice, and Severity. They ſaid, he took the beſt Part of the Booty to himſelf, and left them only a ſmall Share of it. Beſides, they were informed from *Rome*, That the *Tribunes of the People* who were *Pompey*'s Friends, declared publickly, in full *Comitia*, againſt the Conduct of their General. *Gabinius* in particular, was continually jeſting upon the fine Country-houſe *Lucullus* had built in *Campania*, and telling the People, that as ſoon as he returned, he would build a ſecond, which would be more magnificent. On the other Hand, the *Conſul Acilius Glabrio* had cauſed it to be publiſhed in the Cities on the Coaſt, before his Arrival in *Aſia*, That *Lucullus*'s Generalſhip was expired, and the Command of the *Roman* Troops in the *Levant* devolved upon him. And to increaſe the Misfortune, the *Legions* which *Valerius* had formerly brought into the Eaſt, and which *Fimbria* had taken from him, demanded their Diſmiſſal, pretending that they had ſerved their full time. All theſe Circumſtances together increaſed the Mutinies of *Lucullus*'s Soldiers; and they executed only ſuch of his Orders as they pleaſed.

But after all, no Body contributed more to ſow Diſcord between the General and his Troops, than the ſeditious *App. Clodius*; whom *Lucullus* had made one of his Lieutenant-Generals, more out of Regard to his Relation, as a Brother-in-Law, than his Merit. He had the Character of a Man of no Probity; was ſaid to maintain an inceſtuous Commerce with his two Siſters, and particularly with her whom *Lucullus* had married; and his Ambition was at leaſt equal to his Luſt. He wanted to ſupplant his Brother-in-Law, and ſucceed him in his Command. He aſked the *Legionaries*, What they were, more than a Guard to the Camels which the *Pro-Conſul* had loaded with Gold and precious Stones; and why they did not chooſe themſelves a General, who would give them ſome eaſe, and ſhare the Spoils of the Enemy with them. Theſe Diſcourſes made an Impreſſion on the old *Legions* which had formerly made War in *Aſia* under *Fimbria*, and whom this Villain had debauched from their true General. They had hitherto continued in the *Levant*, and made a Part of *Lucullus*'s Army. But now, they pretended their General had no Authority over them, ſince the Arrival of the *Conſul Acilius*, and *Marcius Rex*; and when *Tigranes* and *Mithridates* were ready to join their Forces, *Lucullus* could by no means prevail on his *Legionaries*, to march againſt the two Kings. Nevertheleſs, Revenge ſupplied the Place of a Senſe of Duty for a Moment; and when they heard *Triarius* had been defeated, they offered to fight, provided *Triarius* ſhould be delivered up to them to be cut in Pieces. But *Lucullus* abhorred this Barbarity, and his Refuſal raiſed a new Revolt. His Soldiers looked on him only as a private Perſon; and when he ordered them to go and fight *Tigranes* before he joined *Mithridates*, they mutinied, and the *Legions* of *Valerius* in particular, declared, That they renounced *Lucullus*. Then the proud General was forced to humble himſelf before his Troops. He fell on his Knees to them; and the ſeditious ſhewed him their empty Purſes, and bid him *Go and fight the Enemy by himſelf, ſince he had found out the Secret of enriching himſelf only with the Spoils*. But at laſt the Mutineers complied with the Intreaties of the reſt of the Army, and promiſed to follow *Lucullus* the reſt of the Campaign; but ſwore they would leave him, as ſoon as Winter returned.

Plut. in Lucullo.

* See Plate xv. Page 416. No. 8.

In the mean time, *Cappadocia* was a Prey to the Troops of *Tigranes*, and *Mithridates* was by degrees recovering his old Cities. *Acilius* made no haſte into the Kingdom of *Pontus*; probably to embarraſs *Lucullus* the more, and to enjoy the Pleaſure of ſeeing this famous Conqueror deprived of the Fruits and Glory of his Conqueſts: And *Marcius Rex* was ſtill more dilatory in ſending the Succours *Lucullus* deſired of him. He pretended, that his Soldiers refuſed to ſerve, under any General but himſelf.

Indeed, Deſerters from the Camp of *Lucullus* came daily to *Marcius*, and among the reſt the ſeditious Lieutenant-General *Clodius*, whoſe other Siſter *Marcius Rex* had married. The latter received him graciouſly, and gave him the Command of his Fleet; and afterwards he was taken by the Pyrates, and redeemed at a very mean Price. Wherever *Clodius* came in *Aſia*, he diſcovered that reſtleſs Spirit, which, we ſhall ſee, will not leave him, when he becomes *Tribune of the People* at *Rome*. Thus *Lucullus* was, by all theſe Deſertions, forced to continue unactive; and was fallen from that Reputation, which he had acquired in the midſt of *Aſia*: And then *Pompey*, who had nothing to do, after he had finiſhed the War with the Pyrates, caſt his Eyes on the Ground *Lucullus* had cleared, and deſired to take his Place. But he was too much of a Politician, to march without leave, againſt *Tigranes* and *Mithridates*, with thoſe Troops which the Republick had given him, only to act againſt the Pyrates; and therefore took the following Method, to procure himſelf a legal Grant of the Commiſſion, which *Lucullus* had executed with Honour, for ſo many Years.

§. V. The Day before the new *Conſuls*, *Man. Æmilius Lepidus*, and *L. Volcatius Tullus* entered upon their Office, that is, the laſt Day of *December*, *Caius Manilius*, the *Tribune of the People*, made an ill uſe of the Hurry and Confuſion *Rome* was in, upon the new Year, and the new Election. He propoſed a Law, as it were by Stealth, in Favour of the meaneſt of the People. It was to this Effect, That the *Freed-men* ſhould give their Suffrages in the ſame manner as their Patrons, without any Diſtinction between *them* and thoſe who had always been of free Condition. It was pretended, That the *Tribune* made this odious Attempt, at the Sollicitation of *Craſſus*, who wanted to gain the Affections of the Populace. But whatever were his Motives, as ſoon as it was known, that *Manilius* was endeavouring ſurreptitiouſly to aſſemble the *Tribes* in order to get the Law paſſed, the Nobility and rich *Citizens* aſſembled together. *Ahenobarbus*, the *Quæſtor*, appeared at the Head of them, and they diſperſed the armed Men which the *Tribunes* had poſted on the Declivity of the *Capitol*. This Attempt made a great Noiſe in the Senate; and as ſoon as the new *Conſuls* had taken their Seats for the firſt time, the audacious *Tribune* was cited to appear. When he came, the Authority of the *Conſcript Fathers* terrified him ſo much, that he threw all the Odium of his Enterprize on *Craſſus*. But he was not believed; all the effect his Depoſition had was, that he thereby made himſelf another Enemy in *Craſſus*; and this obliged him to have recourſe to the Rival of his new Adverſary, and ſecure himſelf under *Pompey*'s Favour and Protection.

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Plut. in Lucullo.

Dio Caſſius L. 36.

§. VI. The *Pro-Conſul of the Seas*, tho' abſent, had his Friends and Agents at *Rome*, who knew how to make the beſt uſe of every Conjuncture, for the Service of their Friend; and they adviſed *Manilius*, to make a Motion to the People in Favour of *Pompey*, and promiſed him to get the Law paſſed. They depended on the *Tribunes* and the Commons, who were more devoted than ever to the Conqueror of the Pyrates, who had procured the City a great Plenty. Accordingly, the *Tribune* propoſed his Bill in theſe Terms. *May it pleaſe you*, Romans, *to enact*, *That* Lucullus *ſhall be recalled from* Aſia; *That the Command of your Armies againſt* Tigranes *and* Mithridates *ſhall be transferred to* Pompey; *and That, without taking from* Pompey *that full Power which you have given him over the Iſlands and Sea-coaſts, the Government of* Bithynia *ſhall be added to his preſent Commiſſion.* This was the famous Bill, which from its Author was called *The Manilian Law*, after it was paſſed. When the *Tribune* propoſed it in the *Comitia*, it raiſed ſuch Diſturbances among the Nobility, and the zealous Republicans, as are not eaſily to be deſcribed. *We have then at laſt got a Sovereign*, ſaid they; *and the Republick is changed into a Monarchy. Every Thing gives way to the Superiority of one Maſter. The Services of* Lucullus, *the Honour of* Glabrio, *and the Regard due to the Birth of* Marcius Rex, *are all to be ſacrificed to his Promotion; and they are to be forced to abdicate, before their Year of Office is expired.* Phrygia, Lycaonia, Cappadocia, Galatia, Cilicia, Upper Colchis, Armenia, *and the Sea Coaſts of both Eaſt and Weſt, are all to be ſubject to* Pompey *only.* Sylla *never carried his Tyranny ſo far.*

Theſe Diſcourſes were in the Mouths of all the Senators, who in private mutually exhorted one another, to ſuppreſs this Bill. But in publick their Zeal evaporated, and their Fear of diſpleaſing the People forced them to keep Silence. Of all the *Conſcript Fathers*, only *Hortenſius* and *Catulus*, the *Preſident of the Senate*, had Courage enough to ſpeak out againſt the Law. The latter eſpecially made ſurprizing Efforts to

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diſſuade the People from paſſing it; but they heard him coldly, and were not moved. At laſt he turned towards the Senators, and with Looks full of Fury, cried out to them, *Let us leave a City where Liberty is no more! Let us retire to Rocks and Caves, to ſhelter us from the Slavery, with which we are threatened!* But all this vaniſhed into Air. Two great Men ſpake, in favour of *Pompey* and the Bill propoſed; which were, *Julius Cæſar*, and *Cicero*. Not that the former was a Friend to *Pompey*, or deſired his Advancement; but he was willing to make Court to the People, whoſe Faction was much ſtronger than that of the Senate. He had already laid his Scheme, and was delighted to ſee the Commons inſenſibly loſing that Republican Spirit, and Love of Liberty, which would obſtruct his Deſigns. He therefore encouraged *Rome* to chooſe themſelves a Maſter for a ſhort Seaſon, thereby to pave the Way for his uſurping a more laſting Sovereignty with the leſs Oppoſition.

As for *Cicero*, tho' his Views were not ſo great, as thoſe of *Cæſar*, he had his Eye on the *Conſulate*; which *Pompey*'s Party could more eaſily procure for him, than that of *Catulus* and the Senate. He had hitherto pretty well acted a neutral Part, with regard to the two Factions that divided the Republick. But he was now *Prætor*, and his Office, together with the Influence he had by means of his Eloquence, gave him weight enough, to turn the Balance to the Side he favoured. He therefore mounted *The Tribune*, and made that Speech in favour of *The Manilian Law*, which is yet preſerved, and will be the Admiration of all Ages. He proved, that the War with *Mithridates* was neceſſary; and without laying much to the Charge of *Lucullus*, concluded, that *Pompey* only, was able to maintain the Glory of the *Roman* Arms in *Aſia*. *His Experience in War*, ſaid he, *the Authority he has always preſerved over his Troops, his perſonal Bravery, and the Good-Fortune that every where attends him, are ſtrong Aſſurances that he will be victorious beyond the* Euphrates. *Cicero* had lately acquired freſh Honour in his *Prætorſhip*, by the Judgment he had paſſed on *Julius Macer*, an oppreſſive Magiſtrate, who was ſupported with all the Intereſt of *Craſſus*. His Equity had got the better of Intrigue and Favour. He had condemned *Macer* to make large Reſtitutions, though the accuſed had flattered himſelf with the Hopes of a favourable Sentence, and this Act of Reſolution and Juſtice had gained the Judge the Eſteem of the People. Inſomuch that he determined the People to paſs the Law in Diſpute, and *Pompey* was declared ſole General of the *Roman* Armies in the Eaſt, that were to act againſt the Kings of *Armenia* and *Pontus*. As for *Manilius*, he was hated by the Senate, and could no longer guard himſelf againſt the Proſecution of the *Conſcript Fathers*, than whilſt his *Tribuneſhip* made his Perſon inviolable. As ſoon as he was out of his Office, an Accuſer cited him to appear before the *Prætor*, which was *Cicero*, whoſe Office was ready to expire; and he gave the accuſed only one Day to give in his Anſwer. The People were at firſt offended at his allowing *Manilius* ſo little Time to make his Defence; but he told the Friends of the accuſed, that he haſtened the Trial ſo much, only to ſecure its coming on before him, and prevent its falling into other Hands. So that this was a new Act of Merit with the People, and gained him the good Graces of both *Pompey* and *Manilius*.

§. VII. *Pompey* was ſtill on the Coaſts of *Aſia*, when the News was brought him of his being choſen to ſucceed *Lucullus*, and of the unlimited Authority which had been given him almoſt over the whole World: And then he diſcovered in a full Light that Spirit of Diſſimulation, to which he had always had recourſe on all Occaſions. He was at the Heighth of his utmoſt Wiſhes; but concealed his Joy under the Appearance of an affected Modeſty. *What*, ſaid he, *will* Rome *then burden me with a new War! Muſt I never have any Reſt, but always be expoſed to new Dangers! Dear Solitude, muſt I then ſacrifice thee to the Deſires of my Country!* When at the ſame time every one knew, what Steps he had taken in order to procure this new Dignity. He found a double Advantage in it. 1. The exquiſite Satisfaction of having ſuppreſſed the only Man in the Republick, who could efface his Glory. And 2. The Pleaſure of having only ſuch Kings to fight with, as were already weakened, and well nigh diſcouraged. Beſides, he had Troops enough already raiſed, to finiſh an Expedition which another had ſo far advanced. He had nothing to do, but to aſſemble the numerous Forces he had received from the Republick to fight the Pyrates. And this he did, omitting no Means he could contrive, to aboliſh, if poſſible, the very Memory of his Predeceſſor in *Aſia*. He diſannulled every Thing *Lucullus* had done, reſtored thoſe whom he had degraded, and perſecuted thoſe who had been in his Favour. And to gain himſelf the more

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more reſpect, he aſſembled all the Kings in Alliance with *Rome*, and even the private Governors of free Cities; and in the midſt of this great Court, declared, That *Lucullus* was now deprived of all Power, and That in him alone was veſted all the Authority of the Republick. Theſe Proceedings offended *Lucullus*, who, tho' abandoned by his old Soldiers, might have raiſed new ones, and carried his Reſentments to a Civil War; and therefore their common Friends thought it neceſſary to prevail on them to come to a Conference; which they did, at [10] *Domale* in *Galatia*.

There a very trifling Incident led thoſe who were preſent at the Interview, to form Prognoſticks of what would happen. The two *Pro-Conſuls* came to the Place appointed, each preceded by his *Lictors*. Thoſe of *Lucullus* had bound round their *Faſces* with Laurel-branches which were very green, and freſh gathered; but the Laurels about thoſe of *Pompey* were dry and withered. The *Lictors* of *Lucullus* therefore very civilly offered ſome of their Laurels to renew the Ornaments of *Pompey*'s *Faſces*; and from thence it was inferred, that the Glory of *Lucullus* would be tranferred to *Pompey*, who would reap the Benefit of his Laurels, though he had not had the Trouble of gathering them.

The two illuſtrious Generals accoſted each other, upon their firſt Meeting, with the greateſt Politeneſs. *Pompey* congratulated *Lucullus*, on the extent of his Conqueſts; and *Lucullus* extolled *Pompey* for his Victories, which had been honoured with two *Triumphs*. But it ſoon appeared, that theſe Civilities were mere Compliments. After theſe firſt Marks of Eſteem and Friendſhip, rough and very unpolite Reflections immediately followed. *Pompey* reproached *Lucullus* with his Avarice, and his Care to deprive the Soldiers of that Part of the Booty which belonged to them, and told him, *That he had ſuffered* Mithridates *to eſcape out of his Hands, purely in order to prolong the War.* On the other hand, *Lucullus* reproached *Pompey* with his private Intrigues, in order to obtain from the People Commiſſions which were odious to the Senate; and with his Artifices, in order to engroſs to himſelf the Glory of the Generals his Competitors, by robbing them of the Fruits of their Labours. And then added, *I have no need of a Succeſſor, my Expedition is finiſhed; and* Pompey *may return to* Rome *with the News, That* Mithridates *is conquered, and no longer in a Condition to hurt the Republick.* Nor did the Diſpute between the two *Pro-Conſuls* end with their Conference. *Lucullus* continued in *Galatia*; aſſumed the Authority of a Maſter there; and diſpoſed of ſeveral Places in the Country, either to their old Poſſeſſors, or as he otherwiſe thought fit: And it was his way to execute his Will with Haughtineſs. But *Pompey* was more pliant, and more artful. He ſuffered *Lucullus* to declaim againſt him, and tell whom he pleaſed, *That like a Raven which never attacks a Man till he is dead, he did not undertake to fight any Enemies till they were deſtroyed.* The only Anſwer he gave to theſe Accuſations was much more effectual than Words. He drew off his Soldiers, till *Lucullus* had no more than 1600 left with him, and they the moſt mutinous and inſolent of any in his Army. So that he had nothing to do, but to leave *Aſia*, and return to *Rome*. *Plut. in Lucullo.*

§. VIII. Accordingly, he embarked, and carried with him the immenſe Riches he had got together, in eight Years time, from all the Cities he had taken, and the Provinces he had ravaged. But all was not for himſelf. He reſerved the greateſt Part to grace his *Triumph*. Indeed he had like not to have had any, either through *Pompey*'s Intrigues, or by Means of the ill [11] State of his Brother's Affairs, for which, in the end, he ſuffered. He was three Years ſolliciting one, before he could obtain it. But at laſt, *Rome* was aſhamed to refuſe an Hero a Favour, which ſhe had often granted to moderate Warriors; *Lucullus* triumphed; and his Proceſſion was not long, or tedious. The firſt Part of the Show, was the prodigious Number of uncommon [12] Arms, which he had taken

10 All we know of *Domale* is, that it was, according to *Plutarch*, a Town in *Galatia*, of which no Footſteps are now remaining.

11 *Lucullus* had the Mortification, upon his Arrival at the Capital, to hear that his Brother *Marcus Lucullus* had been accuſed of Male-Adminiſtration in his *Quæſtorſhip*, which he held under *Sylla*. But he had been declared innocent, and fully acquitted of the Crime of Embezzling the publick Money, to the Shame of *Memmius*; who, enraged at his thus failing of his Blow againſt an Enemy whoſe Deſtruction he had ſworn, turned all his Batteries againſt *Lucullus* the Conqueror of *Mithridates* and *Tigranes*. Him he accuſed of applying to his own Uſe the Spoils of *Aſia*, and the Treaſures he had taken from the vanquiſhed Kings. To which he added, That this General prolonged the War only in order to gain Time to enrich himſelf. So that *Lucullus* ran the Hazard of being deprived by the People of the Honour of a *Triumph*. But being ſupported by the Nobility, Magiſtrates, and Senate, he ſilenced his Accuſer; and *triumphed* in the Year of *Rome* 690, when *Cicero* was *Conſul*.

12 The People were entertained with the Sight of ten Chariots, armed with Hooks or Scythes, ſeveral Horſemen

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taken from the conquered Nations; the great Quantity of Vases of Gold and Silver ranged in fine Order on fifty two Steps, carried on Men's Shoulders; and the Sums of [13] Money which were so considerable, that 700 Men had great Difficulty to carry them. The Ingots of Gold, and rich Moveables, were loaded on Mules; and what most attracted the Eyes of the Spectators, was a Statue of *Mithridates*, six Foot high, all of massy Gold [14].

The Senate expected to have found *Lucullus*, who was so famous for his Exploits, an active Support, who would have been some balance to the formidable Interest of *Pompey*; but they were utterly disappointed. He laid aside all Business, and was wholly intent on spending his Days in Ease and Pleasure. His Wife *Clodia* was the only Object of his Resentment. He divorced her, in order to marry *Servilia* the Sister of *Cato*, who in point of Incest, was little less vicious than *Clodia*, and had not one of her Brother's Virtues. So that, being unhappy in his Wives, he indulged himself in Indolence, and forgot the Hero. The end of his Life, was like a Droll-Entertainment at the End of a serious Play. He gave himself wholly up to Debauches, Masquerades, Feasts, and nocturnal Excursions. Indeed some of his Pleasures were elegant, and his Taste refined. He built stately Palaces in the City and the Country, and adorned them with Baths, and magnificent Galleries; which he graced with the finest Pictures, and most valuable Statues *Greece* could produce. The immense Riches he had amassed, were abundantly sufficient to defray the Expences of his Curiosities, and his Table, which was the best served of any [15] in the World. His Gardens and Fish-Ponds of salt and fresh Water are particularly extolled, as being always full of the most exquisite Fish; some of his Country-houses were for the Winter, others for the Summer; and he said, *He* [16] *was like a Bird of Passage, which changes its Climate according to the Season.* He called his Halls by the Names of the Gods and Goddesses; and according to the difference of his Company, he ordered Dinner to be served up, in [17] *The Apollo*, for instance, or *The Juno*; where the Entertainment was always suitable to the Place and Company.

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That is, he sometimes spent 50000 * *Drachmæ* at one Entertainment. But the Expence he was at in furnishing his Library was better approved of by Men of Honour, than the Profusion of his Table. The Place and Choice of Books made his House a

Horsemen in Iron Armour from Head to Foot, 60 Lords of *Pontus* and *Armenia* in Chains, 110 Galleys armed with their Beaks, and the stately Buckler of *Mithridates* covered with precious Stones.

13 *Plutarch* computes this Money at 2700000 * 87187 *l. Sterl.* *Drachmæ*, that is, 1350000 *Livres*.

14 In the Procession were carried the Registers, that shewed what Sums *Lucullus* had supplied *Pompey* with for carrying on the War with the Pyrates, what Money he remitted to the publick Treasury, and how much he had spent in his Bounties to his Soldiers before the Ceremony, when he gave every private Man 950 *Drachmæ*, and the Officers in Proportion. The Ceremony was concluded with magnificent Feasts which *Lucullus* made for the People of *Rome*, and those of the neighbouring Towns.

15 *Plutarch* says, That at *Lucullus*'s Feasts People were never tired with admiring the stately Beds prepared for the Guests, the Glitter of the precious Stones and Plate that loaded the Buffet, and the great Plenty of the most exquisite Meats that covered his Table. And that nothing might be wanting to regale the Senses, adds the Historian, Concerts of Musick, or Plays, generally accompanied these delicious Entertainments. *Cato*, though the Friend and Brother-in-Law of *Lucullus*, often exclaimed with Bitterness against these Profusions. He frequently reproached him with his far-fetched Niceties. One Day when he was tired with the Discourse of a young *Roman* about his own Frugality, he, starting up suddenly, interrupted him with, *Will you never have done boasting of your Temperance; You, that are as rich as* Crassus, *live like* Lucullus, *and talk like* Cato? But *Cicero*, who valued himself on his Strictness of Life, never blamed these Excesses. He thought *Lucullus* obliged to restore to the Republick by his Liberalities, the Riches which he was accused of having amassed out of Avarice.

16 This was his Answer to *Pompey*, when he paid him a Visit at *Tusculum*, and in raillery told him, That his House was a delightful Place in the Summer, but uninhabitable in the Winter.

17 Each of his Halls had its own Furniture, and Services, and Expence, appropriated to it. *Plutarch* says, That *Cicero* and *Pompey*, having one Day met *Lucullus*, offered him to come and sup with him. *With all my Heart*, said he, *fix your Day. To morrow*, replied *Cicero*, *provided you will add nothing extraordinary*. *Lucullus* desired them to put it off to the next Day, that he might have time to make Preparation for them, but they would not consent. They would not so much as suffer him to give any Orders to his Domesticks. Only one of them was sent in the Name of his Master to give Notice that they would sup in *The Apollo*. The Expence allowed to entertain his Friends in this Hall was 50000 *Drachmæ*, that is, 25000 *Livres*; and the two Guests greatly admired the Dispatch, the Order, the Sumptuousness, the Taste, and the Elegance, of the Feast.

Not that *Lucullus*'s Profuseness was confined to set Entertainments. When he was alone, he denied himself nothing that could regale his delicate Taste. Some *Greeks* whom he had splendidly entertained, were unwilling to accept of his Invitations a second Time, for fear of putting him to an excessive Expence. But he told them that they were mistaken. They had only shared with him what was provided for himself. And indeed the Superfluities of his Table were sufficient for many People. He never lessened this Magnificence when he dined alone. One Day, when he had invited no Body, and his Officers had made a more frugal Provision than usual; he reproved them with a magisterial Air, and said, *Did you not know, that* Lucullus *was to sup here!*

real Temple of *The Muſes*, which was open to all that would come. He loved to converſe there with Men of Letters, and the Syſtem of Philoſophy he liked beſt was that of *The Old Academy*. At length this voluptuous Life ended in a kind of [18] Stupefaction, which is ſaid to have been brought upon him, by a Drink which one of his Domeſticks prepared for him, to gain his Favour. He [19] died in a very advanced Age; and was as much lamented by the *Romans*, as if he had been in his greateſt Flow of Proſperity.

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§. IX. *Lucullus* was yet ſolliciting the Senate and People for a *Triumph*, when *Pompey* entered upon the Career, which his Predeceſſor had made eaſy for him. He made it his firſt Buſineſs, to ſhut up the Sea, from *Phœnicia* to the Entrance into *The Boſphorus*. Then he ſent to ſound *Mithridates*, whether he would conclude a Peace with him. How greatly would it have redounded to his Glory, if he could have finiſhed a War, which had laſted four and twenty Years, with the bare Terror of his Name! But *Mithridates* had very different Views. *Arſaces* the King of the *Parthians*, being lately dead, and his Son [20] *Phraates* having ſucceeded him, *Mithridates* hoped that a young Prince at the Head of a warlike Nation, would have more Regard than his Predeceſſor to the common Intereſts of *Aſia*, and join with him and *Tigranes* to drive the *Romans* out of it. Beſides, the King of *Pontus* had aſſembled an Army of 30000 Foot, and between 2 and 3000 Horſe, in his own Dominions. This made him ſo bold, as to ſend back *Pompey*'s Deputies, and treat them as Spies. But when he knew, that the *Romans* had prevented him at the Court of *Phraates*, and that the *Parthian* King had ſigned a League with the *Pro-Conſul*, his Conduct was very different. He humbled himſelf, and ſent a Deputation to *Pompey* to deſire a Peace; and then the *Roman* grew haughty in his turn, and told the Ambaſſadors, That he would have no regard to the Intreaties of *Mithridates*, till he promiſed to deliver up the *Roman* Deſerters, and ſurrender himſelf and his Kingdom at Diſcretion. The Conditions were hard, and if he would have accepted them, the Deſerters in his Camp, who were conſiderable in Number, would rather have murdered him, than have ſuffered themſelves to be ſurrendered up by him into the Hands of a revengeful Republick. He was therefore forced to reſolve to continue the War.

Pompey was yet in *Galatia*, where he aſſembled his Troops, that were diſperſed on the Coaſts and in the Iſlands. The *Legions* of *Valerius*, which were formerly ſo earneſt in deſiring to be diſmiſſed, came to him, and thereby ſhewed him to be more fortunate, if not better beloved, than *Lucullus*. As ſoon as he had formed his Army, he marched for *Little Armenia*, in order to go down from thence to *Pontus*. *Mithridates* came to meet him at the Head of his Army, which conſiſted of old Troops, and poſted himſelf on Mount [21] *Daſtira*, in the Province of [22] *Aciſilena*. There he lived at eaſe in a Friend's Country, and thought of nothing but cauſing the *Romans* to periſh for Want. But *Pompey* had provided for the Subſiſtence of his Troops, by the Proviſions he had gathered together, and carried with him. The Armies were therefore ſoon in ſight; and tried one another by Skirmiſhes and ſlight Engagements, in which *Mithridates* often had the Advantage. He fell down from the top of his Mountain on the *Roman* Squadrons, and put them in diſorder. But the King was obliged to quit this advantageous Poſt, for want of Water; and encamp in the Plain. Then *Pompey* inſtantly took his Place; and conſidering the freſhneſs of the Herbs and Plants, and the verdure of the Trees, that grew upon the Mountain, he concluded that it muſt abound with Springs of freſh Water, and was not miſtaken. So that he enjoyed the ſame Advantages *Mithridates* had had, without any Inconvenience; and he knew how to make the beſt

18 His Underſtanding was ſo far gone, towards the end of his Life, that his Brother was obliged to take upon him the Care of his Eſtate.

19 The People and Nobility of *Rome* lamented his Death, and honoured him by Mourning a great while for him. Several young *Romans* of high Birth carried his Corps on a Bed of State, to the Place of Burial. The *Citizens* who attended it in Crouds to the Tomb, would have buried him by way of Diſtinction in *The Field of Mars*, if his Brother *Marcus* had not informed them, that Preparations were made for the Funeral, at his fine Seat of *Tuſculum*.

20 *Arſaces Sinatrockes*, the eleventh King of the *Parthians*, from the Foundation of that Monarchy, had ſucceeded his Brother *Arſaces Mnaſkyres*, at the Age of 24 Years; and after a Reign of 7 Years, he died in the Year of *Rome* 684, and left his Throne to his Son *Phraates the third*, whom he had aſſociated with him in the Government, and who had had the chief Authority in the Life-time of his Father.

21 According to *Strabo*, *B.* 12, The Name of *Daſtira* was common to a Mountain and City in *Great Armenia*.

22 The ſame Geographer tells us, That *Aciſilena* was a little Province of *Armenia*, between Mount *Taurus* and the Place where the *Euphrates* makes an Elbow, when it turns its Courſe towards the South.

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taken from the conquered Nations; the great Quantity of Vaſes of Gold and Silver ranged in fine Order on fifty two Steps, carried on Men's Shoulders; and the Sums of [13] Money which were ſo conſiderable, that 700 Men had great Difficulty to carry them. The Ingots of Gold, and rich Moveables, were loaded on Mules; and what moſt attracted the Eyes of the Spectators, was a Statue of *Mithridates*, ſix Foot high, all of maſſy Gold [14].

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Year of *ROME* DCLXXXVII. M'. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS, & L. VOLCATIUS TULLUS, Conſuls.

§. IX. *Lucullus* was yet ſolliciting the Senate and People for a *Triumph*, when *Pompey* entered upon the Career, which his Predeceſſor had made eaſy for him. He made it his firſt Buſineſs, to ſhut up the Sea, from *Phœnicia* to the Entrance into *The Boſphorus*. Then he ſent to ſound *Mithridates*, whether he would conclude a Peace with him. How greatly would it have redounded to his Glory, if he could have finiſhed a War, which had laſted four and twenty Years, with the bare Terror of his Name! But *Mithridates* had very different Views. *Arſaces* the King of the *Parthians*, being lately dead, and his Son [20] *Phraates* having ſucceeded him, *Mithridates* hoped that a young Prince at the Head of a warlike Nation, would have more Regard than his Predeceſſor to the common Intereſts of *Aſia*, and join with him and *Tigranes* to drive the *Romans* out of it. Beſides, the King of *Pontus* had aſſembled an Army of 30000 Foot, and between 2 and 3000 Horſe, in his own Dominions. This made him ſo bold, as to ſend back *Pompey*'s Deputies, and treat them as Spies. But when he knew, that the *Romans* had prevented him at the Court of *Phraates*, and that the *Parthian* King had ſigned a League with the *Pro-Conſul*, his Conduct was very different. He humbled himſelf, and ſent a Deputation to *Pompey* to deſire a Peace; and then the *Roman* grew haughty in his turn, and told the Ambaſſadors, That he would have no regard to the Intreaties of *Mithridates*, till he promiſed to deliver up the *Roman* Deſerters, and ſurrender himſelf and his Kingdom at Diſcretion. The Conditions were hard, and if he would have accepted them, the Deſerters in his Camp, who were conſiderable in Number, would rather have murdered him, than have ſuffered themſelves to be ſurrendered up by him into the Hands of a revengeful Republick. He was therefore forced to reſolve to continue the War.

Pompey was yet in *Galatia*, where he aſſembled his Troops, that were diſperſed on the Coaſts and in the Iſlands. The *Legions* of *Valerius*, which were formerly ſo earneſt in deſiring to be diſmiſſed, came to him, and thereby ſhewed him to be more fortunate, if not better beloved, than *Lucullus*. As ſoon as he had formed his Army, he marched for *Little Armenia*, in order to go down from thence to *Pontus*. *Mithridates* came to meet him at the Head of his Army, which conſiſted of old Troops, and poſted himſelf on Mount [21] *Daſtira*, in the Province of [22] *Aciſilena*. There he lived at eaſe in a Friend's Country, and thought of nothing but cauſing the *Romans* to periſh for Want. But *Pompey* had provided for the Subſiſtence of his Troops, by the Proviſions he had gathered together, and carried with him. The Armies were therefore ſoon in ſight; and tried one another by Skirmiſhes and ſlight Engagements, in which *Mithridates* often had the Advantage. He fell down from the top of his Mountain on the *Roman* Squadrons, and put them in diſorder. But the King was obliged to quit this advantageous Poſt, for want of Water; and encamp in the Plain. Then *Pompey* inſtantly took his Place; and conſidering the freſhneſs of the Herbs and Plants, and the verdure of the Trees, that grew upon the Mountain, he concluded that it muſt abound with Springs of freſh Water, and was not miſtaken. So that he enjoyed the ſame Advantages *Mithridates* had had, without any Inconvenience; and he knew how to make the

18 His Underſtanding was ſo far gone, towards the end of his Life, that his Brother was obliged to take upon him the Care of his Eſtate.

19 The People and Nobility of *Rome* lamented his Death, and honoured him by Mourning a great while for him. Several young *Romans* of high Birth carried his Corps on a Bed of State, to the Place of Burial. The *Citizens* who attended it in Crouds to the Tomb, would have buried him by way of Diſtinction in *The Field of Mars*, if his Brother *Marcus* had not informed them, that Preparations were made for the Funeral, at his fine Seat of *Tuſculum*.

20 *Arſaces Sinatroekes*, the eleventh King of the *Parthians*, from the Foundation of that Monarchy, had ſucceeded his Brother *Arſaces Mnaskyres*, at the Age of 24 Years; and after a Reign of 7 Years, he died in the Year of *Rome* 684, and left his Throne to his Son *Phraates the third*, whom he had aſſociated with him in the Government, and who had had the chief Authority in the Life-time of his Father.

21 According to *Strabo*, *B.* 12, The Name of *Daſtira* was common to a Mountain and City in *Great Armenia*.

22 The ſame Geographer tells us, That *Aciſilena* was a little Province of *Armenia*, between Mount *Taurus* and the Place where the *Euphrates* makes an Elbow, when it turns its Courſe towards the South.

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beſt uſe of them. He hid all his light-armed Infantry together with 500 Horſe in a Place covered with Buſhes, at the Foot of the Mountain; and ſent the reſt of his Squadrons to inſult the Enemy, with Orders to retire and draw the King's Horſe to the Place of Ambuſh. And the Affair ſucceeded beyond Expectation. Very few of *Mithridates*'s 3000 Horſe eſcaped, to carry the News of their Defeat.

This good Succeſs raiſed *Pompey*'s Spirits, and leſſened the Confidence the King put in his Cavalry. Beſides, there was greater Plenty in the *Roman* Camp; and the Attacks of the Barbarians were leſs frequent. And as all the Country was laid waſte, the King now began to be in Want, and was forced to leave *Little Armenia*, to ſecure himſelf in the inner Parts of his Dominions. *Pompey* followed him, with a Reſolution to bring him to a general Action. But the King was encamped on ſo advantageous a Poſt, that he was inacceſſible. Then the *Roman* General undertook to ſtarve him in the Center of his own Territories; by ſurrounding his Camp with a Rampart, which was 150 *Stadia* in Circumference, and guarded with little Forts at proper Diſtances. The King very peaceably ſuffered himſelf to be ſhut in, either out of Fear of running too great Hazards if he interrupted the Workmen, or out of a Bravado; and ſeemed to deſpiſe a Work, which he imagined could only be a Fatigue to the Workmen. But he ſoon repented of his Inactivity. The Famine was ſo great in his Camp, that after his Men had long lived on the Fleſh of Horſes and Mules, he found it neceſſary to break through the *Roman* Lines, in order to eſcape. To this end, he ordered all his ſick Soldiers, and thoſe that were weakened by the Famine, to be killed, leaving only the moſt healthy and robuſt alive; and with this ſmall Body, ventured in the Night-time to break through the *Roman* Trenches, and took his Rout towards *Great Armenia*, where he hoped to join *Tigranes*, and receive ſome Succours from him.

Dio Caſſius L. 36.

§. X. Since *Pompey* had been at the Head of the *Roman* Armies in the *Levant*, the Affairs of old *Tigranes* were much altered. Young *Tigranes* his Son, by *Cleopatra* the Daughter of *Mithridates*, had revolted from his Father. The young Prince, tho' deſigned for the Throne, had been corrupted by ſome *Armenian* Lords, who were diſſatisfied with the old King. Indeed, the Son lived in continual Alarms at the Court of a jealous and ſuſpicious Father. He had ſeen his two elder Brothers put to Death by him. *Sariaſter* the eldeſt, had been killed in Battle, by the King's Orders, for entering into Cabals againſt him; and the ſecond had been beheaded for a much leſs Fault. Old *Tigranes* had fallen from his Horſe, as he was hunting with his Son; the Prince had not been quick enough to raiſe him up, and had jocoſely put on his own Head the Diadem which had fallen from the King's; and for this very pardonable Fault he was condemned to die. The third Son therefore was weary of living at this time of Life under continual Conſtraint, with a cruel Father, who was exaſperated on the leaſt Suſpicion. He was already near forty Years of Age; and one of his Daughters had married *Phraates* the new King of the *Parthians*. Beſides, the Father and Son had a Diſpute about a Treaſure hid in *Sophene* [23], a Province which the Father had given his Son. All theſe Reaſons induced the Prince to withdraw to the King of *Parthia* his Son-in-Law, and to take up Arms againſt the King his Father.

Beſides, *Phraates* had entered into a League with *Pompey*, and had juſt declared War with the King of *Armenia*. *Gordiene* had long been a Bone of Contention between the two Neighbours; and *Phraates* made this his Pretence for taking Arms. But his real Deſign was to find *Tigranes* Employment in his own Country, and deprive *Mithridates* of the Succours he might expect, from a King who was his Defender and Ally. So that when *Mithridates* arrived in *Armenia*, he found King *Tigranes* embarraſſed with this new War with his Son, and the King of *Parthia*. The *Parthians* had already advanced far into his Territories, and begun the Siege of *Artaxata*. Their King continued for ſome time before the beſieged City, and then left young *Tigranes* to make this Conqueſt upon his Father. Old *Tigranes* durſt not attempt any Thing againſt his Son and *Phraates*, while they continued together; but as ſoon as the King of *Parthia* was gone, he fell upon his Son, and though he had a large Army under his Command, beat him, and forced him to flee, and raiſe the Siege. The fugitive Prince had ſtill one Reſource left, which was to his Grandfather *Mithridates*; but he was ſoon informed, that that Prince was ſo far from being able to aſſiſt the unfortunate, that he was himſelf reduced to the utmoſt Danger. And then he fixed

[23] *Sophene* was a little Province of *Great Armenia*, and bordered on *Meſopotamia*.

his Hopes on *Pompey*, went over to him, and was graciouſly received. *Pompey* was a Friend to *Phraates*, and an Enemy to old *Tigranes*; and both theſe Conſiderations led the *Pro-Conſul* to ſhew the more Regard to the young Prince. Year of *ROME* DCLXXXVII. M'. Æmilius Lepidus, & L. Volcatius Tullus, Conſuls.

§. XI. In the mean time, the *Roman* Army, enlarged with all the Troops *Marcius Rex* had under his Command, made long Marches, in purſuit of *Mithridates*. The King of *Pontus* marched a great Way about, never moved but in the Night, and in the Day encamped only in thick Foreſts or inacceſſible Places. *Pompey* followed him cloſe and haraſſed him, in order to draw him to a Battle; and at length, the two Armies drew near to the *Euphrates*. If the King could have got firſt to this River, and paſſed it ſafely, he would have ſaved himſelf and his Army; and therefore *Pompey* made it his whole Buſineſs, to bring him to fight before he got thither. But the King reſolved to wait the attack of the *Romans* in his Camp, not to fight unleſs forced to it, and ſtill to keep before the Enemy's Army, in order to try to paſs the *Euphrates* with the leſs Difficulty. This the *Roman* General ſaw was his View; and in order to gain a March upon him, *Pompey* ſet out at Noon, the Time the Men uſually reſted for ſome Hours in both Camps; and paſſing through croſs Roads, came and poſted himſelf on an Eminence, in the Road through which the King muſt neceſſarily paſs, in order to gain his Point. In this advantageous Situation the *Romans* continued drawn up in Battalia, tho' the Night cloſed; and *Mithridates* not having diſcovered that they were got before him, entered with Confidence into the Valley which reached to the Foot of the Hill, where the *Pro-Conſul* was waiting for him.

And now, whether he liked it or not, the King was under a Neceſſity of fighting. Upon the Approach of the Enemy, *Pompey* made a terrible Noiſe in his Army. The Trumpets ſounded, the Soldiers ſhouted and beat their Bucklers, and the Servants of the Camp made an horrible dinn with ſtriking their Pots and Kettles. The Surprize, Noiſe, and Darkneſs together, confounded the King's Troops, who were in no Order but what was obſerved in a Night-march, when no Danger is expected, and whoſe Camels, Mules, and Baggage, were confuſedly mixed with their Infantry and Cavalry; and the *Romans* immediately attacked them with their Slings and Arrows. Then they came to a cloſer Engagement, and broke the King's Battalions. The Darkneſs was ſuch, that the Men felt the Wounds, before they could perceive from whence they came. However, at length the Moon appeared, and gave one Party Hopes of being able to defend themſelves with more Certainty, the other of carrying on their Attack with the leſs Danger. But her appearance likewiſe was favourable to the *Romans*. She was behind their Backs, and the length of their Shadows made the Barbarians think them nearer than they were. For this Reaſon they threw their Darts but a little way, and caſt their Weapons to no purpoſe. In ſhort, *Pompey* fell with ſuch Fury on the *Phalanx* of *Mithridates*, that he obliged it to flee; and then the Slaughter increaſed. The Enemy left 10000 Men dead upon the Spot, and loſt as many Priſoners.

But the King did not wait for the total Rout of his Army before he fled: As ſoon as he found he ſhould be defeated, he broke through a Battalion of *Romans* with a Squadron of 800 Men; and then his Guard diſperſed, and left him with only three Perſons, one of whom was one of his Miſtreſſes, who had always fought by his Side. *Hyſicratea* the fair *Greek*, was a true Heroine; whoſe Name *Mithridates* had changed into that of *Hyſicrates*, becauſe ſhe had a more manly Courage than the braveſt Soldiers in his Army. After ſhe had fought in the Battle on Horſeback, in a Man's *Perſian* Habit, ſhe followed the King, and never left him; dreſſed his Wounds, and bore the Fatigues of a long Flight, with a Conſtancy which would have been admired in the moſt robuſt and faithful Man. At length the King arrived at one of his Caſtles, which he had built on the Frontiers of the two *Armenia*'s, called *Sinoia*; and thither alſo came the Remains of his Army. He had depoſited ſome of his Treaſures in this Place; and he gave Money to the Soldiers that were eſcaped out of the Battle, to engage them to follow him: And with the Money, he gave every one a Box of Poiſon, that he might have it in his Power to deliver himſelf out of the Miſeries of Captivity whenever he pleaſed. Then he entered into *Great Armenia*, where *Tigranes* would not ſee him, from a falſe Perſuaſion that he had debauched his Son; and from thence went to the very Springs of the *Euphrates*, paſſed that River, entered *Colchis*, aſſembled all his old Troops that he could, and made new Levies. *Plut. in Pomp. Liv. Epit. L. 101. c. 5.*

§. XII. In the mean while, *Pompey*, after he had in vain purſued him, reſted in the Place where he had been victorious, and there founded a new City which he called *Nicopolis*,

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Nicopolis, in Memory of his Victory. The Situation being agreeable, between the *Euphrates* and the *Araxis*, the weak and wounded, and a certain Number of the Servants of the Army which the General left, were very glad by peopling it to form a new *Colony*, and *Pompey* drew the Plan of it. And now, having forced *Mithridates* to lead a rambling Life in the North of *Aſia*, the *Roman* General next turned his Arms againſt *Tigranes* the Father, at the Requeſt of the Son. The Prince aſſured *Pompey*, That the old King's Subjects would not hold out long againſt the *Roman* Valour, becauſe impatient to ſee *him*, the Heir apparent, ſeated on the Throne. The *Roman* Army therefore entered *Great Armenia*, and the Way, if I may ſo ſpeak, was paved to their Hands. Moſt of the Cities ſurrendered to *Pompey* or young *Tigranes*; and the old King was ready to be ſtripped of all, when he reſolved to try the Clemency of the *Roman Pro-Conſul*. He firſt delivered up to him the Ambaſſadors of *Mithridates* that were at his Court, and then ſent a Deputy to negotiate a Peace with him. The greateſt Obſtacles he met with in it, were from his Son, who was perpetually ſolliciting *Pompey*, and at laſt induced him, to paſs the *Araxis*, and fall upon his Father. But when the *Roman* Army was not far from *Artaxata*, the King reſolved to deliver up the City into *Pompey*'s Hands, ſurrender himſelf, and treat perſonally with him of a Peace. A Mark of Confidence which highly flattered the *Pro-Conſul*'s Vanity, and had a very happy Effect, with regard to the old King.

Pompey was naturally magnanimous, and affected with the leaſt Marks of Reſpect. As ſoon as he knew, that the old King was coming to his Camp, he in honour to him, ſent his chief Officers to meet him. But the Prince did not go. The old King who had given no notice of his coming, was alarmed to ſee ſo large a Company advance towards him; and his Guards diſperſed. Nevertheleſs, *Tigranes* continued to advance, and was ſoon encouraged by the Civilities he received. But he was notwithſtanding, a little ſurprized, when the Guard at the Gate of the *Roman* Camp, deſired him to diſmount. It was an inviolable Law among the *Roman* Soldiers, not to ſuffer any Stranger to enter their Camp, but on Foot. *Tigranes* expected, that he ſhould likewiſe be obliged to put off his Royal Robes before he was brought into the *Pro-Conſul*'s Preſence; and he conformed himſelf to his preſent Condition, and readily laid aſide the purple Veſt, and white *Simar* which he wore after the *Perſian* manner, but kept the Royal Ornaments on his Head. When he came into the *Pretorium*, he fell proſtrate before the *Pro-Conſul*, and ſaid; *I am doing to you, my Lord, what I would not have done to any King upon Earth, or to any other* Roman *General. It is not to your Rank, but to your Virtue, that I pay this Homage.* And at theſe Words, threw his Turban and royal Fillet at *Pompey*'s Feet. The *Roman* raiſed him up, replaced thoſe Marks of Royalty on his Head, always treated him as a King, made him ſit down, and ſeated himſelf in the middle between the Father and the Son. Then followed an affecting Converſation between *Pompey* and the King. *Tigranes* repreſented the Reaſons of his Rupture with *Rome*, and imputed it wholly to *Mithridates* and *Lucullus*. One had affected him with Compaſſion for his Sufferings, the other had raiſed his Reſentment by his Haughtineſs and Avarice. *Pompey* comforted him with a very gracious Deportment, and not only gave him Hopes, that his Dominions ſhould not be taken from him, but even aſſured him of the Protection and Friendſhip of the *Roman* Senate and People. But *Pompey* was diſpleaſed with the Prince's Conduct at this Interview. He ſhewed no manner of Civility to his Father, not ſo much as even to ſtand in his Preſence: And he afterwards abſented himſelf from the Entertainment, to which he was invited with the King.

§. XIII. The next Day, *Pompey* undertook to reconcile the Father and Son, and adjuſted their Diſputes. He reſtored to old *Tigranes* the entire Poſſeſſion of the Dominions he had inherited from his Fathers; but took from him the greateſt Part of his new Acquiſitions. All that he had invaded in *Cappadocia*, all that had been given him in *Syria*, and that Part of *Phœnicia* which he poſſeſſed, were taken from him. *Sophene*, which he had given his Son for his Portion, was allotted to young *Tigranes* with *Gordiene*; and the *Conſul* adjudged the hidden Treaſures, which had cauſed the Difference between them, to the Father. The King ſubmitted without Reply to this Determination of a *Roman Conſul*, made at the Head of an Army; but the Son ſhewed his diſlike of it, and wanted to eſcape out of *Pompey*'s ſight. The *Romans* therefore watched him, and he was forced to deliver up the Treaſure to the Perſon to whom *Pompey* had adjudged it. The Guardians who were in Poſſeſſion, oppoſed it, and declared that they

could not without Breach of Faith, deliver it to the Father, unleſs they had the expreſs Orders of the Son for ſo doing. *Pompey* therefore ordered young *Tigranes* to be carried to the Place; and there, ſurrounded by a Body of *Romans*, he gave what Orders they deſired. Theſe Orders the Guardians alſo diſputed, becauſe, as they affirmed, extorted by Violence; but at laſt they complied. And then old *Tigranes* had Riches enough to pay *Pompey* the 6000 *Talents* agreed on, and make large Preſents to the [24] Officers and Soldiers of the *Roman* Army.

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In the mean time, *Phraates*, who had at firſt declared himſelf a Friend and *Ally* to the *Romans*, took it ill, that young *Tigranes*, his Father-in-Law, ſhould be kept in a kind of Captivity; and therefore ſent a Deputation to *Pompey*, to demand two Things. Firſt, That the Prince ſhould be ſent to him; and 2dly, That the *Romans* ſhould make the *Euphrates* the Bounds of their Empire. The *Pro-Conſul* anſwered, That it was proper the Son ſhould be put into his Father's Hands; and That *Rome* knew no other Limits than thoſe of Juſtice and the Law of Nations.

The only Perſon who got by *Pompey*'s ſtay in *Armenia*, was *Ariobarzanes*; who received from him a Reward anſwerable to the conſtant Attachment he had always ſhewn to the *Roman* Party. The *Pro-Conſul* not only re-eſtabliſhed him in *Cappadocia* which *Mithridates* and *Tigranes* had diſpoſſeſſed him of, but put him in poſſeſſion of *Sophene* and *Gordiene*, which he took from the Prince of *Armenia*, on the following Occaſion. Young *Tigranes*, who was now in all appearance reinſtated in his Father's Favour, plotted againſt him a ſecond Time to take away his Life; and *Pompey* could not bear the repeated Crimes of ſo wicked a Son. Beſides, he had been informed, that the ungrateful Prince had ſollicited the King of the *Parthians*, to take up Arms againſt the *Romans*. So that being at laſt tired out with this Monſter's Ingratitude, and his continual Attempts upon his Father's Life, *Pompey* ſeized him, put him in Chains, ordered *Metellus Celer*, one of his Lieutenant Generals, to guard him, and kept him for his *Triumph*. *Plut. in Pomp.*

Theſe Things cauſed *Pompey* to delay a little purſuing *Mithridates* in his Flight; but his abode in *Armenia* was not fruitleſs. By humbling *Tigranes*, he put it in his Power, to add *Syria* to the vaſt Empire of the *Romans*. A Revolution which the *Roman* Hiſtorians have omitted, and overlooked with as much Negligence, as if it had been indifferent to *Rome*, whether ſhe poſſeſſed *Syria*, or not; and we will therefore ſupply this defect.

§. XIV. *Syria* had long been divided between two Brothers of the Race of the *Seleucidæ* who diſputed for the Throne. One was *Antiochus* [25] *Gryphus*; the other [26] *Cyzicenus* his Brother, by the Mother's ſide, and the Son of *Sidetes*: And as their De-

24 *Plutarch* ſays, That old *Tigranes* was ſo delighted with being acknowledged to be King of *Armenia* by the *Romans*, that he promiſed to give every Soldier half a *Mina*, every *Centurion* 10 *Minæ*, and every *Tribune* a *Talent*. The *Mina**, as we have obſerved, was the 60th Part of an *Attick Talent*, and was worth 100 *Drachmæ*, or 50 *Livres*.

25 *Antiochus the Eighth*, ſurnamed *Gryphus*, becauſe he had a *Gryphin*'s Noſe, has the Surname of *Epiphanes* on the Medals. *Joſephus* gives him that of *Philometor*. He was the Son of *Demetrius Nicator* and *Cleopatra*. After the Death of his Brother *Seleucus the Fifth*, who was killed with an Arrow by his own Mother, he returned to *Athens*, where he employed himſelf in ſtudying the *Greek* Learning, and cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed King of *Syria*. He had a formidable Rival in *Alexander Zebina*, who had poſſeſſed himſelf of the greateſt Part of his Dominions. But one Battle determined the Diſpute in Favour of *Gryphus*. *Alexander* loſt his Crown and his Life, after a Reign of four Years. *Antiochus*, now eſtabliſhed on the Throne of his Anceſtors, was next to guard againſt the Intrigues of his Mother *Cleopatra*. He knew that this Fury wanted his Crown, and had prepared Poiſon to get him out of the Way. He therefore forced her to drink the Poiſon ſhe had prepared, and by her Death, ſhe left him peaceable Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom for eight Years. In this peaceful Interval he married *Tryphene*, the Daughter of *Ptolomy Phyſcon*. Then a new Competitor appeared, and contended with him for the Sovereignty of *Syria*. This was *Antiochus of Cyzicus*, his Brother by the Mother's Side, who was victorious, and having ſeized *Tryphene*; inhumanly ordered her to be put to Death. The vanquiſhed King poſted himſelf in *Cælo-Syria*, and maintained a War with his Brother for 18 Years. At length he was aſſaſſinated by the Traitor *Heracleon*, whom he had loaded with Benefits, and left his Kingdom a Prey to ſeveral Pretenders, who were all of the Race of the *Seleucidæ*. The Hiſtorians make him to have reigned 26 Years, and lived 45.

* *l. s. d.* 3 4 7 *Sterl.*

26 *Antiochus the Ninth*, the Son of *Antiochus Sidetes* and *Cleopatra* was ſurnamed *Cyzicenus*, becauſe brought up in the City of *Cyzicus*. He had great Conteſts to maintain with *Gryphus* his Brother by the Mother's ſide. And when he was at laſt delivered from this Rival, a more dangerous one ſtarted up in the Perſon of *Seleucus the Sixth* his Nephew, who, according to *Joſephus*, deprived him of his Crown and Life. But if we may credit *Porphyry* as quoted by *Euſebius*, he killed himſelf for fear of falling into the Conqueror's Hands. Nor had *Seleucus* a more happy Fate. According to *Joſephus* and *Appian*, after he had been defeated in a pitched Battle by *Antiochus the Tenth*, ſurnamed *The Pious*, he was burned alive in his own Palace. But *Porphyry* ſays, he ſaved himſelf from the Violence of the Flames, by a voluntary Death.

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ſcendants inherited their Hatred, they perpetuated it. When *Gryphus* died, he left five Sons, *Seleucus*, *Antiochus*, *Philippus*, *Demetrius*, and another *Antiochus*. *Seleucus* the eldeſt ſucceeded his Father, and made War with his Uncle; whom he conquered in Battle, made Priſoner of War, and put to Death. Then the Son of *Cyzicenus*, named alſo *Antiochus*, took up Arms, claimed the whole divided Kingdom, drove *Seleucus* out of *Syria*, revenged the Death of his Father, and from thence took the Name of *The Pious*. *Seleucus* grieved to ſee himſelf deprived, died ſoon after at *Mopſueſta*; and left *Antiochus Pius* ſole Maſter of *Syria*. But he did not enjoy it long in Peace. The ſecond Son of *Gryphus*, named alſo *Antiochus*, put himſelf at the Head of an Army, and took the Field to maintain his Rights, and avenge the Death of his Brother *Seleucus*. However, the Succeſs was not anſwerable to his Courage. He died in the Battle; and then *Antiochus Pius* enjoyed the Crown in more Tranquillity. *Philippus* the third Son of *Gryphus*, durſt not venture alone to fight the Son of *Cyzicenus*. He choſe rather to take ſome Provinces from the King of *Syria*, and make himſelf a Sovereign over them. *Demetrius* the fourth Son of *Gryphus*, following his Brother's Example, begged the Aſſiſtance of *Ptolomy Lathurus* King of *Ægypt*, and with the help of ſome of his Troops, ſeized a Part of *Syria*, and erected for himſelf an independent Sovereignty there. But then the two Brothers, *Philippus* and *Demetrius*, joined together to make War with *Antiochus Pius*; and he could not hold out againſt their united Forces. He loſt his Life, fighting with great Bravery at the Head of his Party, and at his Death left a Son of his own Name.

Then the two Sons of *Gryphus* might have continued in peaceable Poſſeſſion of *Syria*, and reigned long there; if Ambition had not broken off that good Intelligence which had been the Cauſe of their Conqueſt. But *Demetrius* was the Aggreſſor, and attacked his Brother in that Part of *Syria* which he poſſeſſed. In the heighth of his Misfortunes, *Philippus* had recourſe to the *Parthians*, who ſent him ſo powerful, and ſo ſeaſonable Succours, that upon the firſt attack *Demetrius* ſurrendered to them, and was carried into their Country, where he languiſhed away and died. So that the only remaining Princes of the numerous Family of *Gryphus*, were now *Philippus* and *Antiochus*. The former was crowned at *Antioch*, and ordered himſelf to be proclaimed ſole King of all *Syria*; not imagining that his youngeſt Brother would claim a Part of this great Inheritance. But *Antiochus* made good his Pretenſions, ſeized *Cæloſyria*, choſe *Damaſcus* for the Capital of his new Kingdom; and when he was grown powerful went into *Arabia*, to make War with King *Aretas*. This was generouſly perhaps, but imprudently, leaving his Kingdom at the Mercy of his Brother *Philippus*; and the latter took the Advantage of his Abſence, and ſeized *Damaſcus*. However, *Philippus* was ſoon driven out again, and even this did not teach *Antiochus* more Wiſdom. He returned into *Arabia*, to renew the War, and there unfortunately periſhed with all his Troops. By his Death, all the Blood of the *Seleucidæ* was reduced to two Princes, *Philippus* the Son of *Gryphus*, and *Antiochus* the Grandſon of *Cyzicenus*, and Son of *Antiochus Pius*; and if the latter had not been a very timorous Prince, the Diſſentions of the Royal Family, which had begun with *Gryphus* and *Cyzicenus*, would ſtill have continued between them. But *Antiochus* retired into one of the Kingdoms on the Coaſt of *Aſia*, from thence called *Aſiaticus*; and at length *Philippus* died without Children, after a Reign of about nine Years, and with him ended the Reign of the *Seleucidæ* which had laſted 228 Years.

§. XV. Indeed, the whole Race of the *Syrian* Kings deſcended from *Seleucus Nicator* was not extinct, ſince *Antiochus Aſiaticus* was ſtill alive; but his Flight into *Cilicia*, and his Incapacity to govern, made the *Syrians* deſpiſe him. They were grown weary of having been ſo long governed by a *Macedonian* Race of ambitious and turbulent Princes; and they ſought for a King in their own Neighbourhood, who would maintain Peace at Home, and repulſe all Enemies from Abroad. They firſt caſt their Eyes on *Mithridates* King of *Pontus*, but it was feared his Quarrels with *Rome* would bring a War upon *Syria*. Some *Satrapes* propoſed placing *Ptolomy* King of *Egypt* on the Throne; but the *Egyptians* had always been at enmity and hatred with the *Syrians*. They therefore pitched on *Tigranes* King of *Armenia*, who was unanimouſly invited to ſupply the Place of the *Seleucidæ*, and he governed *Syria* in Tranquillity, till he received that Overthrow from *Lucullus* before *Tigranocerta*. Then the *Roman* his Conqueror, revived the Right of *Antiochus Aſiaticus*, and placed this laſt Branch of the *Seleucidæ* on the Throne, in the Room of *Tigranes*. But this Diſpoſition of *Lucullus* either

either had no effect, or lasted so little a while, that no body has ever ranked *Antiochus Asiaticus* among the Kings of *Syria*. So that *Tigranes* possessed this great Kingdom 18 Years; and was not deprived of it, till *Pompey* imposed on him the hard Conditions of returning into *Armenia*, and confining his Ambition to the ancient Inheritance of his Forefathers: And then the Pretensions of *Antiochus Asiaticus* were revived.

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Syria was without a Governour, and no body had more Right to rule there, than this Grandson of *Antiochus Cyzicenus*, the last surviving Branch of his Family. He therefore appeared before *Pompey*, represented the Misfortunes of his Family, urged the Justice of his Claim, and intreated the *Roman* not to exclude him from a Throne, on which his Ancestors had sate above 200 Years, with great Glory. But *Pompey* had only the outside of Virtue. If he did equitable Things, it was only in order to do himself Honour, and when they were so circumstantiated, that his doing so tended to aggrandize his Republick. And he was not afraid of doing an Act of great Injustice on this Occasion, when he could thereby procure for *Rome*, one of the finest and richest Kingdoms in the World. He gave *Antiochus* this very haughty and very disobliging Answer. *Don't imagine that you shall be put in Possession of a Crown which you have abandoned.* Syria *despises you, and refuses to have you reign over her. Why did not you force the Scepter from the Hands of* Tigranes? *You have lived these eighteen Years in dread of the Enemy which I have just now humbled. What Pretence then have you, to deprive his Conquerors, of the Rights which they have acquired by their Victory? The Kingdom of* Syria *belonged to* Tigranes. *The* Syrian *Nation invested him with it. Now* Tigranes *is conquered, he delivers himself up to us, and puts us in Possession of all his Rights.* Syria *therefore now belongs to us; and* Rome *can defend it better than you, from the Incursions of the* Jews *and* Arabians. Thus *Pompey* took Advantage of the Divisions of an illustrious Family, to oppress an unfortunate Prince, usurp the Inheritance of the last *Antiochus*, and by the most notorious Act of Injustice, make *Syria a Roman Province.*

§. XVI. This done, he no longer delayed to march in pursuit of *Mithridates*. In order to preserve his new Conquest, which had cost him so little Trouble, he left there *Afranius*, one of his Lieutenant Generals, at the Head of a large Body of Troops, with Orders to encamp between the *Euphrates* and the *Tygris*. Then he went in search of *Mithridates*, who was fled for Refuge to the furthest Part of the *Cimmerian Bosphorus*, beyond Mount *Caucasus*; and could not come up with him. The King of *Pontus* was more formidable for the Fatigues he brought on his Enemies who were bent on pursuing him, than for fighting. However, *Pompey* had at least an Opportunity to spread the Terror of the *Roman* Name, in the most distant Countries in the North of *Asia*. All the Space between the *Euxine* and the *Caspian* Seas was then possessed by three principal Nations. The first was the *Albanian* [27] to the East; the second was the [28] *Iberian* in the middle, and the third the *Colchian*, to the West next the *Euxine*: And all these vast Countries *Pompey* passed through, and made them know and dread his Republick. He first passed the River *Cyrnus* [29]; and being surprized with the first Frosts in a Part of *Albania* called [30] *Tanaitis*, he divided his Army into three Bodies, that he might the more conveniently put them into Winter-Quarters, at the Discretion of *Oreses* King of the *Albanians*. *Plut. in Pomp.*

27 It has been already observed, That the Country inhabited by the *Albani*, bordered on the *Caspian* Sea to the West, and on *Iberia*, to the East. This Country now comprehends *Daghestan* in *East-Georgia*, *Chipiacha*, and *Zitrachan*. It took its ancient Name from the River *Albanus* which falls into the *Caspian* Sea.

28 *Iberia*, the Country next to *Albania*, lies between Mount *Caucasus* to the North, *Armenia* to the South, *Albania* to the East, and *Colchis* to the West. It is now a Part of *West-Georgia*.

29 The *Cyrnus*, generally called the *Cyrus*, rises in the Mountains which divide *Armenia* from *Iberia*. The ancient Geographers are divided about the Mouths of this River. *Pliny* pretends, that the *Araxes* falls into it, and that after their Conflux, they ran in one Bed to the *Caspian* Sea. *Ptolomy* divides the *Cyrus* into two Branches, one of which he joins with the *Araxes*, and carries the other to the Sea. *Plutarch* thinks, that these two Rivers first joined, and then fell, by twelve Mouths into the Sea; and *Herodotus* makes those Mouths forty. Nevertheless, *Plutarch* owns, that his Opinion was disputed. He says, The *Cyrus* and *Araxes*, according to some, did not lose their Names till they came to the Sea, into which they ran through separate Channels. This was *Strabo*'s Opinion. But modern Travellers agree with *Pliny* and *Plutarch*, That the *Araxes* falls into the *Kour*; which is the modern Name the People of the East give the *Cyrus*.

30 *Dio Cassius* seems to be the only Author that mentions *Tanaitis*, one of the Cantons of *Albania*, which is watered by the *Cyrus*.

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§. XVII. The Winter forced him to continue in the Countries near Mount *Caucaſus*, whilſt *L. Aurelius Cotta* and *L. Manlius Torquatus* entered on the *Conſulate* at *Rome*; where their Election had not been peaceable, and their taking Poſſeſſion had like to have proved fatal to both. They had appeared for the *Conſulſhip* at the laſt Promotion; but had met with two Competitors who ſucceeded againſt them, not by any Superiority of Merit or Birth, but by ſcandalous and illegal Intrigues. *P. Antonius Pætus*, and *P. Cornelius Sylla*, the Son of the *Dictator*'s Brother, bought the Suffrages of the People, and got their Nomination by Bribery; and this not managed in a private Way, but by a ſhameful publick Traffick. *Cotta* and *Torquatus* therefore complained aloud of an Offence committed in open defiance of the Law ſo often repeated, which forbad the ambitious to endeavour to gain Promotions to the firſt Dignities by unjuſt Means. This Election of *Conſuls* and *Prætors*, was made on the firſt Day of *July*. So that the Perſons whom the People choſe, were to continue full ſix Months, *viz.* to the *Calends* of *January* following, with the Title of only *Conſuls elect*; and in this interval, between the Appointment and Inſtallation of *Antonius* and *Sylla*, *Cotta* and *Torquatus* had Time to accuſe them of uſurping the *Conſulate* by unlawful Methods. The Crime was ſo notorious and avowed, that *Antonius* and *Sylla* were declared diſqualified for their Office before they entered upon it; and this made it neceſſary to come to a new Election. But in the interim, a new Candidate arrived from beyond Sea, who contended with *Aurelius Cotta* and *Manlius Torquatus*, for the ſupreme Dignity at which they aſpired [31].

Saluſt. in Catalin. *Dio Caſſ. L. 36.* *Cic. de Lege Agraria.*

L. Sergius Catilina, a *Patrician* by Deſcent, and Great Grandſon to the brave *M. Sergius* whoſe Glory we have [32] celebrated, was lately come from *Africa*, where he had been *Prætor*. His Government, like the reſt of his Life, was remarkable only for a continued Courſe of infamous Debaucheries, and enormous Oppreſſions. He had, when very young, debauched a young Lady of diſtinguiſhed Birth, who afterwards became his Mother-in-Law; and who had a Daughter by him whom he married, tho' he knew himſelf to be her Father. And to theſe Inceſts he added another, which was yet more odious in the Sight of the *Romans*. He was accuſed of having debauched *Fabia Terentia*, the *Veſtal*, Siſter of the famous *Terentia*, the Wife of *Cicero*; and all the Intereſt of *Catulus* was ſcarce ſufficient, to ſcreen the Prieſteſs and her Debaucher from a capital Puniſhment. As for Murders, *Catiline* was charged with them of all Sorts. In the Time of *Sylla*'s Proſcriptions he had been *Sylla*'s Tool, and the moſt mercileſs Miniſter of his Fury. But the moſt unpardonable Aſſaſſination he had been guilty of, was that of the Child of *Aurelia Oreſtilla*, an illuſtrious *Roman* Lady, by her firſt Huſband. Her Affection for her Son had long kept her from conſenting to a ſecond Marriage: But *Catiline* fell deſperately in Love with her, poiſoned the Child, and then married his Mother. Such was the Villain who appeared in a white Robe in the Preſence of the People, to diſpute the *Conſulate* with *Torquatus* and *Cotta*. But happily for the Republick, ſome Deputies from the *African Province* came to *Rome*, to complain of the Robberies of their [33] *Prætor*; and the Proceſs they brought againſt him was not tried till after the *Comitia*, in which *L. Aurelius Cotta*, and *L. Manlius Torquatus* were elected *Conſuls*.

Aſconius. Pædia. in Catilin. Ciceronis.

Cic. in Orat. pro Cælio.

Perhaps no *Roman* ever had a greater Mixture of good and bad Qualities, nay ſuch as are in ſome meaſure incompatible, than *Catiline*; tho' the Hiſtorians ſcarce mention any thing but his Vices. Or rather, he had only the Appearance, and ſome ſlender Marks, of Virtues, but not the Virtues themſelves. In publick he converſed only with Men of Probity; in private, his Companions were Men of no Honour or Eſtate, and given up to Debauchery. In his Houſe, ſome of the Apartments breathed

31 The *Sergian* was a Family of diſtinguiſhed Rank among the *Patricians*. It carried up its Origin to *Sergeſtus*, one of *Æneas*'s Companions. It is no uncommon Vanity among great Men, to claim great Men to their Families, whoſe Names at all reſemble their own, and carry up their Riſe to fabulous Beginnings.

32 See under the Year 556. Vol. 4. p. 80, 81. Note 128.

33 It appears by *Cicero*'s *Oration for Cælius*, that *Catiline* was accuſed of Oppreſſions by *Publius Clodius*, the famous Villain, who when he afterwards became *Tribune of the People*, ruined *Rome* with his Acts of Violence. A Man of this Character was not Proof againſt Corruption. He was won over by the Criminal's Money, as *Cicero* reproaches him, in his Diſcourſe, *De Aruſpicum Reſponſis*. And *Cicero* ſays, in his *Oration for Publius Sylla*, That the *Conſul Manlius Torquatus* was not aſhamed to undertake the Defence of ſo pernicious a Citizen.

nothing but Effeminacy; in others, you found nothing but the Marks of the ancient Frugality, and what imported a Love of Labour and Fatigue. He was both fond of Pleaſure, and of the laborious Exerciſes of War. He knew how to make his Converſation agreeable, both to the beſt and the worſt of Men. Since the Death of *Sylla*, he had always affected to appear for the *Patrician* Party; but his real Aim was to deſtroy the Senate, and ruin the Republick. He ſometimes gave himſelf wholly up to Voluptuouſneſs; ſometimes abſtained from bare Neceſſaries, and inured his Body to the ſevereſt Colds, and moſt violent Heats. He was continually employed either in ſeizing the Goods of others by Violence, or in ſquandering away his own with Profuſion. Like a good Actor, he accommodated himſelf to the Times, and the Manners of thoſe he converſed with; always pretended to be what he was not, and never appeared to be what he was.

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§. XVIII. With this Mixture of ſeeming Virtues and real Vices, no wonder that *Catiline* ſhould have about him a Company of Debauchees, whom he ſupported in their Debaucheries; and likewiſe ſome Men of Underſtanding and Probity, who had not Sagacity enough to ſee through him, and were therefore impoſed on by him. And it was with a few of theſe Friends, of both Sorts, that he entered into his firſt Plot. He had then nothing in View, but to revenge himſelf on the two preſent *Conſuls*, for having been preferred before him; and as his Deſigns were violent, he uſually conducted them, with more Boldneſs than Prudence. His firſt Conſpiracy was laid thus. He choſe for his chief Confident, one *Cn. Calpurnius Piſo*, a young *Patrician*, whoſe Similitude of Manners had ſo attached him to him, that they were inſeparable. Theſe two eaſily drew into their Meaſures *Antonius* and *Sylla*, the two late *Conſuls* elect, who had been deprived of a Dignity, which they had bought at a great Price: But found it more difficult, to engage two others, whoſe Aſſiſtance was of the utmoſt Importance to them. The firſt of theſe was *M. Craſſus*, whoſe great Riches, Eloquence, and his Victory over *Spartacus*, had given him at preſent, the greateſt Share of Weight and Intereſt of any Lord in *Rome*. The other was *Julius Cæſar*, a young *Roman*, of an high Birth, a vaſt Mind, but circumſpect, and of a boundleſs Ambition; and who was very lately made *Ædile*, and thereby brought into the Road to higher Dignities. The moſt powerful Means they could find out were uſed to draw them into the Conſpiracy; and at laſt they ſeemed rather to acquieſce, than to join, in it. However *Catiline* informed them, that on *The Calends of January*, when the new *Conſuls* went to preſide in the Senate for the firſt Time, he would break open the Doors, enter Sword in Hand, kill the *Conſuls* and ſuch of the Senators as were againſt him, and in the Tumult cauſe *Craſſus* to be nominated *Dictator*, and *Cæſar*, his Maſter of the Horſe. The Hopes of the *Dictatorſhip* was a Temptation which *Craſſus* could not reſiſt, and he conſented to all. But neither he, nor *Cæſar* ever met the Conſpirators. They managed ſo well, that nothing appeared againſt them but bare Suſpicions of their being Accomplices with *Catiline*. When the Day appointed for the Execution came, *Catiline* appeared armed with his Company, at the Door of the Senate-houſe; and *Cæſar* is ſaid to have undertaken to give the Signal: which was, that he ſhould let fall the Lappets of his Robe, upon which the Conſpirators were to break into the Hall. But the Signal was not given, the Conſpirators diſappeared, and the Affair was put off to *The Nones of February*, the Day appointed for the uſual Meeting of *The Conſcript Fathers*, who were indiſpenſably obliged to aſſemble, at leaſt, three Times in a Month. Nor was this ſecond Attempt more ſucceſsful than the former. *Catiline* gave the Signal at an improper Time, before all his People were got together, and the Deſign of aſſaſſinating the *Conſuls*, came to nought.

Sal. in Catil. Cicero, pluribus Locis.

Suetonius in Cæſare.

Sal. in Catil.

§. XIX. Nevertheleſs, *Craſſus* and *Cæſar* ſtill retained ſome kind of Affection for *Catiline* and his Cabal. This appeared by the Step *Craſſus* took in the Senate, in Favour of the ſeditious *Piſo*. *Cicero*, after his *Prætorſhip*, was to govern all *Spain*; but he wiſely choſe to continue at *Rome*, where he was nearer at hand to ſecure his *Conſulſhip*, than if he had gone into his Province, and thereby cauſed his Merit to be forgotten. So that, the Place he was to have had becoming vacant by his Renunciation. *Craſſus* undertook to get it for *Piſo* before any other, becauſe the young Debauchee was an avowed Enemy to *Pompey*. The *Conſuls* and *Conſcript Fathers* were not ſorry to ſee *Rome* delivered from a turbulent *Citizen*, whoſe Plots they feared; and they readily conſented to ſend *Piſo* to *Spain*, in Quality of *Pro-Prætor*. There he either found Enemies, or ſoon made himſelf ſome by his Violences. For he was killed in his new

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Province, by ſome Friends to *Pompey*, who tho' at ſo great diſtance as the middle of *Aſia*, was ſuſpected of having contrived, and procured, the Aſſaſſination. But what Probability is there, that he could ſend ſuch barbarous Orders ſo far, or that he even knew of the ſudden Appointment of *Piſo* to that Province? It is more likely, That they who were jealous of the Glory *Pompey* acquired in the *Levant*, daily encreaſed at *Rome*; and That the moſt timorous Republicans dreaded that vaſt Intereſt, which the Fame of his Exploits would give him among the People. So that, ſome out of Jealouſy, others out of Love to their Country, endeavoured to diſperſe Slanders among the People, againſt the only Man whom they adored.

Dio Caſſius L. 36.

§. XX. *Pompey* was then ſpending his Winter in *Albania*, on the Coaſts of the *Caſpian Sea*. He had divided his Army, as we have obſerved, into three Bodies, and put them into different Quarters. Q. *Cæcilius Metellus Celer* commanded one, and he had under a Guard *Tigranes* the Son, whom *Pompey* had loaded with Irons, and carried every where with him, deſigning to bring him to *Rome* to grace his *Triumph*. Till the Feaſt of 34 *The Saturnalia*, *Oreſes* King of *Albania*, ſuffered the *Romans* to continue peaceably in his Territories, where he had given them leave to ſpend the Winter. But when he knew, that the *Romans* would have great Rejoicings on that Day, he reſolved to go and deliver *Tigranes*, ſurprize the *Romans* in their Quarters, and attack them with ſeveral Detachments, in ſeveral different Places, at the ſame Time. He undertook himſelf to attack *Metellus Celer* who guarded the Prince of *Armenia*, and detached two of his General Officers, one to act againſt *Pompey*, the other againſt *L. Flaccus* who commanded the other Diviſion of the *Roman* Army. All theſe Troops to the Number of 40000, paſſed the *Cyrnus*, and went to defeat the *Romans*; but *Pompey* had had timely Notice of the Deſigns of the Enemy. He could have hindered the King from paſſing the River; but he choſe to let him advance, and ſurround him in the Snares he intended for the *Romans*. *Oreſes* fell firſt on *Metellus*, but found him on his Guard, and was repulſed. *Flaccus* deceived the Detachment *Oreſes* had ſent againſt him, by a Stratagem. The Walls of the City in which he was were double; and he pretending to be afraid of the Enemy, ſuffered them to enter within the firſt Wall, and then ſallied upon them with ſuch Fury from the ſecond, that few of the *Albanian* Soldiers eſcaped with their Lives. As for *Pompey*, he boldly marched out to meet the Troops that were coming to ſurprize him in his Quarters; and attacked them with ſuch Spirit, that he drove them back fighting to the Banks of *The Cyrnus*, and made a terrible Slaughter of them before they could repaſs it. So that being Victor in all the three Poſts his Army poſſeſſed, he was in effect Maſter of *Albania*.

Oreſes, when thus vanquiſhed and put to flight, placed all his Hopes in humble Supplications, and ſent Deputies to the *Roman* General's Camp, to beg Pardon, and deſire a Peace. The ſtrongeſt Motive the *Albani* could uſe to influence *Pompey* was this; That the *Romans* and *Albani* were Brethren, and came originally from the ſame Country. *When* Hercules *paſſed through* Italy, ſaid they, *he took ſome of the Inhabitants of* Alba, *and brought them into theſe Countries, and here founded a Colony, which ſtill retains the Name of the Place from whence they originally came. And in the ſame manner, the ſame* Hercules *brought from* Spain *the* Iberians *our Neighbours, who ſettled in theſe* Aſiatick *Countries, as we did.* *Pompey* paid little Regard to theſe Accounts which he thought fabulous; but he wanted to give his Troops reſt in a rigorous Seaſon. He therefore forgave *Oreſes*; and waited for the Return of the Spring, to march after *Mithridates*.

§. XXI. That unfortunate Prince, though deprived of his Kingdom, was ſtill formidable, notwithſtanding his Loſſes. As he paſſed from Country to Country he every where ſtirred up new Enemies againſt the Republick, and cauſed many of the Northern Nations of *Aſia* to take up Arms againſt her. *Pompey* therefore marched towards 35 *Dioſcurias*, where the King of *Pontus* had ſpent the Winter; and would ſoon have come up with him, if the *Iberians* had not oppoſed him in his Paſſage. They were a fierce People, and had preſerved their Independency, even under the Empire of the *Medes*, and againſt the Arms of *Alexander the Great*. *Artoces* was now their King, and he laid Snares for the *Roman* Army. *Pompey* diſcovered it, and prevented the De-

34 The *Roman* Army then celebrated the Feaſt of *Saturnalia*, which the old *Roman* Calendar fixes to the 17th Day of *December*.

35 *Dioſcurias*, which *Ptolomy* alſo calls *Sebaſtopolis*, took its Name from *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, who were thought its Founders. It ſtood in *Colchis*, at the moſt northern Part of the *Euxine Sea*.

ſigns,

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ſigns of the Enemy. He took [36] *Acropolis*, the Key to his little Kingdom; penetrated into the Heart of *Iberia*, by the Foot of Mount *Caucaſus*; and by this Conqueſt terrified *Artoces*. He fled, paſſed the *Cyrnus*, reconciled himſelf to the *Roman*, and facilitated his Paſſage over that River; but ſtill with a Deſign to go and wait for him, and fight him on the Banks of the [37] *Pelorus*, another River in his Dominions. *Pompey* followed him, came up with him before he could reach the Banks of the ſecond River, and there fought a Battle with him, in which the King loſt a great Number of his Men. The reſt made their eſcape with him as they could, by ſwimming over the *Pelorus*, and fleeing into thick Foreſts for Refuge. But moſt of them were drowned in the River. Others climbed up to the Tops of great Trees, and there defended themſelves with their Arrows. The *Romans* cut down the Trees; killed the unfortunate *Iberians* in the Places of their refuge; and upon the whole, the Defeat was conſiderable. The Enemy had 9000 Men ſlain upon the Spot, and *Pompey* took 10000 Priſoners of War. *Artoces*, whoſe Meaſures were quite broken by his Loſs, now ſought in earneſt to regain the Friendſhip of *Pompey*, and ſent Preſents to him, from beyond the *Pelorus*. But the *Roman* General refuſed to accept of any but his Children, which he demanded as Hoſtages. *Artoces* at firſt made a Difficulty of delivering up to his Conqueror the Hopes of his Family; but when *Pompey* appeared beyond the River, the King complied. He ſent the Hoſtages demanded, and made Peace with *Rome*.

§. XXII. The *Phaſis* was not far from the *Pelorus*; and *Pompey* reſolved to paſs it, to enter *Colchis*. There *Servilius* the Commander of the *Roman* Fleet which cruiſed about the *Euxine Sea*, was waiting for the *Pro-Conſul*, to tranſport his Army to *The Cimmerian Boſphorus*, whither *Mithridates* had retreated. But when the *Pro-Conſul*, was upon the Spot, he found the Voyage impracticable on a tempeſtuous Sea, which he was not even ſure of coaſting, on account of the Multitude of barbarous Nations that lived on the Shores of it. Beſides, he received News that his Preſence was neceſſary in *Albania*, where *Oreſes* had ſhaken off the *Roman* Yoke. *Coſis*, his Brother, a brave and enterprizing Prince, had cauſed all the Diſorder; and in order to hinder *Pompey* from returning to *Albania*, had guarded the Banks of the *Cyrnus* at certain Diſtances with high Paliſades. *Pompey* therefore ſent away *Servilius* and his Fleet, with Orders to hinder any Merchant-Ship from carrying Proviſions to *Mithridates*, ſaying, *His greateſt Enemy would be Famine*: and then marched his Army a great way round to *Albania*. He firſt fell upon *Armenia*; made the *Albani* believe that he was going farther and farther from their Country, and would return to it no more; and by this Feint deceived them. When theſe Hopes had put them leſs upon their Guard, he on a ſudden, turned toward the *Cyrnus*; and it being the midſt of Summer, he found one Part of it fordable, though it was generally very rapid and very deep. Nevertheleſs, that his Infantry might the more conveniently paſs it, he drew up his Cavalry and Beaſts of Burden in the Bed of the River, and thereby broke the force of the Stream. From the *Cyrnus* to the [38] *Cambyſes*, he marched through a dry Country, where his Army ſuffered much by Thirſt. But after rambling far out of their Way, which was occaſioned by the Country People their Guides, who betrayed them, the *Romans* came at laſt to the *Cambyſes*; and there, their drinking too greedily of the Water of the River, which was too cold for them, brought many Diſtempers among them. Nevertheleſs, they ſtill advanced, with the Precaution of carrying 10000 Skins of Water, to ſerve them for drink in the vaſt Deſert, which they were to croſs, and at laſt arrived on the Banks of the [39] *Abas*, and paſſed it, without Oppoſition.

Plut. in Pomp. *Dio. Caſſius.* *L.* 27.

§. XXIII. As ſoon as *Pompey* had pitched his Camp, News was brought, that *Coſis* was advancing with an Army to attack him. This brave Prince had got together out of the neighbouring Nations, 60000 Foot, and 12000 Horſe. Among his Troops,

36 *Dio Caſſius* places *Acropolis* in *Iberia Aſiatica*, that is, in *Georgia*. This Name was generally given to Cities, or Forts, built on the *Summits* of Mountains.

37 *Dio Caſſius*, is the only Author that gives us any Account of the *Pelorus*, a River in *Iberia Aſiatica*.

38 The *Cambyſes* riſes at the Foot of Mount *Caucaſus*. It waters *Cambyſena*, a little Canton of *Armenia*, which was formerly ſubject to the *Perſians*, and falls into the *Cyrus*.

39 The *Abas*, which *Ptolomy* calls the *Albanus*, riſes in the Mountains of *Iberia*; croſſes *Albania* from Weſt to Eaſt, and falls into the *Caſpian Sea*, near the City of *Albana*.

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besides *Albanians*, were many *Iberians*, [40] *Geles*, [41] *Leges*, and as we are told, some of the [42] *Amazons*, that lived on the Banks of the *Thermodon*. The *Romans* rejoiced greatly at the Sight of the Enemy, and forgot their past Labours. *Pompey* was well pleased to have a Battle to fight so soon, and despised this [43] Multitude of Barbarians, who were ill cloathed, and ill armed. However, in order to overcome them with the more certainty, he hid his *Legionaries* ready formed in an Ambush, and ordered them to kneel down on one Knee, and cover their Helmets with their Bucklers, lest the Reflexion of the Sun upon them, should discover them at a distance. Then he detached his Cavalry, who retired before the Enemy, till they brought them into the middle of his Battalions. The *Albanian* Troops were instantly surrounded by the *Romans*, who rose up on their Feet, and by widening gave their Cavalry an Opportunity to retreat. The Battle was very confused, and no quarter given. Prince *Cosis* stuck close to *Pompey*, and obstinately persisted in pursuing him. He struck his Cuiras with a Dart, but did not pierce it; and *Pompey* threw his Lance with such Vigour at the Prince, that he laid him dead at his Horse's Feet. Then the Loss of the General brought on the Rout of the whole Army; the Barbarians disbanded themselves, and ran, as usual, to hide themselves in the neighbouring Forest. The *Romans* set fire to the Forest, and they perished in the Flames. Whilst the Forest was burning, the *Romans* continually cried out, *Saturnalia*, *Saturnalia*, to re-mind the *Albanians*, that they had attempted on that Day, to surprize them in their Quarters, and cut them in pieces; and the Consequence of this Victory, was the Ravage and Conquest of all *Albania*. But when the Dead were stripped on the Field of Battle, there were none of those pretended *Amazons* found among them, which had been thought to have been in the Fight. So that this Republick of military Women seems to have been a [44] Fable, adopted on too slight Grounds, by many credulous Historians.

§. XXIV. After the Defeat of his Troops, *Oreses* acknowledged the Dominion of the *Romans*. He was retired to the Summit of one of those Mountains that make the *Caucasus*; and from thence he sent to desire a Peace of *Pompey*, who ordered him to come down into the Plain. The King obeyed, and sent the *Roman* General a Present of a Bed, Table, and Throne, of massy Gold. *Pompey* accepted them, and made other Presents in return, but reserved nothing to himself of what was given him. All was put into the Hands of the *Quæstor* for the publick Treasury. And as for *Albania* and *Iberia*, it is probable, that they at least became tributary to the Republick. Many of the other Nations bordering on the *Caspian Sea*, came also to desire Peace, which *Pompey* granted them. It is said, his Design [45] was to penetrate as far as into *Hyrcania*; but either he forged [46] Monsters, or met with some in his March that

40 *Plutarch*, in his *Life of Pompey*, places the *Geles* and *Leges* between *Albania*, and that Part of Mount *Caucasus*, which, he says, was inhabited by the *Amazons*, and which borders on the *Hyrcanian* or *Caspian Sea*. *Strabo* had said before him, that these People of *Asiatick Scythia* were bounded to the South by the Country of the *Albani*, and to the North by that of the *Amazons*. Whence it is concluded, that they possessed that Canton of *Circassia* which *Pliny* calls *Cadusia*. This last Author says, there were *Cadusians* or *Geles*, which he calls them indifferently, in *Sogdiana*. And lastly, *Ptolomy* finds some People of this Name in *Media*, near the *Caspian Sea*.

41 *Plutarch* says, The *Leges* and *Geles* were together but one Nation. But he only speaks of them after *Theophanes of Mitylene*, who had followed *Pompey*, in all his *Asiatick* Expeditions; and had written a Relation of his Travels, and of the Events of which he was an Eye-Witness.

42 *Plutarch* relates what he says of the *Amazons* as a doubtful Fact, founded only on a very suspicious Tradition.

43 According to *Plutarch*, The *Albanian* Army consisted of 60000 Foot, and 12000 Horse: These Barbarians were covered with nothing but Skins of Beasts, when they offered Battle.

44 *Strabo*, and after him, all sensible Historians, rank all that has been said by many too credulous Writers concerning the pretended Empire of the *Amazons*, in *Asia Minor*, near the River *Thermodon*, and towards the borders of *Scythia*, near Mount *Caucasus*, among the Fables of Antiquity. Nor are they more to be believed, in what they say of the Conquests and different Expeditions which they ascribe to this Nation of Women. *Is it probable*, says this judicious Historian, *that a Republick of Women could ever have subsisted? If so, we must allow of this strange Paradox, That the Women were then changed into Men, and the Men reduced to the State of Women.* Besides, the Fiction appears from the Names of *Hippolyta*, *Otrera*, *Lampeto*, *Penthesilea*, *Menalippe*, and *Antiope*, which are *Greek* Names, and not suited to *Barbarian* Women, who were shut up in the most distant Regions of *Scythia*.

45 *Plutarch* says, *Pompey* had a Design to go into *Hyrcania*, and march to the *Caspian Sea*. But he had no occasion to pass through *Hyrcania*, in order to come to the Shores of that Sea. He was then in *Albania*, and consequently not far from the *Caspian*.

46 According to *Plutarch*, The *Roman* Army was beset on the Road, with so great a number of Scorpions and venomous Beasts, whose Bite was mortal, that they were obliged to return back. Then *Pompey* resolved to march into *Little Armenia*. There he received the Ambassadors of two little Kings of *Assyria* and *Media*, who desired his Friendship, and offered to put their States under the Protection of the Republick.

affrighted him. He returned into *Little Armenia* to ſettle the Affairs of the Provinces he had conquered. *Phraates* was then the only Enemy he had to fear; for, as for *Mithridates*, it was ſcarce poſſible to follow him in his Rambles. Ever ſince the Loſs of his Dominions, he was rambling among unconquerable Nations, round the *Euxine* Sea; and was, if I may ſo ſpeak, abandoned to his evil Deſtiny, and not worth purſuing. But the Caſe was otherwiſe with regard to the King of the *Parthians*. Being Maſter of a great Empire, and at the Head of a warlike Nation, he was a formidable Prince. Nevertheleſs, *Pompey*, who had formerly managed him, now appeared againſt him in favour of *Tigranes*, who was become a Friend to the *Romans* ſince his ſurrendry. The *Pro-Conſul* ſent *Afranius* into *Gordyene*, a Province of the King of *Armenia*, with Orders to drive out *Phraates* who was ravaging it; and the *Romans* had all the Advantage, and drove the *Parthians* fighting, to the Neighbourhood of *Arbela* [47], in *Aſſyria*.

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§. XXV. Whilſt *Pompey* was gaining as many Victories as he fought Battles, *Mithridates* avoided him, and kept on the North Coaſt of the *Euxine*, ſometimes forcing the Nations he paſſed through to give him a Paſſage, and ſometimes engaging them by Careſſes to join their Arms to his. He drew into his Meaſures the greateſt Part of the little Kings of *Scythia*, by promiſing to each, one of his Daughters; for he had a great Number. At length, after he had croſſed the Countries of the *Heniochi* and *Aſiatick Achæans*, he came to the *Palus Mæotis*; and the nearer he drew to the *Cimmerian Boſphorus*, the more King *Machares*, his Son, dreaded his Preſence. We have already obſerved, That *Machares* had entered into a Friendſhip with *Rome*; and he conſtantly and faithfully kept the Alliance he had made with the Republick, and had frequent Correſpondence with *Pompey*. The Conduct of the Son therefore exaſperated the Father, and *Machares* in vain endeavoured to appeaſe him by his Ambaſſadors. He excuſed himſelf by alledging, That he had been forced to have recourſe to *Rome*, contrary to his Inclination; but all was to no Purpoſe. The Father, who was now near, threatened the *Boſphorus*, and procured Aſſaſſines for his Son, in his own Palace. So that *Machares* was forced, either to take up Arms againſt his Father, or ſuffer himſelf to be murdered; and that neither *Mithridates* nor himſelf might be guilty of Parricide, he fell by his own Hands. A valuable Prince, according to the Maxims of thoſe Times! He preferred a voluntary Death to the Shame of rebelling againſt his own Father. When *Machares* was dead, *Mithridates* ſeized his Dominions, and reigned in the *Boſphorus*. Then he aſſembled a great Army, and was once more ſtrong enough to renew the War with the *Romans*. No Man ever ſupported the Hatred he had entertained againſt *Rome*, with ſo much Dignity, in ſo advanced an Age. *Hannibal* himſelf did not find out more Reſources, after the fall of his Country, and the Ruin of his Armies, than *Mithridates* after the Loſs of his Kingdom of *Pontus*. His Courage was not abated, either by the Number of his Years, or by his ill Fortune. He was capable of having conquered all the Eaſt, if he had not had the *Romans* for his Enemies.

§. XXVI. However, *Pompey* was reſolved not to ſuffer him to enjoy the *Boſphorus* long in Tranquillity; but the immediate Cauſe of his leaving *Armenia* was another Affair of great Importance. The Kingdom of *Pontus*, tho' ſubdued, was not yet reduced to the State of a *Roman Province*. The Government of it was not ſettled, its Boundaries fixed, or its ſtated Tributes aſſigned; and the *Pro-Conſul* went to put the laſt Hand to this great Work. In his Way, he met with a Caſtle, where *Mithridates*, in the Time of his precipitate Flight, had left ſome of the Queens his Wives, and the Princeſſes his Daughters, with part of his Treaſures, ſhut up in Veſſels of Braſs, ſtrengthened with Bars of Iron. Queen *Stratonice* commanded in the Fort, and had the Care of the Seraglio and the Treaſure committed to her. Next to *Monimia*, one of the greateſt Favourites among the Women the King had, was this beautiful Woman. She was only the Daughter of a [48] Muſician; but *Mithridates* had ſo enriched her Father, that

App. in Mithridat. *Plut. in Pomp.*

47 *Stephens the Geographer* places *Arbela* in *Perſia*. But *Strabo* and *Ptolomy* with more Truth ſay, That this Village or Town, ſtood in *Adiabene*, or *Aſſyria Propria*. *Stephens* is the only Author that has given it the Title of a City. *Strabo* ſpeaks of it as a conſiderable Place. At leaſt, there is no Room to doubt of its having been a ſtrong Place, ſince *Darius* had there ſhut up his Treaſures, which *Alexander* ſeized, after he had made himſelf Maſter of this Fortreſs. It is become memorable in Hiſtory, for the Battle which put an end to the Empire of the *Perſians*.

48 The Charms of *Stratonice* had ſo captivated the

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that he was intoxicated with his Proſperity. Nevertheleſs *Stratonice* was ſo exaſperated with the King for leaving her, that the only Affection ſhe retained was for *Xipharès*, her Son by him, who followed his Father's Fortune; and in order to revenge herſelf, and procure the Favour of the *Romans* to her Son, ſhe ſurrendered the Fort, and delivered up the Treaſures. *Pompey* ſhewed her great Reſpect, gave the Concubines their Liberty, and ſent them home to their Parents; and ſignalized his Continence, by not touching any of them himſelf, or ſuffering any of his Officers to touch them. And of the Treaſures, he took only what might be proper for the Decoration of Temples, and to adorn his *Triumph*; and gave the reſt to *Stratonice*, for her own Uſe. He alſo promiſed *Xipharès* the Protection of his Republick, and ſent the Queen to *Mithridates*. But before ſhe reached the eaſtern Shore of the *Cimmerian Boſphorus*, the King her Huſband was informed of her Treachery, and of her devoting *Xipharès* to the *Roman* Party; and when ſhe came thither, he in a Fit of Rage brought *Xipharès* to the weſtern Shore of the *Boſphorus*, and ordered him to be cut in pieces, in the Sight of his Mother. Thus the King revenged the Affront he had received, from a Wife whom he had tenderly loved, on his own Blood; and thereby juſtly deſerved to have his own Children as cruel to him, as the worſt of his Enemies!

Plut. in Pomp.

§. XXVII. The *Pro-Conſul* ſtill kept advancing towards *Pontus*, and reducing by Force all the Places he came near, that held out for the old King; and at a Caſtle called *Caino*, the *Romans* met with ſome Reſiſtance. *Mithridates* had there depoſited the Papers and Records that belonged to his Kingdom. However, *Pompey* made himſelf Maſter of it, and had the beſt Opportunity of knowing the true Character of *Mithridates*, by theſe Records it appeared, by the King's own Memoirs that he had poiſoned many People, and among them, *Ariarathes* his own Son, and a Citizen of *Sardis* called *Alcæus*, becauſe he had had ſome Advantage over him at an Horſe-Race. But what moſt ſurprized *Pompey*, were his Letters to *Monimia*, and her Anſwers. As they both had a great deal of Wit, they carried on their Amours with extream Delicacy. At length, [49] *Pompey* entered [50] *Amiſos* the Capital of *Pontus*; there aſſembled all the great Lords of the Kingdom; brought before theſe States General all the Kings and Princes of *Aſia*; and in their Preſence, received the Sovereigns of the barbarous Nations, (that is, of ſuch as did not ſpeak the *Greek* Tongue) on all the Coaſts of *Aſia*. *Pompey* loved State, and preſided in this Aſſembly with Pleaſure. He

the Heart of *Mithridates*, that he married her the ſame Day, and gave her the firſt Rank among his Women. The Father of the new Queen, who was far advanced in Age, and a Muſician by Profeſſion, murmured when he firſt heard that the King by taking away *Stratonice*, had deprived him of the only Comfort he had in the World. But he changed his Tone, the next Day, when he ſaw the State that ſurrounded him. He ſaw himſelf ſurrounded, with Buffets loaded with Gold and Silver Plate, a numerous Train of Domeſticks, Eunuchs officious to ſerve him, and a Croud of Courtiers who preſented him with rich Habits in the Name of *Mithridates*. In ſhort, as a particular Mark of Diſtinction which the Eaſtern Monarchs ſhew only to Princes and thoſe whom they honour with their Confidence, the King of *Pontus* made him a Preſent of an Horſe finely equipped. He was ſo ſtruck with this glittering Appearance, that he durſt not believe his own Eyes. He doubted, whether it was not a Dream, or a Joke of ſome of the Lords of the Court, in order to put a Cheat upon him. And in this uncertainty, the old Man would have run away, if he had not been ſtopped by ſome of the King's Officers. Theſe informed him, That the King, out of his Affection for *Stratonice*, had reſolved to load him with Riches and Honours. This was enough to induce him to cloath himſelf in Purple, mount the Horſe with rich Trappings, that waited for him at the Door of his Houſe, and with a Croud of Domeſticks and Officers on Foot, ride through the City amidſt the Acclamations of his Train. And ſo intoxicated was he with this Change of Fortune, that he looked as if he had loſt his Senſes. This new Sight was matter of Diverſion to the People, who looked on him as a theatrical King, whom the Courtiers were leading about the City, for their Amuſement.

49 *Plutarch* here adds a Fact, on the Authority of *Theophanes of Mytilene*, or of *Lesbos*, who had the greateſt Share of the Friendſhip and Confidence of *Pompey*. He ſays, There was found among *Mithridates's* Papers, a violent Diſcourſe which *Oroſius Rutilius* addreſſed to this Prince, to perſuade him to maſſacre all the *Romans* in his Dominions without diſtinction, as he in fact did. But ſo horrible a Treachery cannot be reconciled with the Character of a Man whom all the Hiſtorians repreſent as a Perſon of conſummate Wiſdom, and the ſtricteſt Probity; as we have obſerved of him p. 257. of this Volume, Note 12. And *Plutarch* himſelf does not ſcruple to ſay, That *Theophanes* had atteſted this cruel Calumny, either in order to caſt a Stain on the Memory of *Rutilius*, whoſe Virtue he dreaded, or to pleaſe *Pompey*, who could never forgive that great Man, his having in his Hiſtory repreſented *Pompeius Strabo*, the Father of the Conqueror, as the moſt wicked of Men. This *Theophanes* had been honoured with the Title of a *Roman Citizen* at the Recommendation of *Pompey*, who did not diſdain to become his publick Panegyriſt in a ſtudied Speech. And in Gratitude, he dedicated his Pen to the Honour of his Benefactor, and wrote a Hiſtory of his Conqueſts.

50 We have already ſpoken of *Amiſos* or *Amiſus*, one of the chief Cities of *Pontus*. The *Turks* now call it *Amid*, or *Hamid*, according to *Leunclavius*. The Natives of the Country call it *Simiſo*. It ſtands on a little Gulph of the *Black Sea*, Eaſt of the Mouth of the River *Ceſalmac*.

there

there gave Law to all the neighbouring Monarchs; and was reproached with carrying Things to that Extremity, which was charged on *Tuoullus* as Deſpotiſm. He, of his own Authority diſpoſed of the conquered Kingdoms as he pleaſed. *Dejotarus*, one of the *Tetrarchs* of *Galatia*, received *Little Armenia* as his Reward for his Valour and Fidelity, which had been of good Service to the *Pro-Conſul* in his Expeditions. *Paphlagonia*, which *Mithridates* had uſurped, was reſtored to *Attalus* and *Pylæmenes* its lawful Sovereigns. The Throne of *Colchis* was reſerved for *Ariſtarchus*; and it was *Pompey*'s Will and Pleaſure, That [51] *Archelaus* ſhould be made Prieſt of *Bellona* in *Comana* [52], and have immenſe Riches, and an almoſt Regal Power. Then he regulated the Government of *Syria*, which had been given up to the *Romans* by *Tigranes*; and ſettled thoſe of the two *Armenia's*, and *Colchis*, and [53] *Cappadocia*, under their own Kings, who were ſubdued and become tributary. And laſtly, he concluded with putting *Pontus* upon the Foot of a *Roman Province*, to be governed by a *Prætor* ſent thither from *Rome*, and recallable at Pleaſure.

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§. XXVIII. But whilſt *Pompey* was thus ſhining in the *Levant*, he was a Stranger to the Progreſs *Julius Cæſar* was making in *Rome*. By his Affability, and Intrigues which no Man could form with more addreſs than himſelf, he had already captivated the Hearts of all the People. And as his Genius was vaſtly ſuperior to that of *Pompey*, his Views of Grandeur went much farther than the trifling Applauſes of a Multitude, in which *Pompey* chiefly delighted. *Cæſar* was now only *Ædile*; but he ſignalized his firſt *Curule* Office by ſuch Acts, as ſufficiently ſhewed his Ambition, and made many dread the Conſequences of it. He ſeemed reſolved, from his firſt entering upon publick Employments, to revive the Memory of the great *Marius*, which he was in a particular manner concerned to do. He had from his earlieſt Youth been attached to the Faction that oppoſed *Sylla*, and was related both to the *Marii* and *Cinna*, either by Affinity or Blood. The great *Marius*, tho' of an obſcure Birth, when dignified by his Employments, had married *Julia*, the Siſter of *Cæſar*'s Father; ſo that young *Marius* who was the Iſſue of that Marriage, was his Couſin-German. And *Cæſar* himſelf, when very young, had married *Cornelia* the Daughter of *Cinna*, and had loved her to her Death. *Sylla* had endeavoured to prevail on him to divorce her, but in vain. He choſe rather to incur the Diſpleaſure of the *Dictator*, than break his Contract with his Wife, and renounce the Party he had preferred. This obliged him to flee into *Aſia*, where he ſpent ſome Years, and did not return to *Rome* till after *Sylla*'s Death; and there, he ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf by many excellent Endowments. In Eloquence, which he had perfected under a great Maſter at *Rhodes*, he ſoon became equal to *Hortenſius* and *Cicero*; but he found that he was born for Arms. It was therefore chiefly from War, that he expected his Glory and Advancement; and having already paſſed through the Offices of *Legionary Tribune* and *Quæſtor*, he was now become an *Ædile*.

Plut. in Cæſare.

Tho' no more mention was made of the *Marii* and *Sylla* in the Republick, ſome Traces were ſtill left of the bloody Factions which they had headed. Many People, eſpecially the Populace, ſtill retained a ſecret Affection for *Marius*; and on the contrary, the Memory of *Sylla* was ſtill very dear to the Nobility, eſpecially the Senate. Tho' they did not approve of his Cruelties, they applauded him for reducing the Commons to ſo low a State. But the People had a little recovered themſelves ſince *Pompey*, had reſtored their *Tribunes*; and *Cæſar*, who was more refined in his Policy than *Pompey*, very artfully made his own Advantage, of the Privileges the latter had granted to the Com-

15 This *Archelaus* was the Son of another *Archelaus*, who was *Mithridates*'s General, and who after he had ſignalized himſelf in the Defence of the *Pyræus*, abandoned the King of *Pontus*, and went over to *Lucullus*. In the next Volume we ſhall ſee his Son raiſed to the Throne of *Egypt*, in the Room of *Ptolomy Auletes*, and die Sword in Hand.

52 The ancient Geographers ſay, there were two Cities of *Comana*, one in *Cappadocia*, at a little diſtance from Mount *Taurus*, on the Banks of the River *Sarus*, which falls into the *Cilician* Sea: The other in *Pontus*, near the Springs of the *Iris*, which watered its Territory. Each of theſe Cities had a Temple dedicated to *Bellona*, under the Government of an High-Prieſt, who was next in Rank to the King, and whoſe Authority was for Life. And his Revenues were equal to his Power. *Strabo* pretends, that *Oreſtes* and his Siſter *Iphigenia* brought to *Comana* in *Cappadocia* the Worſhip of this Goddeſs, regulated after the ſame manner, that *Diana* was worſhipped in *Scythia Taurica*. The two Cities diſputed with each other the Honour of having the true Statue of *Diana*, and the true Knife of *Iphigenia*. The *Lydians* alſo entered into the Diſpute, and contended, That *Oreſtes* had left with them the boaſted Image.

53 *Pompey*, according to *Appian*, added to *Cappadocia*, in favour of *Ariobarzanes*, *Sophene*, *Gordyene*, and ſeveral Cities, of *Cilicia*.

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mons, and conſequently to the *Marian* Faction. He made it the Buſineſs of his *Ædileſhip*, to do Honour to the *Tribunate*, and thereby put himſelf in a Way to go further than *Marius*, or *Cinna*, or even *Sylla*, had done. The Method he took to gain the People was this. He was naturally of a generous Diſpoſition, and is accuſed of indulging 54 it to Prodigality. He is ſaid to have owed above 1300 * *Talents*, before he entered upon any of the ſuperior Offices. So that his Liberalities were without Bounds, and his Luxury very great, in his Table, Furniture, and Attendants. Theſe grand Appearances ſtruck the Eyes of the Multitude, and gained *Cæſar* their Reſpect, without exciting the Jealouſy of his Enemies. The latter ſaid, *This was a ſhort-lived Show, which would ſoon end with his Eſtate; and then, Want would reduce him to the State of a common Burgher.* *Cicero* only ſaw farther than the Vulgar, into the Intentions of the ambitious Youth. He ſaid, *That every Thing ſavoured of Tyranny in his Conduct; and That what convinced him of it, was the Softneſs and Effeminacy that he obſerved in his Dreſs and Behaviour.* This was judging by Appearances; and he gueſſed right, when he inferred from *Cæſar*'s Steps, That his Ambition would lead him to aſpire at being a Sovereign in *Rome*. But he did not ſufficiently diſcover that manly Courage, and great Intrepidity, which was concealed under this Luxury and Effeminacy.

Sterl. * 251875 *l.*

§. XXIX. In his *Ædileſhip*, *Cæſar* affected Popularity more than ever. Nothing could be more polite and engaging than his Behaviour. He was as liberal of his Careſſes as his Money. No Man went from him diſpleaſed. There was ſomething even in his Air and Look, that contributed greatly to make him beloved. When he ſpoke, there was a Sweetneſs mixed with a noble Grandeur, in his Manner; and the very Tone of his Voice helped to make him agreeable. As his Office confined him to *Rome*, he employed his Eloquence in Defence of the Accuſed; and thereby increaſed the Number of his Friends without giving Offence to any. He undertook to repair *The Appian Way*, and finiſhed this great Work, almoſt wholly at his own Expence. In the publick *Games*, which he was to direct, he ſpared nothing that could make them pompous, or entertaining to the Spectators. The *Circus* not being large enough to contain the Crouds of *Romans*, which the *Megaleſian* 55 *Games* drew thither; he found Means to prevent any one's being diſappointed of the Pleaſure of ſeeing at leaſt the Pomp and Finery of the Proceſſion. He, with his own Money, built Portico's of Timber with Seats, all round the *Forum Romanum*, even in the *Comitium* and on the *Capitol*; that they, who could not be preſent at the *Games*, might at leaſt ſee the Proceſſion of the fine Chariots and Horſes, that were to diſpute the Prize. And in the *Amphitheatre*, he entertained the People, rather with a kind of Battle, than the ſingle Combats of a few *Athletæ*. He bought 320 Pair of *Gladiators*; who, fighting with one another all at one time, were a pretty good Repreſentation of an Action between two Armies. And the People were ſo fully perſuaded, that they were indebted to *Cæſar* only for theſe magnificent Sights, that they aſcribed none of the Honour of them to *Bibulus*, his Collegue in the *Ædileſhip*. Which made *Bibulus* pleaſantly ſay, *That he and* Cæſar *were like* Caſtor *and* Pollux; *in as much as, tho' they were worſhipped under one Roof, their Temple went by the Name of* Caſtor *only, and it was forgotten that it was equally dedicated to both.*

Dio. Caſſius. L. 37.

By theſe Means, the *Ædile* ſo captivated the People, that they were now as much, if not more, devoted to him than to *Pompey*; and he experienced their Favour firſt, in two Affairs of little Weight, and afterwards in a more important Concern. His Wife *Cornelia* was juſt dead in the Flower of her Age; and, tho' it was not cuſtomary to ſpeak funeral Orations at the Obſequies of any of the Sex, *Cæſar* ſpoke her Panegyrick with Applauſe. To the Reputation of being a Man of Eloquence, he added that of being a good Huſband too. His Aunt *Julia* alſo died in a very advanced Age; and tho' ſhe was the Widow of *Marius*, whoſe Name was odious to the Senate and Nobility, he ſpoke her Funeral Oration likewiſe in the *Forum*, to the Satisfaction of the Aſſembly. And then, this Succeſs emboldened him to revive the Memory of old *Marius*. *Sylla* had beat down the Statues and Trophies which had been erected to this Conqueror, after the Battles gained over *Jugurtha* and the *Cimbri*; and *Cæſar* now had them new

Plut. in Cæſar.

54 *Suetonius* ſays, That *Cæſar* made a Preſent of a Pearl valued at 775000 *Livres*, to his Miſtreſs *Servilia*, one of the Siſters of *Cato of Utica* by the Mother's ſide, and the Mother of the famous *Brutus*.

55 Theſe *Games* were inſtituted in Honour to *Cybele*, the Mother of the Gods. We have ſpoken of this Feſtival in the preceding Volumes.

caſt, and ſpared no gilding in adorning them. One of them was firſt placed in the *Capitol*, where it attracted the Eyes of all Perſons who had any Judgment in Works of Art; and afterwards, ſome of them were erected on very fine Pedeſtals. Indeed *Cæſar* did not own himſelf to be the Author of this, but he was ſuſpected of it. The rigid *Catulus*, accuſed him before the Senate, as an audacious Man, who payed unlawful Honours to one who was declared an Enemy to his Country, and whoſe Name was infamous: And in his Speech went ſo far as to ſay, *That* Cæſar *no longer attacked the Republick by covert Means, but with open Violence.* But the accuſed anſwered the Invectives of *Catulus* with ſo much Art and Temper, that he was unanimouſly acquitted; and then the People conceived ſo high an Opinion of him, that they almoſt idolized him. They ſaid, *He was an adorable Man, a good Relation, and an active Friend; who, with the moſt gracious and obliging Behaviour, had all the Firmneſs of an Hero.* On the other hand, *Catulus* ſunk much in the Eſteem of the People. He was then *Cenſor* with *Craſſus*, who was for granting the *Gauls* beyond the *Po* the Right of *Roman Citizenſhip.* But *Catulus* oppoſed it; and the Diſpute was carried ſo far between them, that they were both obliged to lay down their Office, before they had made a *Luſtrum*, or *Cenſus* of the People.

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Thus was *C. Julius Cæſar* become the Idol of the Commons, when the *Centuries* aſſembled in *The Field of Mars* to elect new *Conſuls*; and it is probable, that he diſpoſed the People to chooſe a Man of his Family and Name, tho' of another Branch. This was one *L. Julius Cæſar*, the Son of another *Lucius Cæſar*, who had been *Conſul* during the War with the *Marſi*; and the Collegue the Republick gave him, was *C. Marcius Figulus.* During their Adminiſtration, the only War *Rome* had to maintain abroad, was that of *Pompey* in the Eaſt; but the Diſturbances in the City were daily increaſed, through the Licentiouſneſs of the People, the Ambition of bad Citizens, and the Weakneſs of the Government. *Julius Cæſar* the *Ædile* took all the Advantage he could of the *Conſulſhip* of his Relation. In order to revive the Memory of *Marius* more and more, and to wound deeply that of *Sylla*, he proſecuted many Perſons for offending againſt the Law which forbad Homicide; and it may therefore well be imagined that *Sylla*'s Guards, who were infamous for having killed ſo many proſcribed Perſons, were the firſt that were brought before the Tribunal of the People. At the ſame time *Cato*, who as *Quæſtor*, had the Cuſtody of the publick Treaſury, publickly refuſed to pay the Penſions *Sylla* had aſſigned to thoſe, who had brought him the Heads of the many condemned *Citizens.* So that *Cato* joined with *Cæſar*, againſt the Remains of the *Syllan* Faction; and the People ſaw with Applauſe, ſome of thoſe worthleſs Men who had enriched themſelves with the Price of *Roman* Blood, deprived of their Fortunes, branded with eternal Infamy, and condemned to ſuffer capital Puniſhments. Among theſe, was one *Luſcius*, and *L. Bellienus*, *Catiline*'s Uncle; and it was thought ſtrange, that *Catiline* himſelf, ſo furious an Agent as he had been for *Sylla*, was ſpared. But he was *Cæſar*'s Friend; and the Protection of this powerful Patron ſaved him. However, we ſhall ſoon ſee him raiſe new Troubles, and undergo the Puniſhment he deſerved. But the Courſe of Events firſt leads us into *Aſia.*

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§. XXX. *Mithridates* was cantoned in the *Cimmerian Boſphorus*, and preparing to ſuſtain *Pompey*'s Attacks; but the *Roman* had quite other Deſigns, than that of reducing him by Force. He took it for granted, that the King's great Age, or an Inſurrection among his Subjects, or perhaps the Revolt of his own Children, who were tired out with ſo many Murders, would ſoon deliver *Rome* from ſo obſtinate an Enemy. The *Pro-Conſul*, who was retired to *Galatia*, ſince he had ſettled the Affairs of *Pontus* and the neighbouring Kingdoms, was full of a much greater and more uſeful Deſign for his Republick. His Scheme was, to go himſelf into *Syria*, finiſh the Conqueſt which was but juſt begun there; extend it to *Cælo-Syria*, *Phœnicia*, *Paleſtine*, *Judæa*, and *Arabia*; reduce the whole Empire of the *Seleucidæ* to the State of a *Roman Province*; and then march on to the *Red Sea*: And he had already taken ſome previous Steps, in order to this great Work. He had ſent *Gabinius* one of his Lieutenants beyond the *Euphrates*; and he was already encamped on the Banks of the *Tigris.* He had given Orders to *Metellus* and *Lollius*, who guarded the Coaſts of *Aſia*, to draw near to *Damaſcus* and ſeize it. And *Afranius*, another of his Lieutenants, had penetrated to *Carrhæ* in *Meſopotamia*, a City which the *Parthians* pretended belonged to them. *Phraates* complained to the *Roman* General o the Attempt of *Afranius*, 37. *Dio. Caſſ. L.*

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nius, as an Infraction of the Treaty he had made with the *Romans*. But *Pompey* neglected the Complaints of *Phraates*, and in the Letter he wrote him, did not ſo much as give him the Title of *King of Kings*. So true is it, That when Men have once gotten the Aſcendant by Force of Arms, they eaſily forget the Alliances which Neceſſity had forced them earneſtly to ſollicite! Nevertheleſs, it muſt be owned, that *Pompey* always refuſed to come to a Quarrel with the *Parthians*; tho' he affected to ſhew them, that he did not fear them.

Joſ. Antiq. L. 2.

After the *Roman* Army had left *Pontus* and *Galatia*, they intended to enter *Syria*, by *Comagene*; and there they found two little Kings in Arms, reſolved to diſpute their Paſſage. One was *Antiochus* the Sovereign of *Comagene*, and the other, one *Darius* a Prince of *Media*. But *Pompey* beat them, and forced them to ſeek his Friendſhip, which he granted; and even took an Affection for *Antiochus*, and increaſed his Dominions, with a Part of *Meſopotamia*. Then he continued his March, defeated the *Arabians* about Mount *Amanus*; and if we may believe one Hiſtorian, came in fifty Days to *Ecbatana*, the Capital of the Kingdom of *Parthia*. But this Hiſtorian was doubtleſs miſtaken, in taking [56] *Ecbatana* of the *Perſians*, which is better known to the Geographers, for *Ecbatana of Syria*; and here, the Order of Time in which Events happened, is a little confounded by the ancient Hiſtorians. Some place the Death of *Mithridates* a Year forwarder, others a Year later; but that we may not interrupt the Courſe of Things, we will, without entering into Diſcuſſions of this kind, relate the Remainder of his Story in this Place. Whether he died in the Year 689, or 690, it is at leaſt certain, That *Pompey* received the News of it, when he was paſſing through *Syria*, and reducing it to Obedience to his Republick.

Oroſius. L. 6.

§. XXXI. *Mithridates* was then reſiding in the *Cimmerian Boſphorus*, and making great Preparations to continue the War with *Rome*; and it is ſaid, That the violent Hatred which he bore to the *Romans*, led him to form a chimerical Scheme, which was neither agreeable to his Age nor his Condition. He was heard to ſay, That he was reſolved, To paſs the *Palus Mæotis* and go to the Banks of the *Danube*; To make his way thro' the Provinces of *Thrace* and *Macedon*; To engage a good Number of the *German* Nation to join him; To march into *Gaul* the ſame Way the *Cimbri* had formerly done; and then, To paſs the *Alpes* as *Hannibal* did, and fall upon *Italy*. When he was full of theſe Thoughts, as violent an Earthquake as had been known in the Memory of Man, was felt in the *Boſphorus*; and *Mithridates* being ſuperſtitious, looked on this Misfortune as a Preſage which foretold him ſome approaching Calamity. He therefore immediately ſent an Embaſſy to *Pompey*, to deſire a Peace, and the Reſtitution of the Kingdom of his Anceſtors, upon Condition that he ſhould always be a tributary Vaſſal to the *Romans*. *Pompey* anſwered him, That he was to expect no Favour, till, like *Tigranes*, he ſurrendered himſelf up to the Clemency and Faith of the Republick; and the proud King could not ſubmit to theſe Terms. *Perhaps*, ſaid he, *I might deliver up my Perſon and Intereſts into* Pompey's *Hands, if I was* Tigranes. *But* Mithridates *has made too much Noiſe in the World, to end a Life of ſo much Glory in ſo cowardly a manner.* And from that Time the King was wholly intent on his mad Project of going into *Italy*. He made great Preparations for it, and raiſed all the Troops he could in the *Boſphorus*, without any diſtinction. Free Men and Slaves were equally obliged to take the military Oath; and in order to build his Machines of War, he cut down not the Foreſt Trees only, but even the Fruit-Trees in Gardens. Nor was this all. He killed all the Oxen in the Country, to uſe their Sinews for Strings for his *Balliſtæ* and *Catapultæ*. Beſides, the *Boſphorans* were forced to pay exceſſive Tributes, and no difference made between the rich and the poor. The Collectors of theſe Taxes likewiſe abuſed their Power, and increaſed the Miſeries of the People by their Severities. In the mean while, *Mithridates* appeared no more in Publick, to appeaſe their Murmurs.

App. in Mithrid.

Dio, L. 37.

[56] The ancient Geographers mention three Cities of this Name; one in *Perſia*, another in *Syria*, and the third in *Great Media*. The firſt was called *Ecbatana of the Magi*, to diſtinguiſh it from the other two. The ſecond, which is here ſpoken of, and was called *Gabbata* and *Agbatana*, ſtood at the Foot of Mount *Carmel*, on the Side of *Ptolemais*. The third was founded by *Dejoces*, King of the *Medes*, tho' *Pliny* makes *Seleucus* King of *Syria* to have been the Founder of it. And it is as falſe, that it was built by *Semiramis*, as *Cteſias* affirms. In order to judge of the bigneſs of this City, we need only obſerve with *Herodotus*, that it was ſurrounded by ſeven Walls, the largeſt of which was as long as thoſe of *Athens*; that is, 178 *Stadia*, or about 8 common Leagues, in circumference. It is thought, That the City of *Tauris* was raiſed out of the Ruins of *Ecbatana*; others ſay, That the City of *Caſvin* or *Caſbin* ſtands where *Ecbatana* ſtood.

He had an Ulcer in his Face, and was not to be ſeen by any body but three of his Eunuchs, in whom alone he confided for his Cure.

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§. XXXII. But, tho' *Mithridates* was inviſible, his Army was ſtill forming, and amounted already to 60 *Cohorts* of 600 Men each; beſides a prodigious Multitude of Men, not yet formed into regular Bodies. And as in the long Wars he had made with the Republick, he had a great Number of *Roman* Deſerters in his Service, theſe were the chief Strength of his Troops. Nor was he in any Want of Ships, which he ſent to different Ports for tranſporting his Army. As ſoon as he was cured, he reſolved to employ his numerous Forces firſt, in ſeizing [57] *Phanagoria*, a City on the eaſt Shore of the *Cimmerian Boſphorus*. Being already Maſter of [58] *Panticapæum*, another City on the Weſt ſide of the *Boſphorus*, he hoped by this Means to ſtop up the Entrance into the *Streights* againſt the Enemy, and make his Kingdom inacceſſible. A prudent Deſign; but it did not ſucceed. A Magiſtrate of Weight in *Phanagoria*, named *Caſtor*, had been ill uſed by *Trypho*, an Eunuch of the Court, who came into the City before the King; and *Caſtor* killed him, and made an Inſurrection in the City againſt the Royal Army. Tho' the Citadel was already in the King's Hands, and he had ſent thither ſeveral of his young Sons, and with them *Artaphernes* another of his Sons of 40 Years of Age, and a Daughter named *Cleopatra*; the *Phanagorians* were not afraid to ſhut their Gates againſt *Mithridates*, and inveſt their own Citadel. They ſurrounded it with combuſtible Materials, to which they ſet fire, in order to burn a part of the Royal Family; and the cowardly *Artaphernes* ſurrendered up himſelf and his Brothers at Diſcretion. But the brave *Cleopatra* was reſolute. She preferred Death to Slavery; preſerved the Citadel ſome Days by her Firmneſs; and did not leave it, till a Ship was ſent her from her Father. The *Phanagorians* received a *Roman* Garriſon; and *Caſtor* went and took many Cities from *Mithridates*.

Then the frequent Revolt of the *Boſphorans* threw *Mithridates* into a great Conſternation; and in order to ſecure at leaſt the Alliance and Protection of the *Scythian* Kings, he ſent them his Daughters, which he had promiſed them, for Wives. They were eſcorted by 500 Horſe; and the Commander of their Guard had Orders to haſten the Succours which *Scythia* had promiſed *Mithridates*. But he was a Traitor who was diſguſted at the Court, and wanted an Opportunity to go over to the *Romans*, and make himſelf agreeable to them by ſome ſignal Act of Service. This he thought he had now found; and as ſoon as he was got out of the *Boſphorus*, he ſurrounded the Eunuchs that guarded the Princeſſes with his Troops, diſperſed thoſe effeminate Men, and carried the Daughters of *Mithridates* to *Pompey*.

§. XXXIII. Nevertheleſs, all theſe Calamities did not yet ſink the Courage of the King. Age had a little weakened his Body; but he had as much vigour of Mind as ever, and his Hatred to *Rome* increaſed with his Misfortunes. Tho' he had loſt all Hopes of Succours from *Scythia*, and the Cities of [59] *Theudoſia*, [60] *Cherſoneſus*, [61] *Nymphæum*, and ſeveral of thoſe that bordered on the *Euxine* Sea had revolted from him, he ſtill perſiſted in his Deſign to go into *Italy*, and make the old King as formidable there, as *Hannibal* had been in the Flower of his Age. He now went ſo far, as to divulge this chimerical Scheme, which he had hitherto kept within his own Breaſt. *Why*, ſaid he, *may not I, in my turn, give terrour to a Republick, which is hated by all the Nations in the World? In proportion, as I advance nearer to* Italy, *how many*

57 *Phanagoria*, a City of *Sarmatia Aſiatica* bordered on the *Palus Mæotis*. *Thevet* calls it *Matriga*; *Molet* gives it the Name of *Mapotrinica*.

58 It is doubted, whether the City of *Panticapæum* was different from that which the ancient Geographers called *Boſphorus*. *Pliny* owns that ſome have confounded them, and made them but one City. At leaſt *Procopius* often mentions the latter, and ſays not a Word of *Panticapæum*, tho' the Capital of *Taurica Cherſoneſus*. But *Eutropius* and *Stephen of Byzantium* ſpeak of them as two different Cities. *Pliny* and *Strabo* agree, That that here ſpoken of, was founded by a Colony of *Mileſians*; and the latter adds, That it was anciently governed by its own Laws, and at laſt ſubjected to the Dominion of the Kings of the *Boſphorus*. It belonged to *Sarmatia Europæa*, becauſe it ſtood on this Side the *Palus Mæotis*, which divides *Aſia* from *Europe*.

59 *Theudoſia*, as *Stephen of Byzantium* calls it, or *Theodoſia* according to *Mela*, *Pliny*, *Strabo*, and *Ptolomy*, was one of the chief Cities of *Taurica Cherſoneſus*. Some Moderns place it where at preſent ſtands *Caſſa*, the Capital of *Little Tartary*. *Sanſon* places it near *Tusba*, another City of that Country.

60 The City of *Cherſoneſus* or *Cherſon*, ſtood near the Gulph of *Garcinites*, now *The Gulph of Nigropoli*, on the north Coaſt of the *Euxine* Sea. *Sanſon* thinks it ſtood where *Topetorkan* now ſtands. It was alſo called *Heraclea*, becauſe founded by a Colony of the Inhabitants of *Heraclea* in *Pontus*, according to *Ptolomy* and *Scylax*.

61 We know nothing more of *Nymphæum*, than that it was one of the Cities founded by the *Greeks* in *Taurica Cherſoneſus*, according to *Scylax*.

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Provinces and Kingdoms, through Oppreſſion or Terror, will join their Forces to mine? Germany *and* Gaul *will furniſh me with as many Men, as the Generals of the* Cimbri *and* Teutones *formerly led into the Heart of* Italy; *and they will have an Advantage which the* Cimbri *had not. They will be led on by* Mithridates, *whoſe Name is more formidable in the Weſt, than that of* Hannibal *formerly was.*

But as ſoon as the Army of *Mithridates* knew his Deſign, they were terrified at it. *To pretend to croſs ſo many unknown Regions; To attempt to make himſelf a Way in all Places by Force and Violence, and procure Proviſions only by the Point of his Sword; To imagine, That he can fight* Roman *Armies wherever he comes, and conquer thoſe* Legionaries *in diſtant Countries, which he cannot withſtand in his own; theſe are ſuch Schemes,* ſaid the Soldiers, *as are purely viſionary.* The *Roman* Deſerters eſpecially, were the moſt zealous in refuſing to march into *Italy.* They were afraid of meeting with that Puniſhment in their own Country, which they were much ſurer to avoid in the *Boſphorus.* Yet after all, the Soldiers in general had a great Reſpect for the King, whoſe Age, and Merit as a Soldier, captivated them; and the greateſt Diſcontents were in his own Family. Old Age had made him peeviſh and ſuſpicious. He had always uſed himſelf to take Cordials, to ſecure himſelf againſt Poiſons; and now he doubled the Potions, in diſtruſt of thoſe about him. For the ſame Reaſon, he cauſed many of his Domeſticks to be aſſaſſinated, and did not ſpare his own Children. The Son whom he moſt tenderly loved, and whom he had often declared he would chooſe for his Succeſſor, and make ſole Heir to his Dominions, was *Pharnaces*; and he, being grown to Years of Maturity, waited with Impatience to ſee the good Effects of his Father's Promiſes. The King therefore, who was always cautious and watchful, took care to put thoſe about the Prince, in whom he could confide; and they gave him a faithful Account of every thing that he ſaid and did.

Dio Caſſius, L. 37.

§. XXXIV. It is very difficult for a Man to be always ſo much upon his Guard, as to let nothing eſcape him, that can diſcover the moſt ſecret Sentiments of his Mind. The Domeſticks ſet about the Prince to watch him, obſerved him one Day to complain of the King's Deſign of croſſing *Europe*, and carrying the War into *Italy*; and diſcovered, that he had private Conferences with ſome Officers of the Court and Army whom they ſuſpected. Upon notice of this, *Mithridates* arreſted his Son's Confidents, put them to the Rack, and they diſcovered, that *Pharnaces* had formed Deſigns againſt the Perſon of the King. The Father therefore, in a Fit of Rage, pronounced Sentence of Death on his beloved Son; but *Menophanes*, who ſeems to have been the Captain of his Guards, diverted the Execution of it. He repreſented *the Imprudence of beginning a bold Undertaking, by ſhedding the Blood of a Prince, who was beloved by the Soldiers, and had the Character of a brave Man; and adviſed him, rather to diſſemble his Reſentments, and not exaſperate the Troops, who were already prejudiced againſt the laborious Expedition he had in view.* The King hearkened to this Advice; but the Traitor who gave it, had nothing in view, but to provide himſelf with another Maſter as ſoon as poſſible, and get rid of a Tyrant who made all his Court tremble. In the mean time *Pharnaces* could not be ignorant of the Uneaſineſs he had given his Father; and well knew, that he was revengeful, and had ſhed the Blood of his Brothers for leſs Offences. So that, he had every Thing to fear, if he did not ſpeedily dethrone the King; and every Thing to hope from the *Romans*, if he could take out of their Way, the moſt implacable of all their Enemies. And in ſuch Circumſtances, Parricide loſes its Horror in the Sight of a Son, whoſe Virtue is not Proof againſt the greateſt Temptations of Intereſt.

App. in Mithridat.

Dio. Caſſ. L. 37.

App. in Mithridat.

The next Night, *Pharnaces* went out of his Tent (for the King and He were encamped under the Walls of *Panticapæum*, the Capital of the *Boſphorus*, in order to prepare for their Departure) and addreſſed himſelf firſt to the *Roman* Deſerters, who were encamped next the King. *Do you then approve*, ſaid he, *of the King's forcing us to make theſe mad Incurſions, through unknown Countries, without any Precaution, or even ſecuring the Paſſes? At his Age, he chooſes rather to go out of the World with the low Character of an Adventurer, than to die in Peace in his own Family. But why ſhould we, who are young enough to live ſome Years longer, wantonly expoſe our Lives to certain Dangers, without Profit, or Honour? Had I the Advantage of poſſeſſing the Throne which is deſigned for me, with what Benefits would I not reward your Services?* The *Roman* Deſerters plainly enough ſaw whither this Diſcourſe tended; and they promiſed him their Aſſiſtance, to place him on his Father's Throne. He likewiſe ſent his Agents

the ſame Night to the Troops that were poſted at the greateſt diſtance; and all anſwered, that they were ready to attempt any Thing in his Favour: And when Meaſures were thus concerted, he cauſed the Deſerters, in whom he chiefly confided, to begin the Cry, which was the Signal of the Revolt. This Noiſe was communicated from Quarter to Quarter, and returned with equal Chearfulneſs. Even the Seamen, who were encamped near the Port, joined their Clamours with thoſe of the Land-Forces, tho' not let into the Secret; and *Mithridates*, alarmed at this terrible Dinn, retired into the City.

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Then *Pharnaces*, at the Head of all the Royal Army, advanced towards one of the Gates of *Panticapæum*; and the Inhabitants opened it to him, and by their Treaſon, forced the King to take Refuge in his Palace. From thence he ſent a Detachment of his Guards, either to make what Reſiſtance they could, or at leaſt, to learn what were the Deſigns of the Rebels; and thoſe Guards went over to the ſtrongeſt Side, and returned to him no more. So that *Mithridates* was in a manner abandoned, having about him only the Eunuchs of his Chamber, and a few faithful Officers; and theſe did not long continue ſo. When they ſaw the *Roman* Deſerters draw nigh to the Palace, and cry out, *Long live King* Pharnaces! *Let him take the Place of a King, who is a Slave to his Eunuchs, and the Murderer of his own Children!* not a Courtier remained with him. They went in a Body towards the *Roman* Deſerters to ſurrender to them; but the *Romans* gave them to underſtand, that they ſhould not be received, till they had ſtruck a great Blow. At the ſame time they ſaid this, they pointed to *Mithridates*, who was ready to mount his Horſe, to make his eſcape through a Poſtern; and then one of theſe perfidious Courtiers killed the Horſe, and left the old King at the Mercy of his Enemies. He therefore retired to an inner Apartment, where his Women and the Princeſſes his Daughters were kept; and there, from the Roof of a Portico, he ſaw *Pharnaces*, whom the Army and People were in ſuch haſte to proclaim King. A zealous Soldier brought out of a neighbouring Temple a Roll of Parchment, made a Crown of it, and put it upon the Head of *Pharnaces*.

§. XXXV. This Sight ſunk the King's Spirits to ſuch a degree, as is not to be expreſſed. He had the Cowardice to ſend to his Son, to ſpare his Life, and give him leave to flee. But moſt of the Meſſengers were killed, and none of them returned; and then he gave himſelf up to deſpair. What he moſt dreaded, was the being delivered up into the Hands of the *Roman* Deſerters, who would make their Peace with *Pompey*, by putting him into his Hands, to grace his *Triumph*. *Let us die!* cried he, *But if Ye, The Gods of my Country, deſerve the Worſhip that is paid you, Grant that my Son may receive the ſame Treatment from his Children, that he ſhews me!* This ſaid, he entered into the innermoſt Part of his Seraglio, and there drew out of the Scabbard of his Sword a Packet of Poiſon which he carried always with him. Two of his Daughters, *Mithridatia* who was promiſed to the King of *Egypt*, and *Niſſa* who was deſigned for the King of *Cyprus*, reſolving not to ſurvive their Father, firſt tried his Poiſon, and died inſtantly: And when *Mithridates* had communicated it to all his Women, and ſeen them expire, he then emptied the fatal Cup himſelf. But as ſubtle as the Poiſon was, it had little Effect on the King, or at leaſt operated very ſlowly. He had always taken ſuch care to guard his Stomach by ſtrong Antidotes againſt theſe fatal Draughts, that he now felt himſelf very little weakened; and tho' he walked about very faſt, to quicken the Motion and Activity of the Poiſon in his Veins, it was to no Purpoſe. Death ſeemed to flee him, as faſt as he purſued it. He was therefore forced to have recourſe to his Sword; and Age or Paſſion had ſo weakened him, that the Blow did not go deep enough into his Body. Then ſeeing near him a faithful *Gaul* named *Bytuitus*, who had never deſerted him; he ſaid, *My dear Friend, as you have conſtantly followed me through Dangers in War, deliver me now from the laſt of my Misfortunes. Do, what neither the Poiſon, nor my own Arm, can do for me. I have been over cautious, in guarding againſt being poiſoned; but not cautious enough, in guarding againſt the Hatred of my Children and Army. The laſt Service I deſire of thee, is to take away my Life.* Upon which *Bytuitus* delivered *Mithridates* from the Captivity he dreaded. *Pharnaces* would certainly have delivered him up to *Pompey*, if he could have taken him alive. At [62] leaſt, he ſent [63] his Body to the *Pro-Conſul*, after he had it embalmed.

Oroſ. L. 6.

App. in Mithridat.

Thus

62 *Dio Caſſius* is the only Hiſtorian who ſays, That *Pharnaces* after he had made himſelf Maſter of *Pantica-*

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Thus fell a Prince, who was famous for the Eminence of his Birth, the Firmneſs of his Courage, the Heighth of his Stature, and the Strength of his Features; but more ſo, for his Hatred to the *Romans*. He made War with them, [64] ſeven and twenty Years; ſometimes with Succeſs, tho' oftner with Loſs. He was the ſeventeenth Deſcendant in a right Line from *Darius*, the laſt King of *Perſia*; and the ſixth King of *Pontus*, from *Mithridates* who founded that Monarchy. He reigned 57 Years; and lived a little leſs than [65] 70. When he firſt marched out of his Kingdom, he terrified all the Eaſt, and created Jealouſy in *Rome* her ſelf. *Sylla* reduced him to his own Dominions; but afterwards his Ambition led him to uſurp *Cappadocia* and *Bithynia*. *Lucullus* and *Pompey* humbled, but could not ſink, him. No Man was ever happier at Expedients in Diſtreſs. He made a Treaty with *Sertorius* in *Spain*, and entered into a Correſpondence with the *Gauls*. All the North of *Aſia* feared him; and he found Means to draw the *Scythians* into his Intereſt. He was always upon his Guard againſt Snares at home and abroad; yet fell at laſt by thoſe which were laid for him by *Pharnaces* his Son. He was an unfortunate Father, but at the ſame Time a Parricide in a double Senſe; both as he had ſpilt the Blood of his Mother, and put to Death a great Number of his Children. Cruelty was the Vice moſt laid to his Charge, and the Cauſe of the laſt of his Misfortunes. He greatly cultivated and improved his Mind with all the *Greek* [66] Sciences, and his Court was always full of Philoſophers of all Sorts. In a Word, he was extremely ſober; but carried his Love of Women to the utmoſt Exceſs.

§. XXXVI. *Pompey* was running over *Cælo-Syria*, when he received the News of the Death of *Mithridates*, and the Submiſſion of *Pharnaces*, now King of the *Boſphorans*; and the *Romans* did not carry their Virtue ſo far, as to revenge Crimes which were for their Advantage. The Meſſengers of *Pharnaces* were graciouſly received, but *Pompey* delayed rewarding his Parricide, till his Return into *Pontus*. Nevertheleſs, *Pompey*'s Exploits in *Syria* being ſo cloſely connected with the Affairs of *Mithridates*, that we think they ought not to be ſeparated; we ſhall therefore continue the Relation of them here, tho' ſenſible that the Events we are going to mention, rather belong to the next Year, than the preſent.

We have already obſerved, That *Pompey* had with the greateſt Injuſtice, deprived *Antiochus Aſiaticus*, of all Hopes of ever reaſcending the Throne of his Anceſtors. The *Pro-Conſul* conſidered only the Intereſts of his Republick; and therefore reduced *Syria*, taken in its utmoſt extent, to the State of a *Roman Province*. But with what Ceremonies he took Poſſeſſion of the *Syrian* State, whether the Senators ſent ten Commiſſioners thither, or whether the Government of it was at that Time changed, or *Rome* gave it new Laws, or laid new Tributes upon it, the Hiſtorians have not informed us. All we know is, That after *Pompey* had ſettled the Affairs of the new Province, he marched into the Countries near the *Red Sea*.

Dio. Caſſius. L. 37. App. in Mithridat.

[67] *Aretas*, King of the *Arabians*, having of late Years been the moſt troubleſome Enemy of the *Syrians*, *Pompey* undertook to bring him to Reaſon. *Scaurus*, *Pompey*'s forerunner in *Syria*, had weakened him; but he ſtill moleſted the *Syrians*, tho' the *Romans* had brought them under their Dominion. The *Pro-Conſul* therefore entered *Arabia* himſelf, there defeated *Aretas*, made him Priſoner of War, ſeized his Dominions, and left large Garriſons in them. After this, he turned towards *Cælo-Syria*, but tarried there no longer than was neceſſary, to receive the Preſents of the *Syrian* Cities,

Panticapæum, entered the Apartment of *Mithridates* Sword in Hand, and was ſo unnatural as even to dare to maſſacre his Father and his King.

63 *Pharnaces* to gain *Pompey*'s Favour, made a Merit of delivering up to him thoſe who had formerly ſeized *Manius Aquilius*, and had been Accomplices in the Death of that Ambaſſador, whom *Mithridates* had ſacrificed to his Fury.

64 The Hiſtorians don't agree, as to the length of this War. *Juſtin* is miſtaken when he prolongs it to 45 Years. *Appian*, *Florus*, *Eutropius*, and *Pliny the Naturaliſt* fix it to 40. The Inſcription *Pompey* ordered to be cut in the Temple of *Minerva* after his Conqueſt, reduces the Time of all his Wars to 30. But it is certain, we can find but 27 for it at moſt, if we reckon from the Year 664.

65 *Eutropius* and *Oroſius* give *Mithridates* 72 Years Life. *Appian*, and *The Abridger of Livy*, ſay he ended his Reign, in the 68th or 69th Year of his Age. See our Remarks above p. 318, Note 53, concerning the Birth of this Prince.

66 *Valerius Maximus* obſerves, *B.* 8. *c.* 7. That *Mithridates* had learnt the Languages of 22 different Nations who were ſubject to him, and never wanted an Interpreter to make himſelf underſtood by his Subjects.

67 According to *Joſephus*, after *Aretas* had made himſelf Maſter of lower *Syria*, he marched into *Judæa*, conquered *Alexander Jannæus*, and forced him to accept of a Peace, on bad Terms.

and

and to give Audience to the Ambaſſadors of the King of *Egypt* and of the Sovereigns of *Judæa*. *Ptolomy Auletes*, King of *Egypt*, invited *Pompey* to come and put an end to the Troubles that diſtracted his Kingdom; and preſented him with Cloaths enough to cloath all his Soldiers. But *Pompey* was afraid of exaſperating his Republick by carrying his Incurſions beyond the Bounds preſcribed him; or rather, did not think it proper, to ſpend ſo critical a Time, in ſettling the Dominions of another in Peace. Whereas the Caſe was very different with reſpect to *Phœnicia* and *Judæa*. They had always been a Part of *Syria*, and the *Seleucidæ* had always reckoned them among their Provinces, tho' governed by particular Sovereigns. *Pompey* therefore conceived Hopes of uniting theſe flouriſhing Countries to the Dominions of *Rome*, under the ſame Pretence that he had uſurped *Syria*; and we think it neceſſary to look a little farther backward, in order to give a full Account of this great Event.

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§. XXXVII. *Alexandra*, the Wife of [68] *Alexander Jannæus* the High-Prieſt, had had by the Prince her Huſband two Sons, *Hyrcanus* and *Ariſtobulus*. As ſoon as *Alexander* was dead, his Widow, with the Aſſiſtance of the [69] *Phariſees*, whoſe Affections ſhe had gained, took the Government into her own Hands, and made herſelf Miſtreſs of *Judæa* and *Phœnicia*. Nevertheleſs, it was neceſſary that there ſhould be an High-Prieſt appointed over the Holy Nation; and *Alexandra* choſe her eldeſt Son, *Hyrcanus the Second*, who was very ſervilely ſubmiſſive to her, and ſuffered her to govern his Dominions, under the Direction of the *Phariſees* who governed her. But his Brother was a Man of a very different Character. He had a great deal of Spirit and Life, and was very uneaſy to be deprived of a Crown, which his Birth, the Appointment of his Mother, and a formidable Cabal, had taken from him. Whilſt the weak and timorous *Hyrcanus* was a King only in Name, and ſeemed to have mounted the Throne, only to ſpend his whole Life on it in Tutelage. Nevertheleſs *Ariſtobulus* ſuffered his Brother to put in Execution the Dictates of *Alexandra*, for nine Years; and the Kingdom was perhaps never more peaceable, than under the Reign of *Hyrcanus*, and his Mother. Their Union was indiſſoluble, and their Joint-Authority exerciſed without any Diviſion, tho' one only acted in ſubordination to the other. *Joſephus. L. 13. Ant. Jud.*

But as ſoon as *Ariſtobulus* ſaw his Mother's Death draw nigh, his Ambition revived. When ſhe was dying, he went from her Preſence in the Night to ſeize [70] *Agaba* and ſome other important Forts in *Judæa*. In a few Days, 22 Places ſurrendered to him, and his Court was full of Malecontents, who were diſpleaſed with the Government of a Woman and a weak High-Prieſt. Nevertheleſs, *Alexandra* had the Courage to cauſe the Wife and Children of *Ariſtobulus* to be ſhut up in the Citadel of *Jeruſalem*, before ſhe died; and her Death produced an open Rupture between the two Brothers. They took Arms, and fought a Battle near *Jericho*, where *Hyrcanus* was vanquiſhed, and forced to flee for Refuge to the ſame Fortreſs where his Brother's Wife and Children were Priſoners. But the *Levites* and *Phariſees* who had ſeized the Temple for him, were neither vigorous nor conſtant in the Defence of it. They ſurrendered at Diſcretion; and then *Ariſtobulus* ſeized the High-Prieſthood, and reduced [71] *Hyrcanus* to a private Life. This was a State very ſuitable to a Man not fit for Buſineſs, who ſeemed born for repoſe; but he had the Misfortune to have about him one of thoſe Court Peſts, whoſe Talent lies, in ſowing Diviſions. *Antipater* who was originally an *Idumæan*, the Son of *Antipas*, and the Father of *Herod the Great*, perſuaded *Hyrcanus*, to endeavour to ſhake off his Brother's Yoke, and recover his Rights. The Method the Incendiary propoſed in order to it, was the Aſſiſtance of *Aretas* the powerful King of the *Arabians*, which he promiſed the deprived High-Prieſt; and being rich, *Anitpater* himſelf bore all the Expences of the Negotiation. In ſhort, *Hyrcanus* left *Jeruſalem* privately, and

68 *Alexander Jannæus* the Son of *John Hyrcanus* mounted the Throne of *Judæa* after the Death of his Brother *Ariſtobulus Phileleus*. He died at the Age of 49, of a Diſtemper contracted by hard drinking. *Joſephus* makes him to have reigned 27 Years.

69 The *Phariſees* had gained great Credit among the People, by an Appearance of Reformation. The *Jews*, at their Perſuaſion, confirmed the Will of *Alexander Jannæus*, ratified the Choice of *Alexandra*, acknowledged *Hyrcanus the Second* to be their lawful Sovereign; and ſo far forgot what they had ſuffered under the late King, as to make a magnificent Funeral for him.

70 We know not the true Situation of this City of *Paleſtine*. *Joſephus* ſeems to be the only Hiſtorian that mentions it.

71 According to *Joſephus*, the two Brothers met in the Temple at *Jeruſalem*. *Hyrcanus* gave up the Crown to *Ariſtobulus*; a Peace was ſigned by both Parties; and after they had ſolemnly ſworn to live in Amity, they embraced one another, in token of their Reconciliation.

accom-

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accompanied by *Antipater*, went to [72] *Petra* the Capital of that Part of *Arabia*, which was subject to *Aretas*; and the *Arabian* King, undertook to support *Hyrcanus*, defeated *Aristobulus* in a pitched Battle on the Frontiers of *Palestine*, and forced him to retire to *Jerusalem*. Then *Jerusalem* was immediately besieged by the victorious Army, and *Hyrcanus* endeavoured to reduce his Brother, who had taken Refuge in the Temple, by Famine.

During these Transactions *Scaurus* came with a Detachment from *Pompey*, into *Syria*; and the Appearance of the *Roman* at the Head of an Army, gave *Hyrcanus* uneasiness, and revived the Hopes of *Aristobulus*. The two Brothers both sent Deputies to meet *Scaurus*, who was advancing towards *Judæa*; but *Aristobulus* was more liberal and more artful than *Hyrcanus*. By his Presents and Promises, he gained *Scaurus*, who with the Terror of his Arms forced [73] *Aretas* and *Hyrcanus* to raise the Siege of *Jerusalem*; and then *Aristobulus* pursued them, fought a Battle with them in their Retreat, killed 7000 of their Men, and recovered Possession of the Kingdom.

§. XXXVIII. This was the Situation of Affairs, when *Pompey* himself entered *Damascus* [74] a City of *Cœlo-Syria*, of which the *Romans* had already made themselves Masters; and there received new Ambassadors from the two Brothers, who disputed for the Crown of *Judæa*. *Aristobulus* was beforehand with *Hyrcanus*, and by his Envoy *Nicodemus*, made *Pompey* one of the most magnificent Presents *Rome* had ever received from her Allies. It was a Vine, or rather an Arbour of Vines cut in Gold, of the Weight of 500 *Talents*, and the Workmanship of it excelled the Materials. It was probably made for an Ornament for the Temple of the true God; and *Pompey* kept it to grace the Sanctuary of *Jupiter Capitolinus*. He received the Ambassadors of both Brothers graciously; but required, that they should come to *Damascus* in Person, and there plead their own Causes before him. And as he must be obeyed, they appeared at the Time appointed, and soon after them, a great many of the most considerable Lords in *Judæa*, who were equally dissatisfied with both. The Lords spake first, in the Name of the whole Nation, and said, *That the* Jews *had long been governed by High-Priests; That they whom Providence had at present placed over them, were indeed of the Race of the High-Priests, but extended their Authority farther than the Laws allowed; and That, being grown Independent and Absolute, they had turned their Sovereignty into Tyranny, and were become less supportable than the most imperious Kings.* *Pompey* was not a little pleased with this general Complaint of the *Jewish* Nation, immediately concluding that the Reduction of *Judæa* would follow: But he dissembled his Views, and suffered *Hyrcanus* and *Aristobulus* to speak in their Turns.

As I am the elder, said Hyrcanus, *the Succession to the High-Priesthood and the Throne is my Birth-right. But an ambitious Brother has wrested it from me, and tho' an Usurper, is not afraid to offer Incense to the God of our Fathers with sacrilegious Hands: And it is against him only that the People murmur. He has harassed them with the Wars he has proclaimed with our Neighbours; and has lately ventured to give a Retreat to some of those Pyrates, whom the Republick, of which you are the Glory, has destroyed at Sea and Land.* This *Pompey* heard with great Pleasure: *Hyrcanus*, probably instructed by some other Person, had touched him on his weak Side. And then, *Aristobulus* replied thus. *I took my Brother's Place, only, because his Indolence and Incapacity made him unworthy of it. Am I responsible for the Contempt he drew on himself from the People, whom he has already governed too long? The Scepter of the* Jews *was ready to have gone into another Family; and I took the Care of it for the common Good of my Country. Who are they, that complain of my Administration? None but the weak and effeminate, who are not ashamed to appear in Curles and Perfumes before a* Roman

72 *Petra*, the Capital of *Arabia Petræa*, stands in a Valley, and is still in being. It is surrounded by Mountains which guard it on all Sides. The *Arabians* now call it *Arach*, or *Herarch*. Among the Cities of Refuge there was one of this Name in *Palestine*, and belonging to *The Tribe of Reuben*; but no Footsteps of it are now remaining.

73 *Josephus* says, That *Scaurus* marched into *Arabia*; and That *Aretas* redeemed his Dominions from Pillage, by paying him 300 *Talents*.

74 *Damascus* was long the Capital of a Kingdom of that Name. It was in being in the Time of *Abraham*, as appears by the Book of *Genesis*. After it had undergone several Revolutions, it was made subject to the *Romans*, by *Metellus* and *Lollius*, *Pompey*'s Lieutenants, whilst he was subduing the Dominions of the King of *Armenia*. It is now one of the finest and most wealthy Cities in the *Ottoman* Empire.

General,

General. But *Pompey* was too good a Politician to ſuffer *Ariſtobulus* to continue long on the Throne. The mild and peaceable Diſpoſitions of *Hyrcanus* were better ſuited to his Views, of invading *Judæa*, and making it tributary. And he therefore inclined moſt to favour the elder Brother. This *Ariſtobulus* perceived, and went from *Damaſcus*, without taking his Leave of *Pompey*.

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The *Pro-Conſul* was enraged at this haughty and contemptuous Treatment from a petty King, who ſeemed to deſpiſe him; and in his Rage, he, at the Inſtigation of *Hyrcanus* and *Antipater*, changed the Reſolution he had taken of carrying the War into *Arabia*, and marched towards *Judæa*. When he had paſſed by [75] *Pella* and [76] *Scythopolis*, two Cities, one beyond [77] *Jordan*, the other on the [78] *Lake of Geneſareth*, he came to the Foot of a Mountain, on the top of which ſtood *Alexandrium*, a conſiderable Fortreſs, whither *Ariſtobulus* was fled for Refuge. Nevertheleſs, upon a Summons from *Pompey*, he came down from his Retreat three ſeveral Times, and endeavoured to maintain his Pretenſions by ſtudied Harangues; and being at laſt forced to give up in Writing, all the Forts he had in the Country, he retired to *Jeruſalem*, reſolving to defend himſelf there. *Pompey* advanced towards the Capital; paſſed by *Jericho*, where he ſaw the valuable Trees, from which the Balm is drawn; and from thence marched to *Jeruſalem*, without any Oppoſition. To his great ſurprize, *Ariſtobulus* came to meet him without Arms, and in the Form of a Suppliant; and invited him into the City, offering him a conſiderable Sum of Money, if he would give Peace to *Judæa*. The *Pro-Conſul*, apprehenſive of Treachery, ſent *Gabinius* to receive the Money in his Name; and then the Unfaithfulneſs of *Ariſtobulus* appeared. His Soldiers ſhut their Gates againſt *Gabinius*. *Pompey* therefore, who had kept *Ariſtobulus* himſelf in his Camp, ordered him to be very ſtrictly guarded, and immediately inveſted the Capital.

§. XXXIX. Few Cities in the World, were at that Time, larger, richer, more pompouſly adorned, or better fortified, than *Jeruſalem*. Three Sides of the *Upper City* were ſurrounded by Walls of an extraordinary thickneſs, and guarded with Towers of a ſurprizing heighth. The North-ſide ſeemed weakeſt; but it was flanked by the famous Temple of the Living God, and by the *Lower City*, which was a ſtrong Citadel to *Jeruſalem*. The Temple itſelf, as well as the *Lower City*, was built on the Ridge of Mount *Moriah*, ſo famous in Holy Writ for the Sacrifice of *Abraham*; and its Ditch was a deep Valley, in which the Water of the Brook *Cedron* [79] ran all round the Foot of the Mountain. There was no Paſſage from the *Upper City* into the Temple, but over a Bridge, which was eaſily broken down; and then the Temple and *Lower City* were like one of thoſe inacceſſible Forts which ſtand detached from all other Places, and are no otherwiſe to be come at, than by climbing the ſteep Hills on which they ſtand. The Inhabitants were divided into two Factions. The Friends of *Hyrcanus* were for opening the Gates to the *Romans*, thoſe of *Ariſtobulus*, for ſtanding a Siege. *Pompey* took Advantage of theſe inteſtine Diviſions, and *Gabinius* was admitted into the *Upper City* where the Palace of the Sovereigns was: But *Ariſtobulus*'s Party retired into the Temple, after they had broken down the Bridge between the two Cities. Then *Pompey* offered the *Jews* that

75 *Pliny* places the City of *Pella*, in *Decapolis*, a Province of *Paleſtine*. *Hegeſippus*, *Ptolomy*, and *Polybius*, place it in *Cœlo-Syria*, which formerly comprehended this Country. It was ſucceſſively called *Butis*, according to *Stephen the Geographer*; and *Apamea*, according to *Strabo*. The Kings of *Syria* which were originally *Macedonians*, gave it the Name of *Pella*, one of the moſt conſiderable Cities in *Macedon*. *Alexander Jannæus* had made himſelf Maſter of it, and razed it, becauſe the Inhabitants had refuſed to embrace the *Jewiſh* Religion. *St. Epiphanius* ſays, That the *Chriſtians* took Refuge in this City, after the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*.

76 The City of *Scythopolis*, anciently called *Beth-ſan* by the *Hebrews*, was the moſt conſiderable of the ten, in *Decapolis*. See above p. 67, of this Volume, Note 19.

77 The River *Jordan* has two Springs at the Foot of Mount *Libanus*, one of which is called *Jor*, and the other *Dan*; and from thence it had its Name, which it bears to this Day. It runs from North to South; firſt croſſes *The Lake Samachonitis* or *The Waters of Merom*, and then that of *Geneſareth*; and falls into *The Lake Aſphaltitis*, or *The Dead Sea*. It is almoſt the only Stream in *Judæa*, that deſerves the Name of a River.

78 *The Lake of Geneſareth*, is the ſame that is called *The Sea of Cinnereth*, *Num.* xxxiv. 11, and *Joſh.* xiii. 27. It took its Names from the Cities of *Geneſara* and *Tiberias*, which ſtood near it. This laſt City was built by *Herod*, in Honour to the Emperor *Tiberius*: And therefore the Evangeliſts moſt commonly call it *The Sea of Tiberias*; and ſometimes *The Sea of Galilee*, becauſe it lays in this little Province. *Joſephus* makes it 16 Miles long, and 6 broad.

79 This Brook ran between Mount *Moriah* and the Mount of *Olives*, in a Valley, in which ſtood the Village of *Cedron*. It was formed by the Rains that fell on thoſe two Mountains.

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ſtood out, [80] reaſonable Terms; and when they had refuſed them, made his Diſpoſitions for an Attack, with the Judgment of a great General. The weakeſt Part of this great Citadel, as far as could be judged by the Walls and heighth of the Towers, was the North; but former Kings had remedied this Defect. Beſides the Valley of Mount *Moriah*, which was, as it were, a ſecond Ditch on this weak Side, they had dug another within it, which covered all the weakeſt Part of the Wall. Nevertheleſs, *Pompey* reſolved to attack the Temple here; and *Hyrcanus* and his Friends ſupplied the Beſiegers with Proviſions and Neceſſaries for the Siege.

As ſoon as the *Romans* had taken their Poſts in the Houſes next the Temple, *Pompey* filled up the firſt Ditch. Then he raiſed *Cavaliers* at diſtances; but found it difficult to bring up his *Terraſſes* from the bottom of the Valley to the top of Mount *Moriah*. In the mean time, all ſorts of Machines, *Rams*, *Balliſtæ*, and *Catapultæ* were brought from *Tyre* ready mounted; and the *Pro-Conſul* raiſed a kind of Battery of them. Then the Stones flew againſt the Walls and Towers, which were a little hurt, tho' very hard; and the many ſtately Buildings of which the Temple conſiſted, ſuffered ſome Damage. But the Machines, as yet, played upwards; and it was not poſſible to work the *Ram*, till the Valley was filled up to the heighth of the Mountain. And if the too ſcrupulous Regard of the beſieged to the *Moſaic* Law, had not given the Beſiegers Time to finiſh their Works, and raiſe their Ground to the Foot of the Wall, they could never have been reduced by Force in their Citadel. But by the Law of God the *Jews* were forbidden to do any Work on the Seventh Day of the Week; and their *Rabbins* interpreted this Law with ſuch Rigour, as was very prejudicial to the Intereſt of the Nation. They pretended, That it was not lawful to attack, but only to repulſe an Enemy, on the *Sabbath*; and this Interpretation, tho' founded only on human Tradition, was as much regarded as the Law it ſelf. The *Romans* therefore perceiving, that, on a certain Day, the beſieged never made any Sally, or threw any Darts or Stones, but continued idle behind their Ramparts, if not attacked, took Advantage of this Superſtition. They alſo left off playing their Machines on the Sabbath-Days, and knowing that their Works would not be interrupted, ſpent this Time in making wooden *Towers*, but chiefly in raiſing their *Terraſſes*.

By this Means, the frequent Returns of the Sabbath (for the Siege laſted three Months) became extremely prejudicial to the beſieged; their Enemies at laſt gained their Point of bringing their *Terraſſes* to a Level with the top of the Mountain; and raiſed themſelves up above the Walls, by the Help of their *moveable Towers*. Then they mounted their *Rams*; played them chiefly againſt a Tower which flanked two *Courtines*; and at laſt beat it down, and with it ſo great a Part of the Wall, as made a Breach large enough for a *Cohort* to enter on one Side, and a *Century* on the other. The firſt Man that entered the *Temple* through this Breach, was *Cornelius Fauſtus*, the Son of *Sylla* the *Dictator*; and his *Cohort* followed him. On the other hand, one *Furius*, and one *Fabius* marched in, each at the Head of his *Century*; and it is probable, the *Temple* was taken about three in the Afternoon, when the Prieſt was beginning the Evening-Sacrifice. So very ſtrict were the *Jews* in their adherence to their Religion, that the *Levites* had not omitted Divine Service, or the Obſervation of the Holy Ceremonies, one Day, during the Siege; nor did the Prieſts ſuſpend their Functions an inſtant, even after the *Romans* had broke in; tho' the inner and outer Courts of the Temple rung with the Cries of the *Jewiſh* Soldiers, whom the Enemy cut in pieces without pity! Above 12000 of thoſe that defended the Temple were killed in the Aſſault; and *Abſalom*, the Brother of *Alexander* the laſt High-Prieſt, and the Uncle, and Father-in-Law of *Ariſtobulus*, was made Priſoner of War.

§. XL. At length, *Pompey* himſelf entered the *Temple*, with all the State of a Conqueror. But, how different was the Conduct of the *Roman Pro-Conſul*, from that of *Antiochus* King of *Syria*, when he came to rob this ſacred Place. *Antiochus* ravaged and plundered all he could, and took away the ſacred Veſſels, and the Gold with which the Altars and Ceilings were covered. *Pompey*'s only Fault was too much Curioſity, which was very pardonable in a Heathen, who knew not how Sacred

[80] According to *Joſephus*, *Ariſtobulus* ſeemed to act faithfully, but his Troops refuſed to ſubmit to the Terms of the Treaty, and therefore drove back *Gabinius*, and ſhut the Gates of *Jeruſalem*.

this Place was. He ordered the Vail to be drawn, which concealed the Ark of the Living God; ſaw the Cherubims which covered the Mercy-Seat with their Wings; and went into *The Holy of Holies*, into which the High-Prieſt entered only once a Year, on the Feaſt of *Expiation*. But he laid not his Hand either on any of the precious Veſſels conſecrated to the Worſhip of God, or on the Gold Table or Candleſtick, or any of the Treaſures of the *Temple*, which then amounted to * 200000 *Talents*. A rare Example of Moderation, which all the Ancients extol, and which all *Judæa* acknowledged with Gratitude!

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*38,750000*l. Sterl. Arbuth.*

The next Day, when *Pompey* had re-eſtabliſhed *Hyrcanus* in the High-Prieſthood; and the *Temple* had been purifyed from its Pollutions, by the Blood of ſo many dead Men, and by the Entrance of a prophane Perſon into *The Holy of Holies*; the whole Nation conſented to become tributary to the *Romans*. But it was not then reduced to the State of *a Roman Province*. It preſerved its own Laws and its own Sovereigns. But it reſtored to *Syria*, all the Places the *Macabæan* Princes, and the old Kings of *Judæa*, had conquered from it: And then, *Antipater*, who had never deſerted *Hyrcanus*, received a glorious Reward from *Pompey*. He made him the Agent for *Rome* in *Judæa*, to receive the Tributes the Republick ſhould lay upon the *Jews*; by which the *Idumæan* afterwards gained ſo much Intereſt, as enabled him to ſettle his Son *Herod* on the Throne. After this, the Conqueror ſettled the Fate of many Cities of *Phœnicia*; left *Scaurus* his *Quæſtor* in *Syria*, with two *Legions* to keep it in awe; took *Ariſtobulus*, with two of his Sons and two of his Daughters, to grace his *Triumph*; and returned towards *Cilicia*, in order to go from thence to *Pontus*; there to put the laſt Hand to the Affairs of the Eaſt, which he had now conquered, as far as to the Kingdom of *Parthia*.

FINIS.

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THE

FASTI CONSULARES:

OR,

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

CONTINUED.

307. *Consulship.* Q. FABIUS MAX. ÆMILIANUS.
Year 608. L. HOSTILIUS MANCINUS.

Prætor in Hither Spain. C. LÆLIUS SAPIENS.

Prætors in different Countries. SP. MAMMIUS NEPOS.
M. TORANIUS NEPOS.
T. JUVENTIUS THABNÆ.
M' PINARIUS POSCA.
C. ARUNCULEÏUS COTTA.

Curule Ædiles. M. ÆMILIUS PORCINA.
P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO NASICA SERAPIO.

Plebeian Ædiles. L. CALPURNUS PISO FRUGI.
D. JUNIUS BRUTUS CALLAÏCAS.

Tribunes of the People. C. LICINIUS SACERDOS.
Q. CALPURNIUS PISO.
P. MANILIUS NEPOS.
Q. PETILLIUS SPURINUS.
Q. STERTINIUS NEPOS.
M. SERVILUS NEPOS.
P. GALLONIUS NEPOS.
C. TERENTIUS VARRO.
M' ATINIUS LABEO.
L. ARENNIUS NEPOS.

Quæstors. C. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS.
M. PERPENNA.
C. MEMMIUS GALLUS.
M' AQUILIUS NEPOS.
C. LIVIUS SALINATOR.
P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS SURA.
Q. ANTONIUS BALBUS.
C. PERSIUS FLACCUS.

308. *Consulship.* SER. SULPICIUS GALBA.
Year 609. L. AURELIUS COTTA.

Prætors. M. TITIUS NEPOS.
C. SERVILIUS CÆPIO.
L. LOLLIUS NEPOS.
SEX. ÆLIUS PÆTUS CATUS.
Q. POMPEÏUS NEPOS.
M. FURIUS CRASSIPES.

Curule Ædiles. SEX. ATTILIUS SERRANUS.
C. HOSTILIUS MANCINUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. D. JUNIUS SILANUS MANLIANUS.
L. HOSTILIUS TUBULUS.

Tribunes of the People. M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.
C. CALPURNIUS PISO.
C. FURIUS BROCCHUS.
L. LÆTORIUS PLANCIANUS.
C. PAPIRIUS TURDUS.
C. FULVIUS FLACCUS.
C. ÆBUTIUS CARUS.
C. LUCRETIUS TRIO.
D. QUINCTIUS NEPOS.
C. SERVILIUS CASCA.

Quæstors. CN. OCTAVIUS NEPOS.
L. VALERIUS FLACCUS.
T. ANNIUS LUSCUS.
A. GABINIUS NEPOS.
SP. LUCRETIUS GALLUS.
L. VILLIUS ANNALIS.
L. CORNELIUS SISENNA.

Pro-Consul in Hither Spain. C. LÆLIUS SAPIENS.

Pro-Conſul in Further Spain. Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS ÆMILIANUS.

309. *Conſulſhip.* *Year* 610. AP. CLAUDIUS PULCHER, who triumphs over the *Salaſſi*.
Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS MACEDONICUS.

Prætors. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS PORCINA.
M. POPILIUS LÆNAS.
M. TITIUS NEPOS.
Q. POMPEÏUS NEPOS, &c.

Curule Ædiles. P. FURIUS PHILUS.
L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. SER. FULVIUS FLACCUS.
L. DURONIUS NEPOS.

Tribunes of the People. TITUS DIDIUS NEPOS. The other nine are unknown.

Quæſtors. C. MARCIUS FIGULUS.
C. ANTONIUS NEPOS.
L. AURELIUS ORESTES, &c.

310. *Conſulſhip.* *Year* 611. L. CÆCILIUS METELLUS CALVUS.
Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS SERVILIANUS.

Cenſors. P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO AFRICANUS ÆMILIANUS.
L. MUMMIUS NEPOS.

THE FIFTY SEVENTH LUSTRUM.

Prætors. L. HOSTILIUS TUBULUS.
A. LICINIUS NERVA, &c.

Tribunes of the People. C. FANNIUS STRABO. The other nine are unknown.

Quæſtors. L. TREMELLIUS, FLACCUS, SCROFA, &c.

Pro-Conſul in Hither Spain. Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS MACEDONICUS.

311. *Conſulſhip.* *Year* 612. CN. SERVILIUS NEPOS.
Q. POMPEIUS NEPOS.

Prætors. D. JUVENTIUS SILANUS MANLIANUS.
L. HOSTILIUS TUBULUS, &c.

Tribunes of the People. P. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA. The other nine are unknown.

Pro-Conſul in Hither Spain. Q. CÆCILIUS MACEDONICUS.

Pro-Conſul in Further Spain. Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS SERVILIANUS.

312. *Conſulſhip.* *Year* 613. C. LÆLIUS SAPIENS.
Q. SERVILIUS CÆPIO.

Prætors. L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS, &c.

Tribunes of the People. C. MEMMIUS GALLUS. The other nine are unknown.

Pro-Conſul in Hither Spain. Q. POMPEIUS NEPOS.

313. *Conſulſhip.* *Year* 614. CN. CALPURNIUS PISO.
M. POPILIUS LÆNAS.

Prætors. C. CORNELIUS SCIPIO HISPALLUS.
L. CALPURNIUS PISO.

Tribunes of the People. A. GABINIUS NEPOS.
TI. CLAUDIUS ASELLUS. The other eight are unknown.

Pro-Conſul in Further Spain. Q. SERVILIUS CÆPIO.

314. *Conſulſhip.* *Year* 615. P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO NASICA SERAPIO.
D. JUNIUS BRUTUS CALLAICUS.

Prætors. T. DIDIUS NEPOS, &c.

Tribunes of the People. C. CURATIUS NEPOS. The other nine are unknown.

Pro-Conſul in Hither Spain. M. POPILIUS LÆNAS.

315. *Conſulſhip.* *Year* 616. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS PORCINA.
C. HOSTILIUS MANCINUS; who abdicated.

Prætors. P. MANLIUS NEPOS.
M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

Tribunes of the People. L. CASSIUS LONGINUS, who eſtabliſhed the Law of *Scrutinies*, or of giving Suffrages in writing.

M. ANTIUS

M. ANTIUS BRISO. The other eight are unknown.

Quæstors. TI. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS, &c.

Pro-Consul in Further Spain. D. JUNIUS BRUTUS CALLAÏCUS.

316. *Consulship.* *Year* 617. P. FURIUS PHILUS. SEX. ATILIUS SERRANUS.

Censors. APP. CLAUDIUS PULCHER. Q. FULVIUS NOBILIOR.

THE FIFTY EIGHTH LUSTRUM.

Prætors. P. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA. P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS, &c.

Tribunes of the People. L. FURIUS BROCCHUS. The other nine are unknown.

Pro-Consul in Hither Spain. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.

Pro-Consul in Further Spain. D. JUNIUS BRUTUS CALLAÏCUS.

317. *Consulship.* *Year* 618. SER. FULVIUS FLACCUS; who triumphs over the *Vardæi*, a People of *Illyricum*. C. CALPURNIUS PISO.

Prætors. Q. CALPURNIUS PISO. M. COSCONIUS NEPOS.

Tribunes of the People. P. RUPILIUS RUFUS. The other nine are unknown.

Pro-Consul in the Country of the Veneti *in* Italy. SEX. ATTILIUS SERRANUS.

318. *Consulship.* *Year* 619. P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO AFRICANUS ÆMILIANUS, a second time. C. FULVIUS FLACCUS.

Prætors. C. HOSTILIUS MANCINUS. L. PLAUTIUS HYPSÆUS, &c.

Tribunes of the People. C. FANNIUS STRABO. The other nine are unknown.

Pro-Consul in Further Spain. D. JUNIUS BRUTUS CALLAÏCUS.

319. *Consulship.* *Year* 620. P. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA. L. CALPURNIUS PISO.

Prætors. T. ANNIUS LUSCUS RUFUS. C. OCTAVIUS NEPOS, &c.

Curule Ædile. Q. LUCATIUS FLAVUS VESPILLO.

Tribunes of the People. TIB. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS, who was killed in his Office. M. OCTAVIUS CÆCINA. Q. MUMMIUS NEPOS. L. RUBRIUS VARRO. P. APULEÏUS SATURNINUS. Q. ÆLIUS TUBERO, &c.

Pro-Consul in Further Spain. D. JUNIUS BRUTUS CALLAÏCUS.

Pro-Consuls in Campania. Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS MACEDONICUS. CN. SERVILIUS CÆPIO.

320. *Consulship.* *Year* 621. P. POPILIUS LÆNAS. P. RUPILIUS.

Prætors. C. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS. C. MARCIUS FIGULUS, &c.

Tribunes of the People. Q. POMPEÏUS RUFUS. The other nine are unknown.

Pro-Consul in Further Spain. D. JUNIUS BRUTUS CALLAÏCUS, who triumphs over the *Lusitanians* and *Gallicians*.

Pro-Consul in Hither Spain. P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO AFRIC. ÆMILIANUS; who takes *Numantia*, and obtains a triumph at *Rome*.

321. *Consulship.* *Year* 622. P. LICINIUS CRASSUS MUCIANUS, the *Pontifex Maximus*. L. VALERIUS FLACCUS, the *Flamen* of *Mars*.

Censors. Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS MACEDONICUS. Q. POMPEIUS NEPOS.

THE FIFTY NINTH LUSTRUM.

Tribunes of the People. C. PAPIRIUS CARBO. The other nine are unknown.

Pro-Consul in Sicily. P. RUPILIUS NEPOS, who receiv'd the honour of an *Ovation*

tion, after he had reduced the Slaves in *Sicily*.

322. *Conſulſhip.* C. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.
Year 623. M. PERPENNA.

Tribunes of the People. C. ATINIUS LABEO. The other nine are unknown.

Pro-Conſul in Aſia. P. LICINIUS CRASSUS MUCIANUS.

323. *Conſulſhip.* C. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS, who triumphs over the People of *Iſtria*.
Year 624. M. AQUILIUS NEPOS.

Pro-Conſul in Aſia. M. PERPENNA.

324. *Conſulſhip.* CN. OCTAVIUS NEPOS.
Year 625. T. ANNIUS LUSCUS RUFUS.

Pro-Conſul in Aſia. M. AQUILLIUS NEPOS.

325. *Conſulſhip.* L. CASSIUS LONGINUS.
Year 626. L. CORNELIUS CINNA.

Pro-Conſul in Aſia. M. AQUILLIUS NEPOS.

326. *Conſulſhip.* M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.
Year 627. L. AURELIUS ORESTES.

THE SECULAR GAMES, for the fourth time.

Cenſors. Q. FABIUS MAX. SERVILIANUS.
L. CÆCILIUS METELLUS CALVUS, who both abdicated.

Prætor in Sicily. P. QUINCTIUS FLAMININUS.

Tribunes of the People. M. JUNIUS PENNUS. The other nine are unknown.

Quæſtor in Sardinia. C. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS.

Pro-Conſul in Aſia. M. AQUILIUS, who triumphs.

327. *Conſulſhip.* M. PLAUTIUS HYPSÆUS.
Year 628. M. FULVIUS FLACCUS.

Cenſors. CN. SERVILIUS CÆPIO.
L. CASSIUS LONGINUS.

THE SIXTIETH LUSTRUM.

Prætors. C. FANNIUS STRABO.
L. OPIMIUS NEPOS.
Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS, &c.

Pro-Conſul in Sardinia. L. AURELIUS ORESTES.

Pro-Quæſtor in Sardinia. C. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS.

328. *Conſulſhip.* C. CASSIUS LONGINUS.
Year 629. C. SEXTIUS CALVINUS.

Pro-Conſul in Tranſalpine Liguria. M. FULVIUS FLACCUS.

Pro-Conſul in Sardinia. L. AURELIUS ORESTES.

Pro-Conſul at Fregellæ. L. OPIMIUS NEPOS.

Pro-Conſul in Hither Spain. Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS.

329. *Conſulſhip.* Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS BALEARICUS.
Year 630. T. QUINCTIUS FLAMININUS.

Prætors. SEX. JULIUS CÆSAR.
Q. MARCIUS REX.
Q. ÆLIUS TUBERO.
L. JULIUS CÆSAR, &c.

Tribunes of the People. C. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS. AUFEIUS NEPOS. The other eight are unknown.

Pro-Conſul in Tranſalpine Gaul. C. SEXTIUS CALVINUS.

Pro-Conſul in Sardinia. L. AURELIUS ORESTES.

Pro-Conſul in Hither Spain. Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS.

Pro-Conſul in Tranſalpine Gaul. M. FULVIUS FLACCUS, who triumphs, on account of the *Ligures*, *Vocontii*, *Salii*, &c.

330. *Conſulſhip.* CN. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS.
Year 631. C. FANNIUS STRABO.

Tribunes of the People. C. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS.
M. LIVIUS DRUSUS.
L. RUBRIUS VARRO.
M. BÆBIUS TAMPHILUS. The other ſix are unknown.

Pro-Conſul in the Baleares Iſlands. Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.

Pro-Conſul in Tranſalpine Gaul. C. SEXTIUS CALVINUS, who triumphs on account of the *Ligures*, *Vocontii*, *Salii*, &c.

Pro-Conſul in Sardinia. L. AURELIUS ORESTES, who triumphs on account of the *Sardi*.

331. *Conſulſhip.* L. OPIMIUS NEPOS.
Year 632. Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS ALLOBROGICUS.

Prætor in Aſia. QUINTUS MUCIUS SCÆVOLA.

Tribunes of the People. M. MINUCIUS RUFUS.
L. CALPURNIUS PISO BESTEA.
C. LICINIUS NERVA. The other ſeven are unknown.

Quæſtor in Aſia. P. RUTILIUS RUFUS.

Pro-Conſul in Tranſalpine Gaul. CN. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS.

Pro-Conſul in the Baleares Iſlands. Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS BALEARICUS.

332. *Conſulſhip.* P. MANILIUS NEPOS.
Year 633. C. PAPIRIUS CARBO.

Cenſors. L. CALPURNIUS PISO FRUGI.
Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS BALEARICUS.

THE SIXTY FIRST LUSTRUM.

Tribunes of the People. P. DECIUS MUS.
M. OCTAVIUS NEPOS. The other eight are unknown.

Pro-Conſuls in Tranſalpine Gaul. Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS, who triumphs on account of the *Allobroges*, and *Betuilt* King of the *Arverni*.
CN. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS, who triumphs on account of the *Gauls* and *Arverni*.

333. *Conſulſhip.* L. CÆCILIUS METELLUS, DALMATICUS.
Year 634. L. AURELIUS COTTA.

Prætors. Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS EBURNUS, &c.

Tribunes of the People. C. MARIUS NEPOS. The other nine are unknown.

334. *Conſulſhip.* M. PORCIUS CATO.
Year 635. Q. MARCIUS REX.
The former dying in his Office,
Q. ÆLIUS TUBERO was choſen in his room.

Pro-Conſul in Dalmatia. Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS, who triumphs on account of the *Dalmatians*.

335. *Conſulſhip.* L. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.
Year 636. Q. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA.

Pro-Conſul in Liguria. Q. MARCIUS REX, who triumphs on account of the *Stenæans*.

336. *Conſulſhip.* C. LICINIUS GETA.
Year 637. Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS EBURNUS.

337. *Conſulſhip.* M. ÆMILIUS SCAURUS, who triumphs on account of the *Carni*.
Year 638. Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.

Cenſors. L. CÆCILIUS METELLUS DALMATICUS.
CN. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS.

THE SIXTY SECOND LUSTRUM.

Prætors. P. DECIUS MUS.
C. MARIUS NEPOS.

Tribunes of the People. P. RUPILIUS RUFUS. The other nine are unknown.

Pro-Conſul in Carniola. M. ÆMILIUS SCAURUS, who triumphs on account of the *Carni*.

338. *Conſulſhip.* *Year* 639. M' ACILIUS BALBUS. C. PORCIUS CATO.

Prætor in Further Spain. C. MARIUS NEPOS.

Prætor in Illyricum. T. DIDIUS NEPOS.

Pro-Conſul in Sardinia. M. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.

339. *Conſulſhip.* *Year* 640. P. CÆCILIUS METELLUS CAPRARIUS. CN. PAPIRIUS CARBO.

Prætor for capital Crimes a ſecond time. LUCIUS CASSIUS LONGINUS.

Tribunes of the People. SEX. PEDUCEÏUS NEPOS. The other nine are unknown.

Pro-Conſul in Sardinia. M. CÆCILIUS METELLUS, who triumphs over the *Sardi*.

Pro-Conſul in Macedon. C. CÆCILIUS METELLUS CAPRARIUS, who triumphs for the *Thracians* and *Macedon*.

Pro-Prætor ſent againſt the Scordiſci. T. DIDIUS NEPOS, who triumphs for his Victories over the *Scordiſci*, and in *Macedon*.

340. *Conſulſhip.* *Year* 641. M. LIVIUS DRUSUS. C. CALPURNIUS PISO,

Prætor in Further Spain. L. CALPURNIUS PISO FRUGI.

341. *Conſulſhip.* *Year* 642. P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO NASICA. P. CALPURNIUS PISO BESTEA.

Prætors. L. CASSIUS LONGINUS. SERVIUS SULPICIUS GALBA.

Tribunes of the People. C. MEMMIUS GALLUS. C. BÆBIUS SULCA.

Quæſtor in Numidia. P. SEXTIUS NEPOS.

Pro-Conſul in Macedon. M. LIVIUS DRUSUS.

342. *Conſulſhip.* *Year* 643. M. MINUCIUS RUFUS. SP. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS.

Prætor at Rome. Q. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.

Prætor in Hither Spain. Q. SERVILIUS CÆPIO.

Tribunes of the People. P. LIVIUS CRASSUS DIVES. C. MANILIUS LIMETANUS. L. ANNIUS NEPOS. L. LUCILIUS BALBUS. The other ſix are unknown.

Pro-Conſul in Macedon. M. LIVIUS DRUSUS, who triumph'd over the *Scordiſci*.

343. *Conſulſhip.* *Year* 644. Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS NUMIDICUS. M. JULIUS SILANUS.

Cenſors. M. ÆLIUS SCAURUS. M. LIVIUS DRUSUS, who died in his *Cenſorſhip*.

Pro-Conſul in Macedon. M. MINUCIUS RUFUS.

Pro-Conſul in Numidia. SP. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS.

Pro-Conſul in Further Spain. Q. SERVILIUS CÆPIO.

344. *Conſulſhip.* *Year* 645. SER. SULPICIUS GALBA. Q. HORTENSIUS NEPOS, who did not enter upon his Office, but M. AURELIUS SCAURUS was choſen in his room.

Cenſors. Q. FABIUS ALLOBROGICUS. C. LIVINIUS GETA.

THE SIXTY THIRD LUSTRUM.

Pro-Conſuls in Numidia. Q. CÆCILIUS NUMIDICUS. Q. SERVILIUS CÆPIO, who triumphs for his Victories over the *Luſitanians*. M. MINUCIUS RUFUS, who triumphs over the *Scordiſci* and *Triballes*.

345. *Conſulſhip. Year* 646. L. CASSIUS LONGINUS.
C. MUCIUS NEPOS.
The former being killed during his Office,
M. ÆMILIUS SCAURUS was choſen a ſecond time.

Tribunes of the People. L. MANILIUS MANCINUS.
C. CÆLIUS CALDUS.
SP. THORIUS BALBUS. The other ſeven are unknown.

Quæſtors in Numidia. L. CORNELIUS SULLA.
CN. OCTAVIUS RUFUS.
Q. CÆCILIUS NUMIDICUS, who triumphs for his Victories over the *Numidians* and King *Jugurtha*.

346. *Conſulſhip. Year* 647. C. ATTILIUS SERRANUS.
Q. SERVILIUS CÆPIO.

Prætors. M. LICINIUS CRASSUS.
C. ANNIUS BELLIENUS.
C. FLAVIUS FIMBRIA, &c.

Ædiles. P. LICINIUS CRASSUS.
Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS NEPOS.

Tribunes of the People. Q. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA. The other nine are unknown.

Pro-Conſul in Numidia. C. MARIUS NEPOS.

Pro-Prætor in Africa. L. ANNIUS BELLIENUS.

Pro-Quæſtor in Numidia. L. CORNELIUS SULLA.

347. *Conſulſhip. Year* 648. P. RUTILIUS RUFUS.
CN. MALLIUS MAXIMUS.

Prætor in Sardinia. T. ALBUCIUS NEPOS.

Tribunes of the People. L. LICINIUS CRASSUS.
C. CASSIUS LONGINUS. The other eight are unknown.

Quæſtor in Sardinia. CN. POMPEÏUS STRABO.

Pro-Conſul in Gallia Narbonenſis. Q. SERVILIUS CÆPIO.

Pro-Prætor in Numidia. C. MARIUS NEPOS, who triumphs over the *Numidians* and King *Jugurtha*.

Pro-Quæſtor in Numidia. L. CORNELIUS SULLA.

348. *Conſulſhip. Year* 649. C. MARIUS NEPOS, the ſecond time.
C. FLAVIUS FIMBRIA.

Ædile. C. AURELIUS SCAURUS.

Tribunes of the People. L. CASSIUS LONGINUS.
CN. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS.
C. SERVILIUS GLAUCIA.
L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS. The other ſix are unknown.

Pro-Prætor in Sardinia. T. ALBUTIUS NEPOS.

349. *Conſulſhip. Year* 650. C. MARIUS NEPOS, a third time.
L. AURELIUS ORESTES, who died in his Conſulſhip.

Prætor in Sicily. C. SERVILIUS CASCA.

Prætor in Hither Spain. M. FULVIUS NOBILIOR.

Prætor in Macedon. C. CALPURNIUS PISO CÆSONINUS.

Prætor in Aſia. M. ANTONIUS NEPOS.

Curule Ædiles. Q. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA.
L. LICINIUS CRASSUS.

350. *Conſulſhip. Year* 651. C. MARIUS NEPOS, a fourth time.
L. LUTATIUS CATULUS.

Cenſors. Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS NUMIDICUS.
C. CÆCILIUS METELLUS CAPRARIUS.

THE SIXTY FOURTH LUSTRUM.

Prætor in Sicily. L. LICINIUS LUCULLUS.

Tribunes of the People. A. POMPEÏUS RUFUS.
L. APULEÏUS SATURNINUS.
T. JUNIUS NEPOS. The other ſeven are unknown.

M. AN-

M. ANTONIUS, having chaſed the *Cicilian* Pirates receives the Honours of a *Naval Triumph.*

351. *Conſulſhip. Year* 652. C. MARIUS NEPOS, a fifth time, who triumphs on account of his Victories over the *Teutones*, *Cimbri*, and *Ambrones.*
M. AQUILLIUS NEPOS.

Tribunes of the People. M' ACILIUS GLABRIO. The other nine are unknown.

Pro-Conſul in Ciſalpine *Gaul.* Q. LUTATIUS CATULUS, who triumphs on account of the *Teutones*, *Cimbri*, and *Ambrones.*

352. *Conſulſhip. Year* 653. C. MARIUS NEPOS, the ſixth time.
L. VALERIUS FLACCUS.

Prætors. C. SERVILIUS GLAUCIA, &c.

Tribunes of the People. A. NONNIUS SUFFENAS.
L. APULEÏUS SATURNINUS, the ſecond time.
CN. BÆBIUS PAMPHILUS. The other ſeven are unknown.

Quæſtors. Q. SERVILIUS CÆPIO.
C. SAUFEÏUS NEPOS.

Pro-Conſul in Sicily. M' AQUILIUS NEPOS.

353. *Conſulſhip. Year* 654. M. ANTONIUS NEPOS.
A. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS.

Prætor in Further Spain. L. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

Prætor in Aſia. Q. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA.

Curule Ædiles. C. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.
L. VALERIUS FLACCUS.

Tribunes of the People. L. PORCIUS CATO.
Q. POMPEÏUS RUFUS.
Q. CALIDIUS NEPOS.
P. FURIUS NEPOS.
C. CANULEÏUS DIVES.
C. DECIANUS.
SEX. TITIUS NEPOS.
L. EQUITIUS FIRMANUS.
L. APULEÏUS SATURNINUS, the third time. The tenth is unknown.

Quæſtor in Macedon. C. JUNIUS NORBANUS.

M' AQUILIUS, having defeated the Slaves in *Sicily*, receives the Honour of an *Ovation.*

354. *Conſulſhip. Year* 655. Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS NEPOS.
T. DIDIUS NEPOS.

Prætor at Rome. M. VALERIUS FLACCUS.

Prætor in Sicily. L. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS.

Prætor in Macedon. C. SEXTIUS CALVINUS.

Tribunes of the People. M. DURONIUS NEPOS.
A. PLAUTIUS SILVANUS. The other eight are unknown.

L. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA receives the Honours of a *Triumph*, on account of his Victories over the *Luſitanians.*

355. *Conſulſhip. Year* 656. CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.
P. LICINIUS CRASSUS.

Cenſors. L. VALERIUS FLACCUS.
M. ANTONIUS NEPOS.

THE SIXTY FIFTH LUSTRUM.

Prætor in Sicily. L. HORTENSIUS NEPOS.

Pro-Conſul in Further Spain. T. DIDIUS NEPOS.

Pro-Prætor in Macedon. C. SEXTIUS CALVINUS.

356. *Conſulſhip. Year* 657. CN. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS.
C. CASSIUS LONGINUS.

Prætor at Rome. SEX. JULIUS CÆSAR.

357. *Conſulſhip. Year* 658. P. LICINIUS CRASSUS.
Q. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA.

Prætor in Sicily. C. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.

Tribunes of the People. C. JUNIUS NORBANUS.
L. AURELIUS COTTA.
T. DIDIUS NEPOS.
T. ANTISTIUS RHEGINUS. The other six are unknown.

Pro-Consul in Hither Spain. T. DIDIUS NEPOS.

Pro-Consul in Further Spain. P. LICINIUS CRASSUS.

358. *Consulship.* *Year* 659. C. CÆLIUS CALDUS.
L. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS.

Prætor at Rome. L. CORNELIUS CINNA.

Prætor in Asia. L. VALERIUS FLACCUS.

Tribune of the People. L. SESTIUS NEPOS.

Pro-Consul in Hither Spain. T. DIDIUS NEPOS.

Pro-Consul in Further Spain. P. LICINIUS CRASSUS.

359. *Consulship.* *Year* 660. C. VALERIUS FLACCUS.
M. HERENNIUS NEPOS.

Prætors at Rome. T. MANILIUS NEPOS.
L. CORNELIUS SYLLA.

Prætor in Sicily. CN. POMPEÏUS STRABO.

Prætor in Further Spain. P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO NASICA.

Pro-Consul in Hither Spain. T. DIDIUS NEPOS, who triumphs, for the *Celtiberians.*

Pro-Consul in Further Spain. P. LICINIUS CRASSUS, who receives the Honour of a *Triumph*, for his Victory over the *Lusitanians.*

360. *Consulship.* *Year* 661. C. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.
M. PERPERNA NEPOS.

Censors. CN. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS.
L. LICINIUS CRASSUS.

THE SIXTY SIXTH LUSTRUM.

Prætor in Sicily. C. GEMINIUS NEPOS.

Prætor in Asia. L. CORNELIUS SYLLA.

Pro-Consul in Hither Spain. C. VALERIUS FLACCUS.

Pro-Consul in Further Spain. P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO NASICA.

361. *Consulship.* *Year* 662. L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.
SEX. JULIUS CÆSAR.

Prætor at Rome. Q. POMPEÏUS RUFUS.

Prætor in Gallia Narbonnensis. M. PORCIUS CATO LICINIANUS.

Prætor in Asia. L. CASSIUS LONGINUS.

Curule Ædile. M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

Tribunes of the People. M. LIVIUS DRUSUS.
P. TARQUITIUS NEPOS.
Q. VARIUS HIBRYDA SUCRONENSIS.
L. FURIUS CALENUS
C. PAPIRIUS CARBO.
Q. RUBRIUS VARRO.
L. LUCEÏUS NEPOS.
C. PAPIRIUS CARBO. The other two are unknown.

Quæstor in Cisalpine Gaul. Q. SERTORIUS NEPOS.

THE WAR OF THE ALLIES.

362. *Consulship.* *Year* 663. SEX. JULIUS CÆSAR.
P. RUTILIUS RUFUS, who was killed before his *Consulship* expired.

Prætor at Rome. Q. VARIUS HYBRIDA.

Prætor in Gallia Narbonnensis. C. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.

Curule Ædile. C. JULIUS CÆSAR STRABO.

Tribunes of the People. C. SCRIBONIUS CURIO.
Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS CELER.
M. PRÆTORIUS NEPOS.
C. VELLEÏUS NEPOS. The other six are unknown.

Pro-Prætor in Afia. L. CASSIUS LONGINUS.

Pro-Prætor in Hither Spain. C. VALERIUS FLACCUS.

363. *Conſulſhip.* *Year* 664. CN. POMPEIUS STRABO, who triumphs for his Victories over the *Aſculani* and *Picentini*.
L. PORCIUS CATO, who was killed in his Office.

Cenſors. P. LICINIUS CRASSUS.
L. JULIUS CÆSAR.

THE SIXTY SEVENTH LUSTRUM.

Prætors at Rome. A. SEMPRONIUS ASELLIO.
Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS PIUS.
APP. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.
P. GABINIUS CAPITO.

Tribunes of the People. L. CASSIUS LONGINUS.
C. PAPIRIUS CARBO.
M. PLAUTIUS SILVANUS. The other seven are unknown.

364. *Conſulſhip.* *Year* 665. L. CORNELIUS SYLLA FELIX.
Q. POMPEIUS RUFUS.

Prætor in Africa. C. SEXTILIUS.

Tribunes of the People. P. SULPICIUS RUFUS, who was killed in his Office.
P. ANTISTIUS LABEO.
C. BÆBIUS SULCA. The other seven are unknown.

Quæſtor in Aſia. L. LICINIUS LUCULLUS.

365. *Conſulſhip.* *Year* 666. CN. OCTAVIUS, who was killed, during his *Conſulſhip*.
L. CORNELIUS CINNA, who was depoſed, and
L. CORNELIUS MERULA, who killed himſelf, before his Office expired.

Prætor in Sicily. M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

Prætor in Apulia. Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS PIUS.

Pro-Conſul in Aſia. L. CORNELIUS SYLLA FELIX.

Tribunes of the People. M. VIRGILIUS NEPOS.
P. MAGIUS CHILO. The other eight are unknown.

366. *Conſulſhip.* *Year* 667. L. CORNELIUS CINNA, the ſecond time.
C. MARIUS the ſeventh time, who died in his Office, and
L. VALERIUS FLACCUS was choſen in his room.

Cenſors. L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.
MARCUS PERPENNA.

THE SIXTY EIGHTH LUSTRUM.

Prætors at Rome. C. MARIUS GRATIDIANUS.
P. ANTISTIUS LABEO.
L. LICINIUS MURENA.

Prætor in Africa. Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS PIUS.

Prætor in Macedon. C. SENTIUS SATURNINUS.

Pro-Conſul in Aſia. L. CORNELIUS SYLLA.

Quæſtor at Rome. C. FLAVIUS FIMBRIA.

Quæſtor in Aſia. M. MANLIUS TORQUATUS.

367. *Conſulſhip.* *Year* 668. P. CORNELIUS CINNA, the third time.
CN. PAPIRIUS CARBO.

Prætors. M. LÆTORIUS MERGUS.
Q. GRANIUS NEPOS.
P. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS.
CN. GRANIUS NEPOS.

Tribunes of the People. SEX. LUCILIUS NEPOS.
M. PETREÏUS NEPOS.

Pro-Conſul in Aſia. L. CORNELIUS SYLLA.

Pro-

Pro-Consul in Africa. Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS PIUS.

368. *Consulship.* *Year* 669. CN. PAPIRIUS CARBO, the second time.
L. CORNELIUS CINNA, the fourth time, who was killed in his Office.

Tribunes of the People. P. POPILIUS LÆNAS.

Quæstor in Cisalpine Gaul. C. VERRES.

Pro-Consul in Asia. L. CORNELIUS SYLLA.

Pro-Consuls in Africa. Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS PIUS
C. FABIUS HADRIANUS.

369. *Consulship.* *Year* 670. L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO ASIATICUS.
C. JUNIUS NORBANUS.

Prætors at Rome. P. BURRIENUS.
Q. LUCRETIUS OFFELLA.
Q. ANTONIUS BALBUS.
Q. VALERIUS SORANUS.

Prætor in Further Spain. Q. SERTORIUS NEPOS.

Prætor in Gallia Narbonensis. C. VALERIUS FLACCUS.

Tribunes of the People. C. POPILIUS LÆNAS.
CN. AUFIDIUS ORESTES.
C. CASSIUS VARUS.

Quæstor in Italy. M. PUPIUS PISO FRUGI CALPURNIANUS.

Quæstors in Further Spain. L. HERCULEÏUS NEPOS.
C. HERENNIUS NEPOS.

Pro-Consul in Italy. L. CORNELIUS SYLLA.

Pro-Consul in Campania. Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS PIUS.

Pro-Consul in Cisalpine Gaul. CN. PAPIRIUS CARBO.

Pro-Prætor in Africa. C. FABIUS HADRIANUS.

Pro-Prætor in Asia. L. LICINIUS MURÆNA.

370. *Consulship.* *Year* 671. C. MARIUS, who was killed in his *Consulship*.
CN. PAPIRIUS CARBO, the third time. He was also killed during his *Consulship*.

Prætors at Rome. L. JUNIUS BRUTUS DAMASIPPUS, who was killed in his Office.
C. MARIUS GRATIDIANUS, the second time, killed also in his *Prætorship*.

Pro-Consuls in Italy. L. CORNELIUS SYLLA.
Q. METELLUS PIUS.
C. JUNIUS NORBANUS.
Q. LUCRETIUS OFFELLA.
Q. VALERIUS SORANUS.

Pro-Consul in Sardinia. Q. ANTONIUS BALBUS.

Pro-Consuls in Hither Spain. P. BURRIENUS.

Pro-Consul in Further Spain. Q. SERTORIUS NEPOS.

Pro-Prætor in Africa. C. FABIUS HADRIANUS.

Pro-Prætor in Macedon. C. SENTIUS SATURNINUS.

Pro-Prætor in Asia. L. LICINIUS MURÆNA.

Quæstors in Italy. C. VERRES.
L. MANLIUS TORQUATUS.

Dictator. L. CORNELIUS SYLLA.

General of Horse. L. VALERIUS FLACCUS.

371. *Consulship.* *Year* 672. M. TULLIUS DECULA.
CN. CORNELIUS DOLLABELLA.

Dictator. L. CORNELIUS SYLLA, who triumphs for two days, on account of his Victories over King *Mithridates*, and in *Asia*.

Eight *Prætors* for the City of *Rome* Created.

Prætors

Prætors at Rome. CN. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA. SEX. NONNIUS SUFFENAS.

Quæstors at Rome. P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS SURA. L. VALERIUS TRIARIUS.

Pro-Consul in Sardinia. L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.

Pro-Consul in Sicily. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.

Pro-Consul in Spain. C. ANNIUS LUSCUS.

Pro-Prætor in Asia. M. MINUCIUS THERMUS.

L. LICINIUS MURENUS, triumphs, on account of King *Mithridates*, and *Asia*.

372. *Consulship.* *Year* 673. L. CORNELIUS SYLLA FELIX, the second time. Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS PIUS.

Eight Prætors at Rome for the first time. M. FANNIUS STRABO. The other seven are unknown.

Tribunes of the People. C. HERENNIUS NEPOS. The other nine are unknown.

Pro-Consul in Macedon. CN. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

Prætor in Cilicia. Another CN. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

Prætor in Hither Spain. L. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS.

Prætor in Further Spain. T. DIDIUS NEPOS.

Eight *Quæstors* created.

Quæstor in Cilicia. C. POBLICIUS MALLEOLUS. The others are unknown.

Q. POMPEÏUS, now only a *Roman Knight*, triumphs on account of his Victories over King *Hiarbas* and *Africa*.

373. *Consulship.* *Year* 674. P. SERVILIUS VATIA ISAURICUS. APP. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.

Prætors at Rome. L. OCTAVIUS NEPOS. C. CALPURNIUS PISO. Q. CALIDIUS NEPOS, &c.

Prætor in Asia. C. CLAUDIUS NERO.

Curule Ædiles. L. LICINIUS LUCULLUS. M. TERENTIUS VARRO LUSCULUS.

Quæstor in Further Spain. C. URBINIUS RUFUS.

Quæstor in Cilicia. C. VERRES.

374. *Consulship.* *Year* 675. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS. L. LUTATIUS CATULUS.

CN. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA triumphs for *Macedon*.

Pro-Consul in Further Spain. Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS PIUS.

Pro-Consul in Sicily. C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

375. *Consulship.* *Year* 676. D. JUNIUS BRUTUS LEPIDUS. MAM. ÆMILIUS LIVIANUS.

Prætors at Rome. CN. AUFIDIUS ORESTES AURELIANUS. L. LICINIUS LUCULLUS, &c.

Pro-Consul at Rome. APP. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.

Pro-Consuls in Italy. Q. LUTATIUS CATULUS.

Pro-Prætor in Cisalpine Gaul. CN. POMPEÏUS MAGNUS.

Pro-Consul in Further Spain. Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS PIUS.

Pro-Consul in Cilicia. P. SERVILIUS VATIA ISAURICUS.

Pro-Consul in Macedon. APP. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.

Prætor in Sicily. CN. JUNIUS NORBANUS.

Prætor

Prætor in Gallia Narbonnensis. — M. Fonteïus Capito.

Pro-Prætor in Asia. — Cn. Terentius Varro.

Tribune of the People. — M. Turpilius Nepos.

376. *Consulship.* *Year* 677. — Cn. Octavius. C. Scribonius Curio.

Prætors at Rome. — L. Titius Nepos. M. Terentius Varro Lucullus. L. Furius Philus, &c.

Prætor in Africa. — L. Licinius Lucullus.

Prætor in Achaia. — L. Gellius Poblicola.

Prætor in Illyricum. — Cn. Aufidius Orestes.

Prætor in Sicily. — Sex. Peduceïus Nepos.

Pro-Consul in Macedon. — App. Claudius Pulcher.

Pro-Consuls in Italy. — Mam. Æmilius Lepidus. D. Junius Brutus.

Tribune of the People. — Cn. Sicinius Nepos, who was killed during his Office.

Quæstor in Further Spain. — C. Memmius Gallus, who was killed in Battle.

Quæstor in Italy. — C. Ælius Stalenus Pætus.

Pro-Consuls in Spain. — Q. Cæcilius Metellus Pius. Cn. Pompeïus Magnus.

Pro-Consul in Gallia Narbonnensis. — M. Fonteïus Capito.

377. *Consulship.* *Year* 678. — L. Octavius. C. Aurelius Cotta.

Prætors at Rome. — Q. Cassius Longinus. C. Licinius Sacerdos. P. Cornelius Lentulus Sura. M. Antonius Nepos. M. Cæsius Nepos, &c.

Tribune of the People. — Q. Opimius Nepos.

Pro-Consuls in Spain. — Q. Cæcilius Pius Numidicus. Cn. Pompeïus Magnus.

Pro-Consuls in Cilicia. — Servilius Vatia Isauricus.

Pro-Consul in Macedon. — C. Scribonius Curio.

Pro-Consul in Bithynia. — M. Junius Silanus.

Pro-Consul in Asia. — C. Claudius Nero.

Pro-Consul in Sicily. — Sex. Peduceïus Nepos.

Pro-Consul in Narbonne-Gaul. — M. Fonteïus Capito.

Pro-Consul in Illyricum. — Cn. Aufidius Orestes Aurelianus.

Pro-Consul in Macedon. — M. Terentius Varro Lucullus.

Pro-Consul in Achaia. — L. Gellius Poblicola.

Pro-Quæstor in Sicily. — M. Tullius Cicero.

Pro-Quæstor in Bithynia. — L. Volteïus Strabo.

378. *Consulship.* *Year* 679. — L. Licinius Lucullus. M. Aurelius Cotta.

Prætor at Rome. — C. Verres.

Prætor in Gallia Narbonnensis. — M. Fonteïus Capito.

Tribune of the People. — L. Quinctius.

379. *Consulship.* *Year* 680. — M. Terentius Varro Lucullus. C. Cassius Varus.

Pro-Consul at Chalcedon. — M. Aurelius Cotta.

Prætor in Sicily. C. VERRES.

380. *Consulship.* *Year* 681. L. GELLIUS POBLICOLA. CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CLODIANUS.

Pro-Consul in Macedon. C. SERVILIUS CURIO.

Tribune of the People. M. LOLLIUS PALICANUS.

381. *Consulship.* *Year* 682. CN. AUFIDIUS ORESTES. P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS SURA.

Prætors. M. LICINIUS CRASSUS. CN. POMPEIUS MAGNUS.

Pro-Consul in Pontus. L. LICINIUS LUCULLUS.

CNEIUS POMPEIUS, triumphs on account of his Victories in *Spain.*

382. *Consulship.* *Year* 683. M. LICINIUS CRASSUS. CN. POMPEIUS MAGNUS.

Censors. L. GELLIUS POBLICOLA. CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CLODIANUS.

THE SIXTY NINTH LUSTRUM.

Prætors at Rome. M. ACILIUS GLABRIO. L. AURELIUS COTTA.

383. *Consulship.* *Year* 684. Q. HORTENSIUS. Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS CRETICUS.

Ædiles. M. TULLIUS CICERO. M. COESONIUS.

Prætors. M. PUPIUS PISO, who triumphs for *Spain.*

Q. LUTATIUS CATULUS.

384. *Consulship.* *Year* 685. L. CÆCILIUS METELLUS, who died before he entered upon his Office. Q. MARCIUS REX.

Pro-Consul in Crete. Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS CRETICUS.

Pro-Consul in Pontus. L. LICINIUS LUCULLUS.

385. *Consulship.* *Year* 686. C. CALPURNIUS PISO. M. ACILIUS GLABRIO.

Tribunes of the People. A. GABINIUS. L. ROSCIUS OTHO. C. CORNELIUS. C. MANILIUS.

386. *Consulship.* *Year* 687. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS. L. VOLCATIUS TULLUS.

Prætor in Africa. L. SERGIUS CATILINA.

Prætors at Rome. M. TULLIUS CICERO. P. VATINIUS.

387. *Consulship.* *Year* 688. L. AURELIUS COTTA. L. MANLIUS TORQUATUS.

Tribune of the People. C. PAPIUS.

Censors. Q. LUTATIUS CATULUS. L. LICINIUS CRASSUS, who both abdicated.

388. *Consulship.* *Year* 689. L. JULIUS CÆSAR. C. MARCIUS FIGULUS.

Censors. L. AURELIUS COTTA. Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS PIUS.

The End of the *FASTI CONSULARES*, to the Year of *Rome* 689 inclusive.

MVSEVM BRITANNICVM